

PYLOS REGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT, PART III

SIR WILLIAM GELL'S ITINERARY IN THE PYLIA AND REGIONAL LANDSCAPES IN THE MOREA IN THE SECOND OTTOMAN PERIOD

ABSTRACT

This article previews the study of the Second Ottoman period (1715–1821) by members of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project. By closely comparing Sir William Gell's apparently dispassionate descriptions of the Navarino Bay area with other documentary and archaeological data, we suggest that reconstruction of settlement and land use relying solely on Gell's descriptions can result in misrepresentation. This conclusion has implications for modern Greek social and economic history, since the image that Gell sketches appears to support a commonly held belief that settlement during Ottoman occupation was concentrated in more mountainous areas, while the lowlands were largely devoid of permanent habitation.

Since the earliest days of regional archaeological surveys in Greece, the study of the periods of Ottoman occupation has proven frustrating.¹ For most earlier periods, artifact typologies—based on chipped stone or ceramics—are sufficiently well understood to allow surface remains found by means of intensive survey to be dated, sometimes with great precision. Pottery from the times of Turkish domination, on the other hand, is relatively poorly understood, particularly for the 18th and early 19th centuries, and can generally be assigned only to broad chronological parameters.

1. We would like to thank Pierre MacKay for permission to quote from his unpublished translation of Evliya Çelebi, and Mary Lee Schmidt of the Lloyd Library and Museum in Cincinnati for furnishing us with photographic negatives of maps included in the *Atlas* volume prepared by the Expédition scientifique de Morée. Peter Topping offered much encouragement at an early stage in this project. We are

also grateful to Siriol Davies for making available to us in advance of publication the results of her researches in Venice, conducted on behalf of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP). We thank Susan E. Alcock, director of historical studies for PRAP, for her encouragement. Sharon Gerstel, who has studied Byzantine Messenia for PRAP, helped us obtain copies of publications from the collections of

Dumbarton Oaks. The constant support of Debi Harlan has been indispensable to the success of our endeavors. We thank the Başbakanlık Archives in Istanbul for their generosity in permitting Zarinebaf-Shahr to study the Ottoman cadastral register *Tapu Tabir* (hereafter, *TT*) 880. Finally, the article has benefited from the advice of *Hesperia*'s anonymous referees.

Recently this situation has begun to ameliorate, but artifacts remain difficult to date,² and the chronology of churches can sometimes be the most important source of evidence for patterns of settlement.³ Archaeologists have thus been compelled to place great emphasis on written texts in attempting to reconstruct settlement and land use patterns. However, the number and nature of such textual sources vary widely from one part of the Aegean to another, depending largely on the way in which an area was integrated within the power structure of the Ottoman state. In lieu of access to official Ottoman administrative documents, archaeologists, as well as historians, have often relied heavily on the accounts of western travelers. For the final century and a half of Ottoman rule, these can be extraordinarily rich, especially for the Greek islands, but also for many parts of mainland Greece.⁴ It has become increasingly clear, however, that even the most apparently straightforward accounts can hardly be read at face value, without consideration of the circumstances in which their narratives were constructed. Reevaluation of their texts can, in turn, have significant consequences for how we view the economic and social history of a region.

This report is intended to preview the approach to the study of the Second Ottoman period (1715–1821) followed by members of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP), as we have begun to address the issues outlined in the preceding paragraph.⁵ It was clear from the beginning of the project that it would be essential to make a concerted effort not only to collect artifacts of the recent past, but also to obtain information from Turkish archives that would be relevant to the history of settlement and land use in western Messenia. We have vigorously directed investigations since 1994 toward the achievement of this goal, and results are now being prepared for publication in a monograph.⁶ As our research progressed, it became increasingly obvious that there existed a critical disjuncture between information recorded about the Pylos area by travelers, on the one hand, and the records of Ottoman administrators and the results of archaeological investigations, on the other. Travelers seemed to be viewing western Messenia through the filter of their own experiences. The notion that travelers' accounts are not undistorted windows into past landscapes is, of course, well understood by others who have recently approached their analysis in a Greek context. Susan Sutton has, for example, observed that "although [travel narratives] made claims of visual legitimacy, of describing what was tangibly there to be seen, they were nevertheless remarkably myopic."⁷

In this report we focus on a specific account of a Peloponnesian landscape in the early 19th century, that of the area north of the Bay of Navarino by Sir William Gell, generally considered to be one of the most accurate and careful of authors who traveled to Greece in the decades immediately prior to the Greek Revolution. We have chosen this account because it is tightly tied to certain features of the landscape and includes sufficient detail about travel times to facilitate the identification more or less exactly of his route through that landscape. There is considerable value in presenting a detailed account of Gell's route, in and of itself, with reference to the contemporary (1997) landscape. This is in part because the landscape is

2. Forbes 1997; Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994. For recent studies of post-Byzantine pottery, see Vroom 1998 and Hahn 1997.

3. E.g., Koukoulis 1997.

4. For the Greek islands, see Wagstaff 1982; Bennet and Voutsaki 1991.

5. PRAP has explored archaeological remains in an area of approximately 100 km² centered on the Englianos Ridge and the Bronze Age Palace of Nestor. A multidisciplinary team of earth scientists, historians, art historians, and archaeologists has studied the history of settlement and land use in southwest Messenia, north of the Bay of Navarino, from earliest prehistoric times until the present day. See Davis et al. 1997; Zangger et al. 1997; Davis 1998.

6. By F. Zarinebaf-Shahr, J. Bennet, and J. L. Davis, provisionally entitled *The Morea in the Wake of the Ottoman Reconquest (A.D. 1715): A Case Study from the Southwestern Peloponnese*.

7. Sutton, in press.

increasingly subject to development and may no longer be available for this kind of study in ten or more years. Also, Gell's account, because of its precise relation of times and places, gives the impression of offering an authoritative and authentic view of the quality of the landscape in terms of settlement and the types of activities that were carried out in it in his day. We present a collection of other 18th- and early-19th-century travelers' accounts, as well as additional sources, to set against Gell's.

The travelers' accounts tend to concur with Gell's picture of a rather desolate landscape, while the other sources suggest this may have been an impression colored by traditions of travel narrative in the region and by Gell's own prejudices regarding Greece under the Ottoman Empire. Re-reading his accounts in light of the documentary evidence has led us to believe that Gell has somewhat distorted the picture of settlement and agricultural activity in the lowlands around the Bay of Navarino. Archival information from Ottoman sources, as well as archaeological discoveries made by PRAP, suggests that Gell either ignored or was oblivious to some of the agricultural activities and evidence for rural settlement that he might have observed and recorded in the course of his journey through the Pylia. Any reconstruction of patterns of settlement and land use that would rely on his descriptions alone, or, for that matter, on the narratives of western travelers by themselves, would result in serious misrepresentations of reality.

This conclusion in turn has significant implications for the social and economic history of modern Greece, since the image that Gell sketches would, on first examination, appear to support the commonly held belief that "settlement and population in Greece were concentrated in the more mountainous areas during the Ottoman occupation, whilst the lowland was largely devoid of permanent habitation," a picture that Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff have contested in two recent articles.⁸ Their arguments are convincing, insofar as they concern settlement distribution at the macro-regional level, and in the Pylia there is ample evidence that lowlands were settled and exploited as significant components in agricultural production systems of the Ottoman period. Although the coasts of the Pylia do appear to have been relatively underpopulated in comparison with nearby uplands, they were hardly desolate, and major centers of Greek settlement were not far distant. A second goal of the article is, therefore, to examine the relationship between settlement location and elevation at a more detailed level in this spatially and temporally restricted landscape from the early 18th to the mid-19th century, using the sources outlined above and data derived from PRAP's archaeological research. The picture sketched here provides a preview of the much fuller treatment alluded to above, in the context of the publication of an Ottoman tax register dating to the year after the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea.

The conclusions reached in this article would seem to demand greater sophistication in the analysis of travel literature as well as the dedication to archival research of more resources than have been generally invested by regional studies projects. Potential new archival sources of information for the history of Ottoman Greece have often been ignored by archaeologists. Semi-independent communities (*koinotites*) of Greek or Albanian-

8. See Frangakis and Wagstaff 1987. The quotation is from Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff 1992, p. 439.

speaking Orthodox Christians in many of the Cycladic islands, the Sporades, and the islands of the Saronic Gulf maintained local governments and paid taxes to the Porte in fulfillment of communal obligations.⁹ Ottoman administrators rarely visited and local archives were recorded in Greek; some of the latter have in part been preserved, as for the island of Keos.¹⁰ Unlike many of these Greek islands, the Morea, or Peloponnese, was fully incorporated into the Ottoman Empire as a province, or *eyalet*. In contrast to the islands, the Morea was governed and taxed directly by authorities ultimately designated by the central government in Istanbul. Turkish records of transactions with the villages and cities of the Peloponnese were kept in the archives of Istanbul. Access to these has been difficult until recently, and few archaeological teams could master the historical, linguistic, and epigraphical skills required to read and interpret the documents curated there. But high-quality textual information can, in fact, be obtained, and archaeologists have lately come to realize that such new unpublished data are readily accessible not only from the archives of the Ottoman state in Istanbul¹¹ but also from those of Venice.¹²

Neglect of critical archival sources for the study of post-Byzantine Greece reflects in part a general apathy among archaeologists concerning research and instruction in the recent history of Greece, a tendency particularly acute outside Greece itself. Certainly in western Europe and North America, a preponderance of interest has focused on the history and archaeology of the Classical and pre-Classical periods. But recently there have been signs that attitudes are beginning to change. The archaeologies of Frankish, Venetian, and Ottoman Greece, long marginalized as shameful chapters in the history of Hellenism, are at last attracting the attention that they deserve. The year 1998 marked a watershed in this respect, with the convening in May of a two-day conference on the archaeology and history of post-Classical Greece, organized by the British School of Archaeology at Athens and the Ionian University of Corfu.¹³

Such an increase in interest in later Greek studies, and in archival research in particular, is of significance to archaeologists engaged in regional studies in the Peloponnese. It is of special importance for the history of the 18th century, a time period for which detailed descriptions of many localities are remarkably scarce in sources that have traditionally been tapped by scholars. Many of the so-called "New Wave" of surface surveys in Greece¹⁴ have been situated in areas distant from Ottoman centers of power; the accounts of foreign visitors to these places, if they exist at all, are generally impoverished. Even the richest narratives of most European travelers to Greece tended to concentrate on urban centers and almost never supply the information one would like to have concerning rural hinterlands. In regions for which travelers' accounts are plentiful, an evenly distributed spatial coverage of areas chosen for archaeological investigation is never provided and, of course, the accounts are often subject to the inherent biases discussed in this article.¹⁵ Rich Venetian administrative documents¹⁶ exist for the Peloponnese in the period of Venetian domination between 1685 and 1715, but there are no comparable published bureaucratic documents for the next hundred years. In addition, there can be a sometimes dramatic mismatch between archaeological and archival in-

9. On the independent communities of the later Ottoman Empire, see Kontoyioryis 1982; Koukou 1980; Davis 1991.

10. See Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991; Davis 1991.

11. Regional archaeological studies in Greece and Turkey other than our own have sponsored archival research; for example, see Kiel 1997; Nixon, Moody, and Price, in press; Bintliff 1999; and Robinson, in press. Other recent publications of Ottoman documents, although not commissioned by archaeological projects, are nonetheless of great potential value to archaeologists: e.g., Kiel 1987; Kiel and Sauerwein 1994; Kiel 1990; Valta 1989.

12. For Venice too the situation is also gradually improving, as archaeologists come to realize the relevance of unpublished documents to their work. For example, see Topping 1976; Davies 1994. Pioneering research was conducted in Messenia by Peter Topping; see Topping 1972.

13. Jointly convened by D. Tsoungarakis, J. L. Bintliff, and E. Angelomati-Tsoungaraki, this gathering featured papers that built significantly on the foundations laid by Lock and Sanders 1996 and were concerned with a broader chronological range.

14. See Cherry 1994.

15. See also Sutton, in press.

16. E.g., Topping 1972; 1976.

formation, even in periods for which documentary evidence is plentiful. In some areas, such as Aigion,¹⁷ extremely detailed maps of settlements and fields exist for the early 18th century, but no regional studies projects have yet been initiated in the region.

New archival research can assist regional studies projects in achieving their stated objective of integrating fully the evidence of text with that of material culture. The Ottoman archives in particular offer the possibility of acquiring complete, spatially continuous descriptions of the regions to be examined by our projects, accounts that recorded all places of settlement and agricultural exploitation. Once this information is in hand, we can begin to develop archaeological strategies that earmark these locations for special investigation. Starting with the knowledge that certain places were occupied at a particular time, it will be possible to compare patterns of settlement and land use reconstructed from documentary evidence with the material remains collected by surveys. In such a manner, it might perhaps be possible to improve our understanding of the material culture of the early modern period, especially by studying small sites that were the locus of settlement for only a short duration.

SIR WILLIAM GELL AND OTHER WESTERN TRAVELERS NORTH OF THE BAY OF NAVARINO

William Leake, who traveled in Greece in 1805–1807 and 1810, describes the western coast of Messenia (Fig. 1) that lies between the modern town of Pylos (formerly Ottoman Anavarin and Greek Navarino) and the Classical town of Koryphasion, on the one hand, and Kyparissia (formerly Arcadia), on the other, with a brief and despondent note:

There is no portion of the Peloponnese less noticed by ancient authors than the part of Messenia lying between Coryphasion and Kyparissia, though its length is not less than twenty miles.¹⁸

The neglect of the ancients was echoed in the accounts of modern travelers to the area in Leake's own time—the last years of the Ottoman occupation of Greece—including those of his occasional traveling companion, Sir William Gell. Few foreigners traveled between Pylos and Kyparissia in the Second Ottoman period and, of those who did, still fewer have left us descriptions of either human or natural landscapes as they then appeared. The accounts that do exist, however, depict a countryside largely deserted by its former Christian population. Gell, in particular, in two published works, would seem to support such a conclusion. Were the narratives of his journey around the Bay of Navarino accepted uncritically, it would be easy to surmise that the coastal areas around the bay were relatively desolate. Indeed, in the course of a journey of more than five hours he reported that he did not see a single individual other than the members of his own party.

Such a conclusion would, however, be entirely mistaken. Much of the

17. See Dokos and Panagopoulos 1994.

18. Leake 1830, p. 425; Wagstaff, in press.

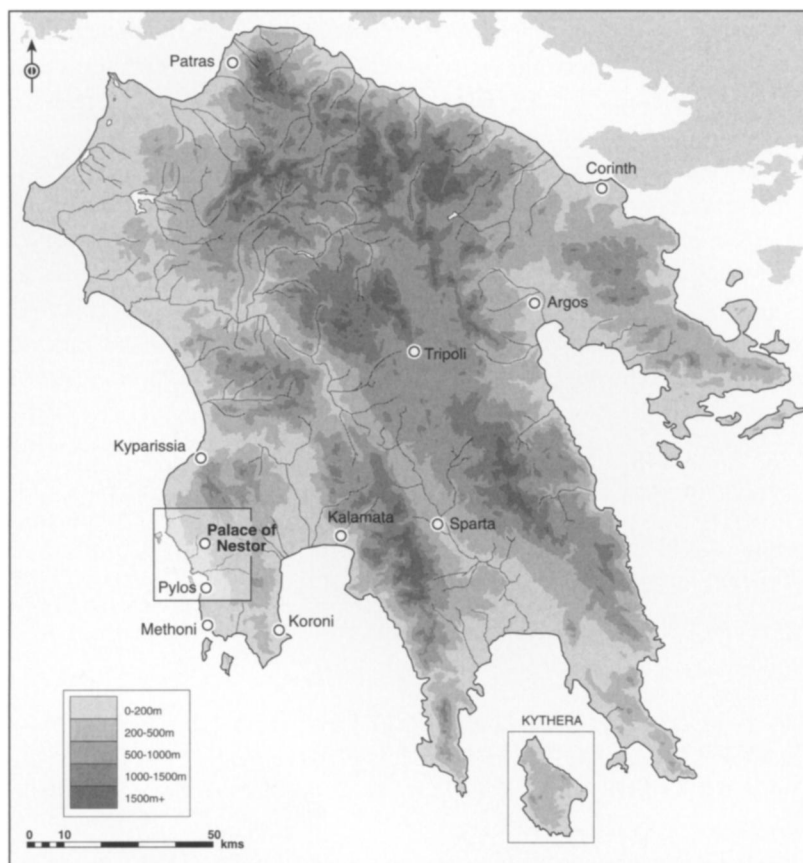


Figure 1. Map of the Peloponnese and western Messenia. R. J. Robertson

area through which Gell traveled lay in the area studied by PRAP. We are, therefore, in a position to marshal both archaeological evidence and documentary information (from Ottoman archives in Istanbul here published for the first time) to show how impressions gained from first readings of Gell's accounts of his journey can be corrected and moderated. The result is a nuanced picture of human settlement in the area as it existed in the time of the second Ottoman occupation of the Peloponnese (1715–1829), and one that is richer than any previously available to scholars. It thus permits a reconstruction of patterns of settlement in the coastal areas of Pylos that is sensitive both to long-term change and to drastic short-term fluctuations.

Gell's accounts of the geography around the Bay of Navarino appear characteristically full and pedantic.¹⁹ Two works recount his travels in 1804 in the Peloponnese.²⁰ The first, published in 1817, is his *Itinerary of the Morea: Being a Description of the Routes of That Peninsula*, a bare list of routes between major towns, with notes on sights seen along the way, and their distances, expressed in minutes elapsed in transit from the point where he had previously stopped. Six years later, in 1823, he presented his full reminiscences in *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, a literary journal that, among other things, adds considerable detail to the descriptions in his *Itinerary*. A complete account of his trip through the area later investigated by PRAP can thus best be gleaned from an interlinear compilation of the two texts (excerpts from the *Narrative* in italics).

19. Some of Gell's notebooks are now curated by the British School of Archaeology at Athens: see Woodward and Austin 1925–1926. Notebook 1 contains material concerning “Attica, Boeotia, Phokis, etc.” that was later recast in Gell 1819. On Gell's life, and his research on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti, see also Ridgway 1996 (emphasis on Gell's activities in Italy); Wroth 1921–1922; and Simopoulos 1985, pp. 120–143 (emphasis on Gell's activities in Greece).

20. Gell 1817; 1823. For the date of his travels, see Gell 1823, p. 4.

NAVARINO, OR NEOKASTRO, TO GARGAGLIANO²¹

FROM NAVARINO TO THE RIVER KOURBEH

1. 27 (27) Having proceeded by a bad road from the fountain in the Greek village of Navarino, l. a ruined tower, r. a fountain. The port l.²²
The track runs along the eastern shore of the port for some time, after which it descends into an alluvial plain,
2. 10 (37) In the plain.
3. 3 (40) A ruined bridge, and little river.
4. 2 (42) Another stream.
5. 3 (45) Ascend.
6. 3 (48) A plain. Mt. Tabolachi, or Pilaw, r. a conic hill.
7. 9 (57) A ruined bridge, with deep water. Beshli. Two small brooks, and one after. R. a pretty glen.
8. 1 (58) A bridge, and rice field, in a marshy plain.
9. 12 (70) The hills from r. approach the water. Rice grounds and shrubby hills.
10. 8 (78) A river. On r. bank a garden. Turn NE. Church of Agio Nicolo r.
11. 7 (85) River Kourbeh.

FROM THE RIVER KOURBEH TO THE ROMANOU RIVER

12. 5 (90) The bridge.
13. 10 (100) Hills close to the road on r. Under the rook of old Navarino, or Pylos, is a white house, and l. of it the village Petrachorio.
leaving the little villages of Petrachorio and Leuka on the left,
14. 20 (120) Boidochilia, at the north end of Pylos, l. A hut or place called Geophyre, perhaps a bridge. A grove of olives.
and Gefhyrae and Lisaki on little knolls on the right.
15. 19 (139) An eminence approaches the road r. The plain extends on r. See the villages, or tchifliks of Osman Aga and Haslan Aga.

The country-house and cypress of a certain Osman Aga are soon after seen on the right, between which and the village of Haslan Aga

16. 4 (143) A platanus and aqueduct.
17. 2 (145) A well, house, and hill called Lirachi.
18. 19 (164) R. a wooded valley, and bridge over the Romanos.
is a pretty wooded valley watered by the river Romanus, which is crossed by a bridge. These residences generally consist in a tower, overlooking the humble dwellings of the peasants, who cultivate the soil, which form a quadrangle inclosing the house. The territory was at that time cultivated with lupins, and had just produced a crop of Indian corn in the plains. The aspect of the country was however neither fertile nor inviting, and much of it was neglected.

21. This is Gell's title for his route 25 in Gell 1817, pp. 51–52, covered in Gell 1823, pp. 59–62. Notes for this itinerary are not contained in the documents preserved in the archives of the British School at Athens. We are grateful to the archivist, Anne Sackett, and to her assistant, Malcolm Nicolson, for investigating this matter for us.

22. Each place (station) where Gell makes an observation is numbered. The time elapsed since the previous station is recorded (in minutes), followed in parentheses by the total elapsed time (also in minutes) since leaving Navarino.

FROM THE ROMANOU RIVER TO GARGALIANI

19. 19 (183) On the top of the opposite bank.
20. 18 (201) Descend. Heath and trees.
21. 7 (208) A water-course. Wild rocks and trees r. and l.
22. 2 (210) Brisomero Nerro, and a woody dell.
*In the next dell into which we descended, we passed the
 Brusomavo by a bridge, and were delighted by a grove or thicket of
 arbutus, which formed a beautiful shrubbery on each side of our path.*
23. 12 (222) A water-course, or aqueduct. Arbutus.
24. 28 (250) A summit, after a steep and dangerous descent.
*We ascended from hence by a steep and difficult track to
 a summit which at length afforded a fine view of the sea and Prote;*
25. 7 (257) A cultivated hollow.
26. 18 (275) A semicircular valley.
27. 23 (298) A summit.
28. 5 (303) See Gargagliano.
*and after a long and uninteresting journey arrived at
 Gargagliano in the evening of the last day of January, without
 having met a single individual on the road.*
29. 9 (312) Chapel of St. Nicholo.
30. 3 (315) Gargagliano, a large Greek village overlooking a
 plain, and Prote to the west. The houses are good, and the
 situation, which is lofty, is much embellished by many cy-
 presses.

Total time elapsed: 5 hours and 15 minutes (315 minutes).

MAPPING GELL'S ROUTE

Gell's route between Navarino and Gargaliani in part follows the course of modern (1997) highways, but often deviates from them (Fig. 2). It is, nonetheless, possible to map the route that he followed quite precisely, since Gell supplies us with information about the total length (in minutes) of each of his itineraries and the time between each station where he stopped to make observations. By dividing the total distance traveled by the total minutes in transit, we can determine approximately his rate of travel per minute and therefore estimate the distances between stations. In this way, the position of each station can be determined with reasonable accuracy.²³

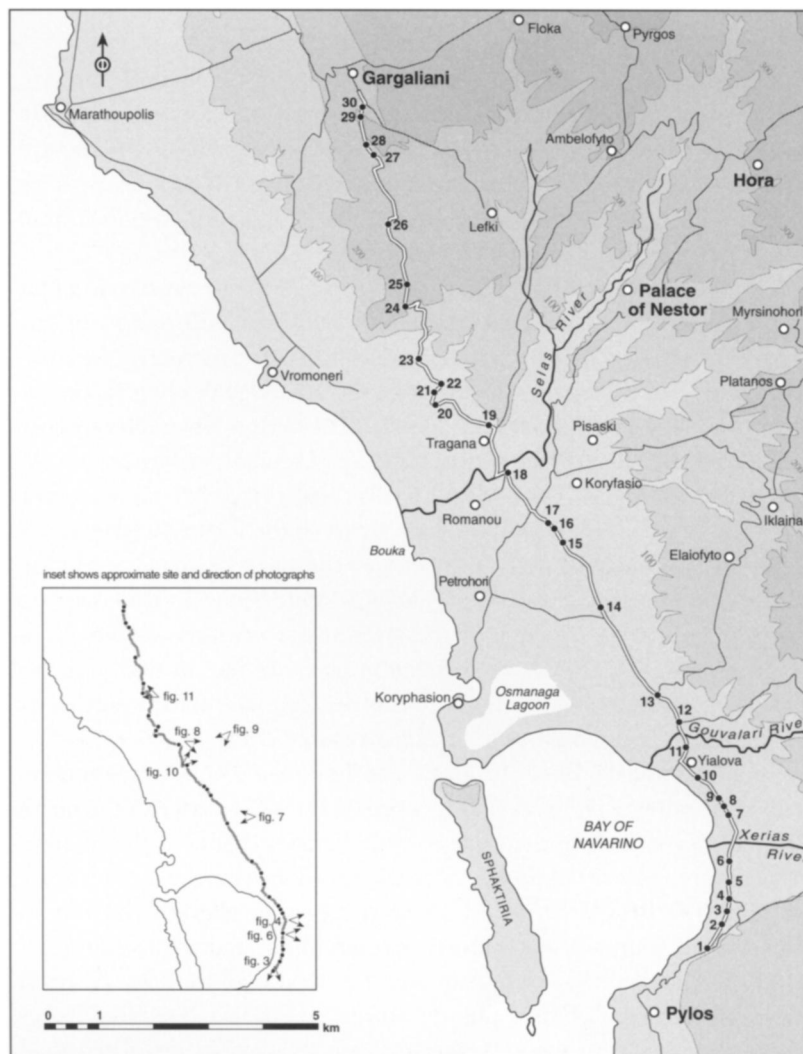
Locations of stations estimated in this fashion can, of course, be only approximate since Gell's actual travel speed will have varied depending on the nature of the terrain through which he was traveling. He, in fact, makes this point himself when he describes the terrible hardships of traveling across a Greek plain on horseback:

Nothing can equal the impracticability of a Greek road over a district of pointed limestone-rocks perpetually appearing at the surface, except that across the succeeding valley or plain, when it has been soaked by the autumnal rains; and the short herbage beginning to spring up in the winter renders it necessary for the traveller to

23. In addition to Gell's, three other published journals shed substantial light on the topography of the area between the Bay of Navarino and Gargaliani in the early 19th century: A. L. Castellan's account of a journey from Navarino to Filiatra (Castellan 1808, pp. 90–100); Bory de Saint Vincent's relation of his travels (1829) from Navarino to the French military camp at Yialova (Bory 1836, pp. 135–139) and to Gargaliani (pp. 165–169); and Pouqueville's narrative of a journey from Gargaliani to Navarino (Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, pp. 26–27). Each in part followed the same route as Gell, and their accounts at times clarify details that are obscure in his.

Figure 2. Map of Gell's route, showing modern place-names.

R. J. Robertson



attend to his own involuntary agitations, while the luggage-horse, after a thousand slips, and as many recoveries, almost invariably puts a stop to further progress for a short time, by receiving a desperate fall after a slide of several feet and a succession of unavailing struggles.²⁴

Gell's journey from Navarino to Gargaliani has been divided into three segments, the beginning and end points of which can be located on the ground without dispute. This method allows the position of each of his observation stations to be determined with greater accuracy, since the terrain over which Gell was traveling in each segment differed: the first segment, very marshy; the second, drier and flatter; the third, quite steep. It is to be expected, therefore, that a minute of travel time in one segment would not have resulted in the same amount of forward progress in another. The empirical results of this method are encouraging: almost all of Gell's stations can be located, and knowing their situation allows several difficulties in the interpretation of his text, introduced by ambiguities in his prose, to be resolved.

24. Gell 1823, pp. 59–60. See also Gell 1817, pp. ix–x.

THE SETTLEMENT AT NAVARINO

Gell's itinerary begins at Navarino, the modern town of Pylos. In his day, the settlement at Navarino consisted of two parts, the fort of Neokastro occupied by Muslims, and a largely Orthodox Greek suburb outside it.²⁵ Gell himself stayed in the Greek quarter as the guest of a wealthy Greek merchant of the town, Giorgios Konomopoli [sic], and paid only a brief visit to the walled Turkish citadel.²⁶

It is clear that this Greek suburb at Navarino was not a recent foundation. Maps compiled at the time of the Venetian occupation of the Peloponnese (1685–1715) indicate the same two-part structure of the community that Gell describes. The most useful for understanding the geography of the settlement is entitled “Pianta di Navarino Novo rilevata soto il comado del Ill^{mo} et Ecc^{mo} Sig^r Fra^{co} Griⁿⁱ Pro^r Generali in Morea,” reproduced by Kevin Andrews as plate XI in his *Castles of the Morea*, where the suburb (*varochi*) is indicated immediately east of the fortress and north of the line of an aqueduct that ran south of the modern road to Modon (Methoni).²⁷ The topographic relationships represented in this map are confirmed by a close-up view of the settlement.²⁸ Andrews' plate XI is particularly valuable for the interpretation of Gell's text in that it shows the location of the public fountain that is the first landmark recorded by Gell and the “golden milestone” for his measurements.

This “Fontana del Basa” (“Fountain of the Pasha”) is the only fountain labeled on Andrews' plate XI, and it is situated some distance to the north of the *varochi*, in a place that today would lie to one side of the modern central square (*plateia*) of Pylos, near the location where the road north from Navarino begins its ascent along the eastern edge of the Bay of Navarino. The fountain was a prominent landmark and attracted the attention of other travelers. For example, it is described by Bory de Saint Vincent of the French Expédition de Morée, and is also illustrated.²⁹ According to him, there were no wells or springs inside the fortress of Neokastro and the aqueduct that had previously fed its cisterns was dilapidated. He found wells near the fountain, which he speculated was Venetian in date, although it was uninscribed. Blouet also discussed the location of the fountain: “Là, nous abordâmes sur une mauvaise jetée en planches

25. François Pouqueville, the French diplomat, captured by pirates in 1800 and taken to Navarino, described both fort and suburb (Pouqueville 1820–1821, V, p. 122): “The district of Navarino . . . counts within the walls of its modern capital six hundred Turks and one hundred and thirty Greeks who inhabit the *varochi*.” In the second edition of his work (1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1), he attaches a table of the population (“cadastre” is his word) of the “canton” of Navarin listed by *family*. For Navarin itself, 142 families are listed. It is clear

from the total number of families listed for the “canton” (1019), however, that Pouqueville must have made an error and meant to record *individuals*, since that population far exceeds the figure of 447 he gives for the Ottoman poll tax (*cizye*) of the *kaza*, or district (1820–1821, V, p. 15). In theory, the poll-tax figure (i.e., the number of non-Muslim adult males) ought to approximate the number of families. It is clear, therefore, that the figure of 130 individuals is more likely to be correct. This correction is assumed for all figures based

on Pouqueville's 1815 table. On Pouqueville's capture by pirates, see Lair 1902; 1904.

26. Gell 1823, pp. 18–21.

27. Andrews 1953, p. 244, pl. XI in Appendix C. Parts of the aqueduct still exist. The suburb was in existence still earlier in the 17th century, before the Venetian conquest (see the account of Evliya Çelebi, below, note 35).

28. Andrews 1953, p. 244, pl. XIII (top) in Appendix C. The original drawing has no Italian title or legend.

29. Bory 1836, p. 135.

qui nous conduisit à une espèce de place pratiquée dans un renforcement des montagnes. . . . A gauche de cette place, sous l'escarpement d'un chemin montant, nous remarquâmes un fontaine vénétienne."³⁰ Earlier, Castellan had noted and illustrated this same fountain at the entrance of the village, hollowed with care under a rock, with benches and a vast reservoir; he imagined that its water, almost dried up, had been borne by the aqueduct.³¹

By the time of Gell's arrival at Pylos, the Greek community appears to have expanded beyond the boundaries indicated on Venetian maps: a "small cluster of Greek houses" had been built at the *skala* (port) of Neokastro, near the fountain and the *plateia* of modern Pylos. His *Narrative* (p. 7) also speaks of a customhouse, perhaps identical to the "Lazareta" or quarantine house marked on a Venetian map.³² Konomopoli's house, a new construction, was 50 yards distant from the landing, about a half-kilometer from the fort, and "situated at the foot of a hill, sloping to the west of the port. . . . The windows of these rooms command, toward the west, a very pretty view of the port."³³

Such an expansion of the suburb in the course of the 18th century may in part reflect a general increase in international commerce in the Morea at that time, an idea taken up again below. The shift does not appear to have occurred before the Ottoman reconquest of the Peloponnese. Venetian maps do not show structures in the area of the modern harbor of Pylos or of its *plateia*. Nor can the existence of buildings there be deduced from the text of a full Ottoman survey completed in January of 1716 and containing an apparently exhaustive inventory of properties in the suburb (Turkish *varış*) and a list of its non-Muslim residents.³⁴ The picture presented by *TT* 880 is in the main supported by the account of Evliya Çelebi, who visited Navarino in the 17th century, before the Venetian conquest, and made several references to the community surrounding the fort of

30. Blouet 1831–1838, p. 2, and pl. 2, fig. I.

31. Castellan 1808, p. 84. The French officer Mangeart also passed a fountain in 1828, before leaving Pylos along the main road for the French military camp, but he says that it was located at a distance of one league (4 km) from Neokastro; this seems too distant to be the same fountain as that recorded by Castellan and Bory. See Mangeart 1830, pp. 354–355: "A une lieue environ à l'est de Navarin, on voit une source qu'on assure être celle que Bacchus fit jaillir de la terre en la frappant de son thyrses. C'est à cette fontaine que commence l'aqueduc qui transportait ses eaux dans la place. Les restes de cet hydragogue, construit en pierre, sont encore dignes de remarque."

For the French camp, see

Duheaume 1833, p. 22; its location is indicated on a map inserted in the front of Mangeart 1830.

32. This customhouse must have been, in any case, very near the present *teloneion* (customhouse) of Pylos. Bory (1836, p. 52) seems to confirm the location, since in 1829 he noted the presence of wooden shacks on the shore in the place where, opposite a wharf, the Turks had their customhouse.

33. Leake, who visited Pylos in 1805, the year after Gell's tour, also stayed at the *skala* of Neokastro with Yioryios Oikonomopoulos, who "has all the trade of Neokastro in his hands, and is agent for some of the European nations. His house and magazines, which stand on the water side three or four hundred yards below the fort, very naturally excite the cupidity of the poor Turks of the town, who are starving by

the effects of their pride and idleness" (Leake 1830, p. 399, note 2). Admiral Codrington's map, drawn at the time of the Battle of Navarino (1828), shows a cluster of buildings at the landing place, probably including Oikonomopoulos's house (see Fokas 1927). Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1) includes in the "cadastre du canton de Navarin" a place called "Calivia" with a population of twenty heads of households. This entry may refer to the houses by the landing place.

34. The document in question is registered as an unpublished manuscript tax register (*TT* 880 [A.H. 1128/A.D. 1716], pp. 78–100) in the Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul. In it, only males who paid the *ispence*, a head-tax levied on non-Muslim adult men (see İnalcık 1994, p. xlviii), are recorded.

Neokastro.³⁵ In 1716, all houses seem to have been near the gate of the fort, in approximately the area where the suburb appears on Venetian maps.³⁶ A century later, Gell noted the remains of this “miserable Greek village” at the gate of the fortress.³⁷

A second shift in the structure of the settlement at Navarino, more radical than the first, occurred in the course of the Greek Revolution; a process was then set in motion that ultimately resulted in the formation of the modern town of Pylos. This stage in the development of Navarino is well documented, since there fortunately exists a rich collection of first-hand descriptions of the area in the later 1820s, in particular memoirs published by members of the French expeditionary force that occupied the Morea from 1828 to 1834 and the reports of the contemporaneous “Expédition scientifique.”³⁸

The fortress of Navarino fell without a shot in the fall of 1828.³⁹ The earliest French visitors to Navarino, however, found a community still torn by war, sundered by violence following years of brutality at the hands of Egyptian troops:

Le lendemain de notre arrivée, nous descendîmes à terre, où m’attendait le plus affreux spectacle que j’aie vu de ma vie. Au milieu de quelques baraques de bois construites sur le rivage, en dehors de la ville, dont il ne restait que des ruines, circulaient, hâves et déguenillés, des hommes, des femmes, des enfants, qui n’avaient plus rien d’humain dans les traits: les uns sans nez, d’autres sans oreilles, tous plus ou moins couverts de cicatrices; mais ce qui nous émut au dernier point, ce fut un petit enfant de quatre ou cinq ans que son

35. Folio 267b, 1–5: “There are two gates . . . the other is on the landward side and opens southeastward. This is the great gate to the outer suburb”; Folio 267b, 30–268a, 15: “On the other side of the road that runs in front of the castle gate, in the garden behind the shop of Ceraf Ali Çelebi there is a coffee-tree, which produces beyond measure every year” and “Outside the castle to the southeast, on a wide, level plateau, there are two hundred houses, all with gardens like the gardens of Irem, two-storey masonry structures roofed with tile. Most of these houses are Greek, and there are no Armenians or Jews. There is one neighborhood mosque, one inn for voyagers and fifteen shops for merchants, but no bath nor any other public benefaction. There is, however, one inhabited cloister of poor devotees of God that ought to be visited.” We are grateful to Pierre A. MacKay for providing us with his original translation of Evliya’s visit

to Messenia (based on the manuscript Topkapı Sarayı. Bagdat Köşkü 308). The community of *reaya* (peasants) recorded in *TT* 880 is notably smaller than the 200 houses one might expect from Evliya’s account; Evliya’s figures, on the other hand, are often exaggerated and suspect (cf. Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, pp. 128–129; Faroqi 1999, pp. 160–161).

36. The expansion in the area of the suburb toward the harbor in the course of the 18th century did not result in a significant increase in population. *TT* 880 records thirty non-Muslim households. Pouqueville, a century later, listed 142 families (1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1), almost certainly individuals. In contrast, estimates of the population of the fortress in the early 19th century vary widely. Pouqueville’s 600 Turks (1820–1821, V, p. 122) are difficult to reconcile with Leake’s estimate (1830, p. 400, note 2) of 300 Muslim families. At the time of its capture by the French

in 1828 (on which see Duheume 1833, pp. 17–28), the fort held 400 Arabs, 70 Turkish cannoners, and 60 Peloponnesian Turks (see also Bessan 1833). Baltas (1997, p. 148) says that 500 armed men and 234 women, children, and old people surrendered in 1821 to the Greeks.

37. Gell 1823, p. 19.

38. For a general history of French military involvement in the Morea in the early years of the modern Greek state, see Pellion 1855. The immediate purpose of this (successful) campaign was to compel the forces of Ali Pasha of Egypt, commanded by his son Ibrahim Pasha, to depart from the Peloponnese. Driault (1930) describes Ibrahim’s campaigns (1824–1828) in detail and publishes relevant French consular correspondence. For a summary of French memoirs, see Simopoulos 1984, chapters 20–21, 24.

39. Duheume 1833, p. 28.

frère conduisait par la main; je m'approchai: il avait les yeux crevés. Les Turcs et les égyptiens n'avaient épargné personne dans cette guerre.⁴⁰

When the Egyptians departed, conditions improved rapidly. Commercial concerns were quickly reestablished and refugees returned. The French officer Mangeart described the village later in 1829:

Quand je quittai Patras, on y comptait plus de soixante cafés; j'en remarquai une quinzaine au plus à Navarin; dans un seul se trouvait un billard. Il y avait cependant quelques magasins assez bien fournis de choses les plus nécessaires à la vie. La plupart appartenaient à des marchands français. Ils étaient, comme à Patras, bâtis sur le bord de la mer, hors des murs de l'ancienne ville, et à l'endroit même où étaient campées, six mois auparavant, les troupes d'Ibrahim. Je n'y remarquai point, comme à Patras, de ces nombreuses familles grecques, où l'on comptait tant de jeunes femmes plus intéressantes encore par leurs infortunes que par leur beauté. Le voisinage des îles Ioniennes, où toutes ces familles rométiotes se trouvaient réfugiées, les avait fait refluer à Patras, plutôt que dans la partie méridionale du Péloponèse.⁴¹

Like Mangeart, Bory of the *Expédition scientifique* found the community at Navarino in recovery.⁴² Having abandoned the town altogether a year earlier, what was left of the Greek population had returned to take refuge in plank shanties, or in caves and excavations in a ravine that descended to the plank wharf of the *skala*.⁴³ Other wood shacks had been built by foreigners on the shore where the Turkish customhouse had been located, opposite the wharf, and merchants were constructing a temporary village there. Artillery stores, a military hospital, a customhouse, and a police station were established in this new suburb. Before the onset of construction, Turkish and Greek cemeteries in the area had been cleaned out; many corpses had been found exposed.

The fortress of Neokastro lay in ruins but was quickly being repaired. Edgar Quinet found a flurry of activity there, by Greeks and French alike:

Le 4 [mars], je touche terre entre dix et onze heures. Nous montons à Navarin par un chemin formé de roc et d'une terre argileuse. Le sol, du reste, nu et brûlé. Petite porte de village. Les maisons ruinées, les rues en décombres. Des soldats s'y sont formé des abris. Je les ai entendus chanter. Le bruit des tambours et de la musique guerrière au milieu de ces amas de pierres. La mosquée criblée de boulets sert de magasin de farines. Je porte mes lettres à M. Sau[]. Chambre d'un Turc. En le quittant, nous sortons de la ville. Spectacle extraordinaire des Grecs mêlés avec les soldats. Comment ils travaillent. Le glacié se relève. On leur a donné des tentes. Un grand nombre de familles se sont formé des abris avec les pierres des décombres. Ils étendent de gros morceaux de roc sur des peaux, des toiles, des draps qui leur servent de toit. Quelques-uns sont encore

40. Amaury-Duval 1885, pp. 80–81. On the dreadful condition of Navarino while still occupied by Ibrahim, immediately following the Battle of Navarino in early February of 1828, see also firsthand accounts by Miller 1828, p. 178, and by Duheume 1833, p. 25, who visited the Egyptian camp in September of that same year and found conditions deplorable. Not only the Greeks had suffered; with regard to Ibrahim's troops he wrote: "Veritable spectres ambulans, ils souffrent sans se plaindre."

41. Mangeart 1830, pp. 352–353. The map inserted in the front of Mangeart 1830 shows precisely where the Egyptian troops had camped at Navarino, as does Codrington's map (see Fokas 1927).

42. Bory 1836, pp. 52–54, 132.

43. For the ravine, see Baltas 1997, p. 13, pl. 3. Other Greek families lived in caves in a place where the road to Modon (modern Methoni) circumnavigated a cavernous ravine.

réfugiés plus au haut de la montagne dans de petites grottes où l'eau dégoutte. Beaucoup occupent d'ailleurs des baraques de bois où ils vendent des dattes, du riz, des liquers, d'excellents citrons. Leur bon accord avec les Français.⁴⁴

Bory's account appears more dispassionate but conveys the same impression:

. . . dans l'enceinte . . . vivaient seulement, lorsque j'en partis, le commandant de la place, les intendans militaires, le payeur, la garnison, en un mot, ce qui tenait à l'armée; la population commerçante, ou les habitants du pays, étaient descendus au rivage, et s'y construisaient une ville provisoire.⁴⁵

In summary, it is clear that three distinct phases in the development of the settlement at Navarino can be defined. At the time of the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea in 1715, Greek and Muslim residents were concentrated at the southern end of the modern village, either in or just outside the main gate of the fortress of Neokastro. By the early 19th century, non-Muslim merchants had established themselves near the port, and this shift in the focus of the community might be seen, at least in part, as a reflection of the incorporation of Greece into larger Mediterranean economic systems in the 18th century. This was Gell's Navarino. After enormous disruptions in settlement in the course of the Greek Revolution, including total abandonment of the town by its Christian population, it was refounded under French sponsorship in 1829. The focus of this new community, renamed Pylos, remained the port. In contrast, the fortress of Navarino ceased to play a central role in the life of the town, as the new nation-state of Greece assigned it various nonmilitary duties.⁴⁶

44. Aeschimann and Tucoc-Chala 1984, p. 316. This volume contains Quinet's previously published and highly literary *La Grèce moderne*, as well as the more useful (for present purposes) and previously unpublished journal, quoted here, on which *La Grèce moderne* was based.

45. Bory 1836, p. 52. Other accounts concur, e.g., Anderson 1830, p. 121: "The French general found its houses nothing but a heap of infectious ruins. We found the fortress still occupied by the French troops, who were repairing some of its batteries. The few Greeks in the place live in a village of about 100 temporary wooden houses, chiefly shops, northeast of the castle." Bory (1836, p. 133), however, says that the commandant

of the place and its paymaster lived in the village, at the foot of the citadel.

46. Visiting not long after the Revolution, the American consul, Perdicaris, found Neokastro commanded by two philhellenes (not "native Greeks": Perdicaris 1845, p. 195), but the fortress soon lost its defensive functions. It was first transformed into a high-security prison, although travelers continued to visit, e.g., Belle (1881). Ultimately, Neokastro became an archaeological park. General Maison's barracks are in part a museum, and the keep of the castle, or Ichisar, serves as headquarters for the Superintendency of Underwater Antiquities of Greece.

FROM THE FOUNTAIN OF NAVARINO TO THE RIVER KOURBEH

The first stage of Gell's journey north from this town of Navarino began at the fountain in the Greek suburb of Navarino (Fig. 2, station 1) and ended at the river Kourbeh (station 11), a distance of approximately five kilometers. In his day the main road did not at first follow the course of the modern asphalt highway that leads northeast from Pylos.⁴⁷ Indeed, after climbing through several switchback turns from the modern central *plateia* of Pylos, it is still possible to see the bed of the older roadway, now completely overgrown with weeds and scrub, downslope from the asphalt road. In the location called Miden, the older road nearly joins the modern highway, but soon veers sharply away again toward the sea. Next it descended into a small coastal plain (Gell's station 2), labeled Haritou on the 1:50,000 map of Pylos produced by the cartographic service of the Greek army. Between the fountain and Haritou, the road appears to have been paved (i.e., a *kalderimi*): traces of both the pavement and the retaining wall for the roadbed are still visible (Fig. 3).⁴⁸ In the small plain of Haritou, Gell crossed a little river and a stream, then ascended the hill labeled Psili Rahi on the Greek 1:50,000 map, not far from the modern chapel of Ayios Vasileios, descending again into the valley of the Xerias River (the plain that he notes at station 6). The Xerias River was consistently called the Pesili River by travelers of the early 19th century, a name that must derive from the Turkish toponym Beşli, or "five-fold," doubtless a reference to the many rivulets that flow into the Bay of Navarino here (Fig. 4). Gell specifically mentions four of these (his stations 7 and 8); three modern bridges across streams here were noted in 1997.⁴⁹

The map prepared by the *Expédition scientifique* supports the preceding interpretation of Gell's route: for example, it does not show the switchback turns that are such a prominent feature of the modern road as

47. The approximate course of the road traveled by Gell is indicated on a map included in the *Atlas* of the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, pls. III.3 and III.5; see Fig. 5 and further discussion below. Other useful maps showing the road include one prepared by the British Admiral Codrington (see Fokas 1927) and the map inserted in the front of Mangeart 1830. See also a description of the journey by Perdicaris (1845, p. 208): "we coasted along the shores of the magnificent bay to the north of the town, and in our way to the khan at the other end of it, we noticed some remnants of the Turco-Egyptian fleet . . . right of search [for cannons, etc.] has been sold by the government to a company of mer-

chants. . . . Beyond the khan we left the lagoon and the heights of ancient Pylos to our left." A small rectangle is drawn immediately south of Yialova on the *Atlas* of the *Expédition scientifique*, pl. III.5; is this Perdicaris's khan?

48. Castellan (1808, p. 90) explicitly states that the road was "constructed of large slabs of irregular form, and well-preserved." Bory speaks of "Venetian paving" after the road crosses a small ravine by means of a bridge (1836, p. 136).

49. Bory (1836, p. 137) mentions only two streams, each crossed by a steep, single-arched stone bridge of Turco-Venetian style; see also *Atlas*, pl. III.5. Beşli appears as Κάμπος Μπισιλι on modern 1:5000 maps of

the area, but the river itself is called the Xerias. In *TT* 880, p. 89, Beşli is one of three *mazra'as* in this area: Rudiye (Gr. Ροδιά), Melis (Gr. Μελίσσι), and Yufiri or Beşli. The alternative name, Yufiri, must derive from Greek γέφυρα/γεφύρι, "bridge." A *mazra'a* or *mezra'a* here and elsewhere in *TT* 880 is a "large farm with no permanent settlement," perhaps "originally a deserted village or land reclaimed by a nearby village" (see İnalcık 1994, p. xlv; also *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6, pp. 959–961). We were able to verify (1997) from inhabitants of the nearby village of Pyla that Ροδιά and Μελίσσι lay adjacent to one another, south of the Xerias River, near its mouth.



Figure 3. View of *kalderimi* near Miden



Figure 4. View of Beşli valley

it descends into the Haritou plain (Fig. 5). The official account of the *Expédition scientifique* can furthermore be employed to amplify Gell's narrative, since Bory describes his trip in great detail. In the first instance, he reports that he climbed the slopes at the eastern end of the Bay of Navarino, following the course of an aqueduct that brought water to Pylos from the spring at Koubes, near the modern village of Handrinou; the road crossed the aqueduct, then recrossed it near the ruins of an old tower about half a league (2 km) from the town of Navarino (compare Gell's "1. a ruined tower"). This tower must have been located at the present archaeo-

Figure 5. Excerpt from maps of the area of the Bay of Navarino. *Atlas of the Expédition scientifique*, pls. III.3 and III.5



logical site of Miden *Vigla* (“tower”), on a bluff overlooking the Bay of Navarino; today the location is marked by a trigonometric marker and is indicated on the 1:50,000 map.⁵⁰ It is from *Vigla* that Bory first viewed the valley of the Pesili River (which he also calls the “Navarinitza”). Here he saw a French marine hospital, and from here he descended past a small dry fountain (compare Gell’s “r. a fountain”) with a niche into the plain of the Pesili, where he found the ruins of a large house, similar to a French farm.⁵¹

From the plain of Pesili, Gell first views Mt. Tabolachi (Tavolaki), or Mt. Pilaw, the prominent conical hill, today called Profitis Ilias, that rises immediately south of the modern town of Handrinou; it is a prominent landmark in the distant landscape, which would not have been visible to Gell before he descended (Fig. 6).⁵² He notices no villages as he passes

50. Archaeological remains have been observed. See McDonald and Hope Simpson 1961, p. 244, no. 63.

51. Castellan (1808, p. 90) also mentions springs (“fontaines”) “de distance en distance” at the edge of the road. The ruins, which Bory identifies as belonging to a ruined village called Zonchio or Zunkio, may be those of the *mazra’a* of Rudiye (TT 880, p. 88).

52. Leake (1830, p. 398) describes Mt. Tavolaki as follows: “We descend at

9:18 into an elevated vale at the foot of Lykodhemo on its northern side. Tjaban is a quarter of a mile on the left, and two miles in the same direction, on the side of the mountain, Kambasi; the country on the right is covered with oaks. At 9:48 we pass Sulinari, situated to the left in a retired hollow at the foot of Mt. Lykodhemo. The three last-mentioned villages belong to the district of Mothoni. The valley terminates at the peaked hill, called Tavolaki,

which we leave on the left: on the right is the hill of Kondozoni.” See also Leake 1830, pl. 5, where the prominence is mapped. On the map of the *Expédition scientifique* (*Atlas*), it is marked “Pic de Koumbès” (see also Fig. 5). Gell (1823, p. 4) remarks on Mt. Pilaw as a landmark for ships approaching the harbor of New Navarino. Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 26) gives its Turkish name as Pilaf-tepe, “rice-hill.”

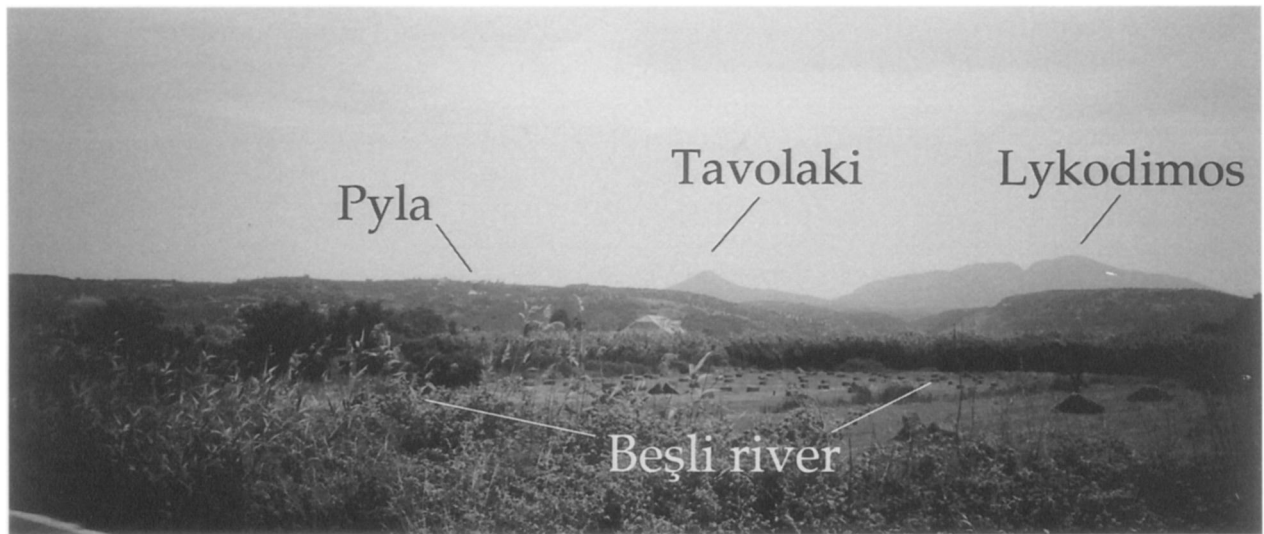


Figure 6. View toward Mt. Tavolaki from the Beşli valley

through this valley, a factor that contributes to the overall picture of desertion that he paints throughout his journey from Pylos to Gargaliani. But it is clear both from the Ottoman records and from the accounts of the *Expédition scientifique* that two villages (viz., Pyla and Zaimoglou, or Zaimogli) existed nearby, in the hills that border this valley immediately to the northeast, no more than two or three kilometers from Gell's route.

Because of their proximity to Neokastro and Ibrahim's camp at Yialova, both Pyla and Zaimoglou suffered greatly in the Greek Revolution. Bory says that the town and environs of Pyla were entirely deserted; he counted fifteen destroyed houses.⁵³ Zaimoglou was in the same condition. After departing Pyla, Bory writes:

Nous laissâmes à droite Zaimogli, qui fut un joli hameau situé sur le contrefort formé par le confluent d'un ravin latéral avec le vallon de Pezili. Ses pentes portaient les verdoyantes traces de jardins abandonnés; on distinguait au milieu les ruines d'une maison d'importance, qu'on nous dit avoir été celle d'un riche Turc.⁵⁴

It is absolutely clear from Bory's description of his journey through Zaimogli that this village is to be identified with the present village of Balodimaïka, apparently refounded, subsequent to its desertion, by members of the Balodimas clan, a family name that remains dominant today.⁵⁵ Such an identification is further supported by Blouet, another member of the *Expédition scientifique*, who visited the ruins of the village and recorded the distance in minutes between it and Pyla.⁵⁶ Finally, the location of the village (as "Zaimoglou") is fixed on the map published in the *Atlas* of the *Expédition scientifique* (Fig. 5).

In contrast to its condition in 1829, Pyla in 1716 was populated. It was a *çiftlik*, had been registered for the state, and was a dependency of Anavarin (Navarino). Thirteen sharecroppers (*ortakciyan*) are recorded with their property, all but one of them bearing recognizably Greek names.⁵⁷ The entry in *TT* 880 is helpful for interpreting Gell's text since, in com-

53. Bory 1836, p. 179. Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet (1833–1834, p. 85) report a population of twenty families at Pyla. Their data are based in part on a census initiated in 1829 by Kapodistrias, the president of Greece. An average family size of 4.75 is estimated. Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff (1992, pp. 439–441) discuss how the *Expédition's* data were gathered and evaluate their accuracy. This appears to be only half its population in 1815 (see Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73).

54. Bory 1836, p. 191.

55. The village of Zaimoglou/Zaimogli appears also in Venetian census records as a possession of Navarino, but has been confused by Sauerwein (1969) with a village of the same name in the territory of Koroni. In *TT* 880, the place is called Zaimzade (equivalent to Turkish Zaimoglou). Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet (1833–1834, p. 85) list its population as fifteen families, much reduced from its levels in 1815 (see Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73: 38 individuals).

56. Blouet 1831–1838, pp. 5–7.

57. *TT* 880, p. 91.

mon with most entries, it lists the boundaries of the *çiftlik*. Two of these were Bešli and Ustna Nikula [ston Ayio Nikola]. From this information, it seems that at least some of the agricultural activities that Gell noticed both in the valley of the Pesili River and at Yialova, near station 10 of his *Itinerary*, were based in this village.⁵⁸ The rice production he reports is not, however, recorded in the Ottoman document and was perhaps introduced to the Navarino area later than 1716.

At station 9, Gell states that hills approached the Bay of Navarino from the right. Here, he must be near the ridge labeled Kanonia on the modern 1:50,000 map, Tupçin in the Ottoman document.⁵⁹ There had once been a substantial settlement in the area between the Pesili River and the river north of modern Yialova. A Venetian map, dating prior to the Ottoman reconquest of 1715, depicts a "villa corbei" midway between these rivers, while Venetian censuses of 1689 and 1700 give populations for the settlement of 68 and 54, respectively.⁶⁰ Locatelli, in describing the Venetian conquest of Navarino in 1686, referred to a "Palazzo de Cipressi di Curbei" and to the "Villa Cucurnarà, poco distante dal Palazzo del sudetto Curbei," suggesting that, prior to the Venetian occupation, there had been a mansion of a prominent individual there.⁶¹ A report in 1692 to the Most Serene Republic by Tadio Gradenigo recommended "il luoco di Curbei" as a suitable place for a factory to make biscuits for the fleet because a stream capable of driving grain mills had its outlet into the bay at this point.⁶²

But with the reconquest of the Morea by the Ottomans, the community appears to have been deserted. *TT*880 records an unpopulated *çiftlik* called Kurd Bey, certainly the same settlement.⁶³ Abandoned structures included:

- 3 attached lower rooms, ceiling in ruin, walls standing: L. 35 × W. 12.
- 7 attached lower rooms, ceiling in ruin, walls standing: L. 50 × W. 15.
- 8 attached lower rooms: L. 52 × W. 11.
- 1 lower room, ceiling in ruin, walls standing: L. 11 × W. 7.
- 1 lower room, ceiling in ruin, walls standing: L. 9 × W. 6.
- 1 lower room, ceiling in ruin, walls standing: L. 15 × W. 9.

Two water mills were in ruin, perhaps the remains of the Venetian factory. A century later Bory noticed the ruins of a destroyed mill and an associated canal at Ayios Spyridon along the road north of Yialova.⁶⁴

At the location of the modern village of Yialova, Gell mentions no houses at all, and it is not clear that this place was settled between 1716 and the early 19th century.⁶⁵ Near the mouth of the nearby river, Bory saw traces of walls that he wanted to identify with a village of Yialova that he presumed to have existed there prior to the Greek War of Independence. But in the actual location marked Yialova on Captain Smyth's map of 1823, prepared for the British Admiralty, Bory found only huts of fishermen.⁶⁶ The troops of Ibrahim had camped at Yialova and were replaced by the bivouacs of the French expeditionary force.⁶⁷ It seems indisputable

58. Further support for this supposition is given by the three *mazra'a*s recorded on *TT*880 (above, note 49). These estates are likely to have been cultivated both before and after 1716. Gell describes a church of Ayios Nikolaos at station 10 (see Fig. 7), apparently the same one mentioned by Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 26).

59. *TT*880, p. 97, lists a *çiftlik* of Tupçin immediately after Kurd Bey.

60. See Andrews 1953, pl. VII; Panayiotopoulos 1987, pp. 226, 262.

61. Locatelli 1691, pp. 218, 222. It may be relevant that Turkish *yalı* can mean "mansion by the shore," although *yalı* plus *ova* should mean "coastal plain," an apt description of the vicinity. Although the place-name Yialova is Slavic in appearance, the fact that it is apparently not attested prior to the 19th century, as well as its accentuation (Yíalova, not Yialóva), is perhaps best explained if it is a relict Turkish name for this location.

62. Molin 1900, p. 438. Venetian sources also mention a Turkish raid on the shore of the village of Curbei in 1698 (Siriol Davies, pers. comm.).

63. *TT*880, p. 97. Dimensions are given in *arşun* = 0.758 m (İnalçık 1983, p. 340). For purposes of taxation this *çiftlik* was recorded with the *mazra'a* of Yufiri, presumably that which elsewhere is called the *mazra'a* of Yufiri or Bešli (see above, note 49).

64. Bory 1836, p. 138.

65. Castellan is similarly silent.

66. Bory 1836, p. 138. We have not yet been able to locate a copy of Smyth's map.

67. Bory 1836, pp. 138–139.

that the river at Yialova, now the Gouvalari River (Fig. 2), is that called Kourbeh by Gell. Bory described its mouth soon after he arrived in Yialova as 15 feet wide and needing to be forded. (Apparently the bridge that had existed in Gell's day⁶⁸ was a casualty of war.) While Bory himself is not confident that this *is* the river Kourbeh and imagines some confusion in earlier travelers' accounts between Kourbeh and Khombey/Koumbes (the spring near Handrinou that feeds the aqueduct to Navarino), his doubts must be misplaced.⁶⁹ Captain Smyth labels the river at Yialova as Kourbeh, and Leake also names it thus on his map of Messenia.⁷⁰

FROM THE RIVER KOURBEH TO THE ROMANOU RIVER

In the second segment of his journey, Gell for the first time remarks on evidence of settlement, although even then, as in his total journey of five and a quarter hours, he reports that he did not encounter a single person. This section of his account is laden with interpretative problems, although the general course of his route is itself completely clear. On reaching station 13, Gell must have been in the place today occupied by the hamlet of Yiannoupoulaïka, on the outskirts of modern Yialova. This hamlet, like Balodimaïka, appears to have been established after the Greek Revolution,⁷¹ probably by a single extended family that gave the settlement its name. From here Gell saw, in the *Itinerary* (p. 51), a "white house" under the "rook" (archaic, "rock") of Navarino and, to the left of it, the village of Petrachorio. The account in the *Narrative* (p. 61), however, differs, as he speaks of "leaving the little villages of Petrachorio and Leuka on the left." The discrepancies can be satisfactorily resolved.

In the first place, the location of Petrachorio, modern Petrohori, is clear (Fig. 7). The place is also mentioned in *TT* 880, although it was uninhabited and therefore recorded as a *mazra'a*, and said to be cultivated by the *reaya* (i.e., "peasants") of Hasan Ağa *çiftlik* (see below). By the time of the Greek Revolution, a permanent settlement was established at Petrohori, and Bory notes that before the Egyptian invasion this village contained fifteen households.⁷²

Gell's Leuka is more problematic and one might be tempted to speculate that, in the course of revising his notes for publication in the *Narrative*, he had in confusion transformed the "white house" of his *Itinerary* into a town. But it seems more probable that the opposite transformation occurred. What are his guides likely to have told him? If they described to him a village called Leuka, did he at first, because of his knowledge of

68. Gell 1817, p. 51.

69. Bory 1836, pp. 138–139. The French consistently call the area around modern Handrinou Koumbey/Koumbes (Fig. 5); this same area is called Kurt Bey by Perdicaris (1845), who traveled to the area not much later.

70. Leake 1830, pl. 5.

71. The *Atlas* of the Expédition scientifique places a settlement labeled

"Gouvalovoros" here (Fig. 5).

Its population is given as eight families (Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85), but it is not mentioned by either Bory or Gell. A slightly earlier census compiled in February of 1830 by K. Ramfos, the Greek temporary administrator of the fortress of Navarino, records a total population of 49; that document spells the name as "Vouvoulogroi" in February and

as "Gouvalovora" in October, 1830 (Loukatos 1984, pp. 211–212, note 1, and p. 219, note 1).

72. Bory 1836, p. 159; see also Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85, where its population is given as 15 families. Loukatos (1984, p. 219, note 1) lists 56 individuals. Pouqueville reported 26 individuals in 1815 (1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1).

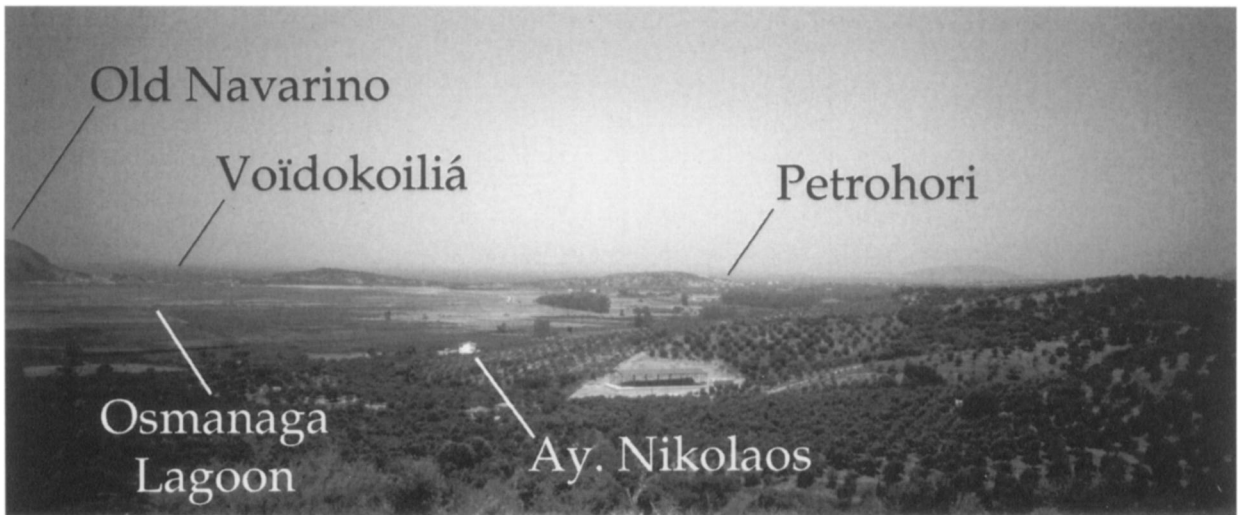


Figure 7. View of the area north of the Bay of Navarino, including Petrohori, from near Elaiofyto

classical Greek, imagine that they were referring to a white building rather than a village? Did he then realize and correct this mistake when writing the *Narrative*?⁷³ It seems in fact that such a place did exist, although the toponym has today vanished from this particular area. Bory also speaks of a place called Leukos or Lesko. Only an oven remained there in his day; the village had first been destroyed by an earthquake, then devastated by Ibrahim.⁷⁴ *TT* 880, moreover, provides indisputable proof of the accuracy of Gell's *Narrative*. It records a *çiftlik* of Lefku or Tavarne that consisted in 1716 only of fields and a damaged tower; the place was uninhabited and was farmed by *reaya* resident at Osman Ağa (see below).⁷⁵ Furthermore, the document also lists a *mazra'a* of Rum Bağ or Lefku. It is clear that this Lefku is near Petrohori because the yields of the two properties are to be counted together.⁷⁶ A final confirmation comes from the map reproduced in the *Atlas* published by the *Expédition scientifique*. On it, a Leukos is located immediately north of the Osmanaga Lagoon (Fig. 5), halfway between the modern asphalt road and Petrohori, in the area labeled Barakou on the modern Greek 1:50,000 map (Fig. 7).⁷⁷ For Gell, looking northwest from Yiannoupoulaïka, Leuka/Leukos would indeed have lain to the right of Petrohori.⁷⁸

73. It is obvious that Gell employed accounts of observations by others in addition to his own when composing his published works: see Woodward and Austin 1925–1926, p. 69.

74. Bory 1836, pp. 158–159. He claims that there were 15 hearths here before the expedition of Ibrahim. Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1) reported 17 individuals.

75. *TT* 880, p. 97. The toponym Taverna is listed in Georgacas and McDonald 1967, no. 7659.108, in the

vicinity of the modern village of Koryfasio. Although not indicated as Taverna on any contemporary map, we determined from interviewing local inhabitants that the name is applied to an area near the church of Ayios Nikolaos that lies on the modern Hora–Pylos road, south of a gasoline station (currently British Petroleum). On the modern 1:50,000 map a place-name Ζβάρνα appears at this location, probably a version or corruption of the same name.

76. *TT* 880, p. 81, and p. 362 above.

77. Curiously, Leukos is omitted from the unpublished copy of this map produced by General Pelet for George Finlay, now in the library of the British School at Athens.

78. Gell (1823, p. 28) also mentions this place on the occasion of his visit to Old Navarino. After commenting on Voidokoilia Bay he remarks: "Ruins probably exist on the hills near the villages of Petrachorio and Leukos, on the north-east."

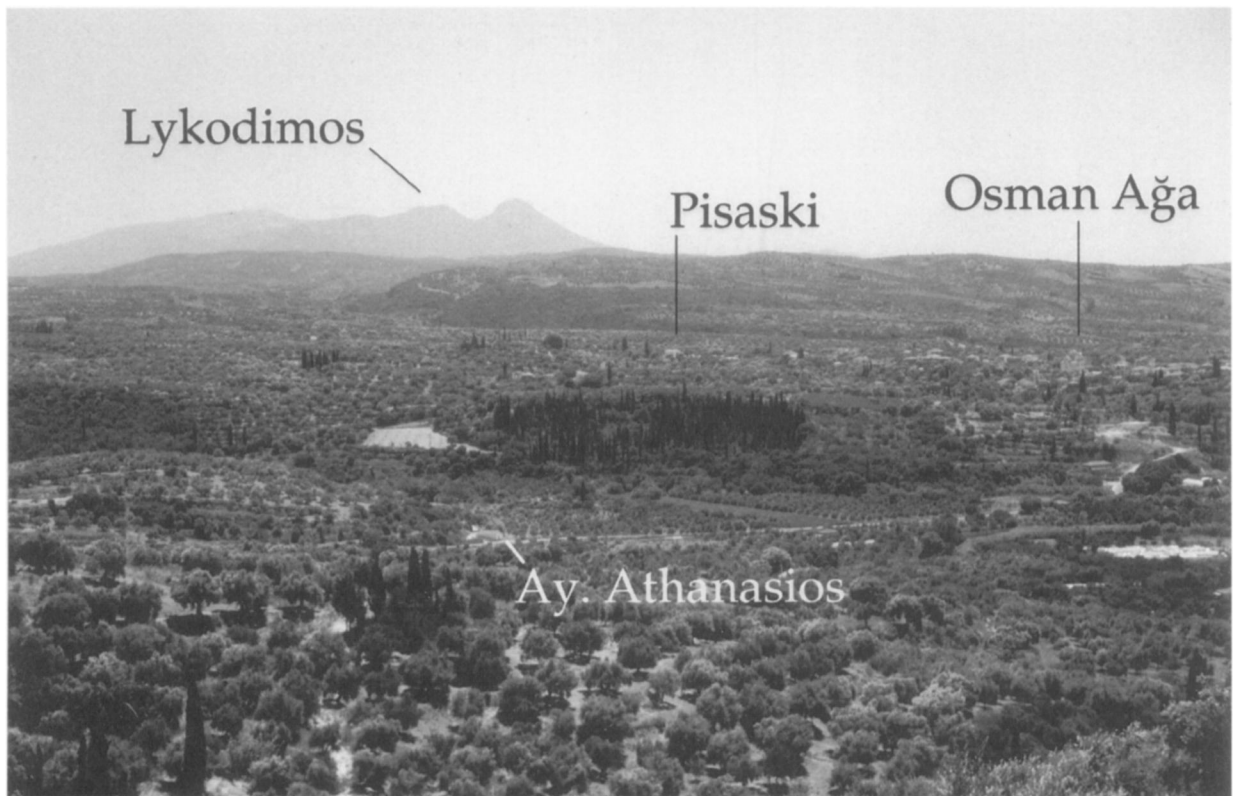


Figure 8. View of Osman Ağa and Pisaski from near Tragana

Gell's observations from station 14 are equally perplexing. The location of Voidokoilia is indisputable. He sees this small coastal inlet to his left, perhaps because he has gained a bit of elevation above the alluvial plain north of the Osmanaga Lagoon. But what are Geophyre/Gephyrae and Lisaki? Gell himself appears confused. In the *Itinerary* (p. 51), he only notes Geophyre at station 14, and wonders if it is a hut, a place, or a bridge, while in the *Narrative* (p. 61), he simply says that it and Lisaki lie right of the road on small knolls. In the *Itinerary* (p. 52), he mentions "a . . . hill called Lirachi" (perhaps the same name as Lisaki), but at station 17, six minutes later, *after* he has passed Osman Ağa. It seems most plausible that Gell has conflated the two observations in his *Narrative*. Neither Geophyre nor Lisaki/Liraki is mentioned by the *Expédition scientifique*, but both appear in *TT* 880 in contexts that suggest they were located near modern Koryfasio. Gephyrae, visible to Gell from station 14, should be identified with the *mazra'a* of Yufiri (also known as Rum Bağlari); Lisaki probably hides behind the name Azake that appears on *TT* 880, and should be identified with the area currently known as Lezaki (perhaps through reinterpretation as "El Azaki"?). On the modern Greek 1:50,000 map, Lezaki lies above and to the east of modern Koryfasio, in an elevated location. It may only have been visible to Gell from a point farther north than station 14, perhaps only from station 17, where it is mentioned in the *Itinerary*.⁷⁹

Descriptions at station 15 are much less opaque. The eminence that approaches the road is almost certainly the southern end of the ridge now called Beylerbey, after which there does open to the right of the road, in

79. Further confirmation of the location of Azake/Lezaki is the fact that it is one of the toponyms that define the boundary of the *çiftlik* of Osman Ağa (*TT* 880, p. 85), while Azake itself is described as bounded by Küçük Pisaski and Osman Ağa (*TT* 880, p. 82). Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 26) also refers to a Mt. Lyraki in the vicinity of Osman Ağa: "Une vallée marécageuse, et le mont Lyraki servent à signaler cet espace, qui est baigné par une rivière appelée Romanos." It is possible, however, that the mountain referred to as "Lyraki" is distinct from the settlement Lezaki, and is perhaps an alternative name for one of the mountains known as Lykodimos (cf. Fig. 8) and Maglavas, each of which dominates the region, depending on one's point of view.

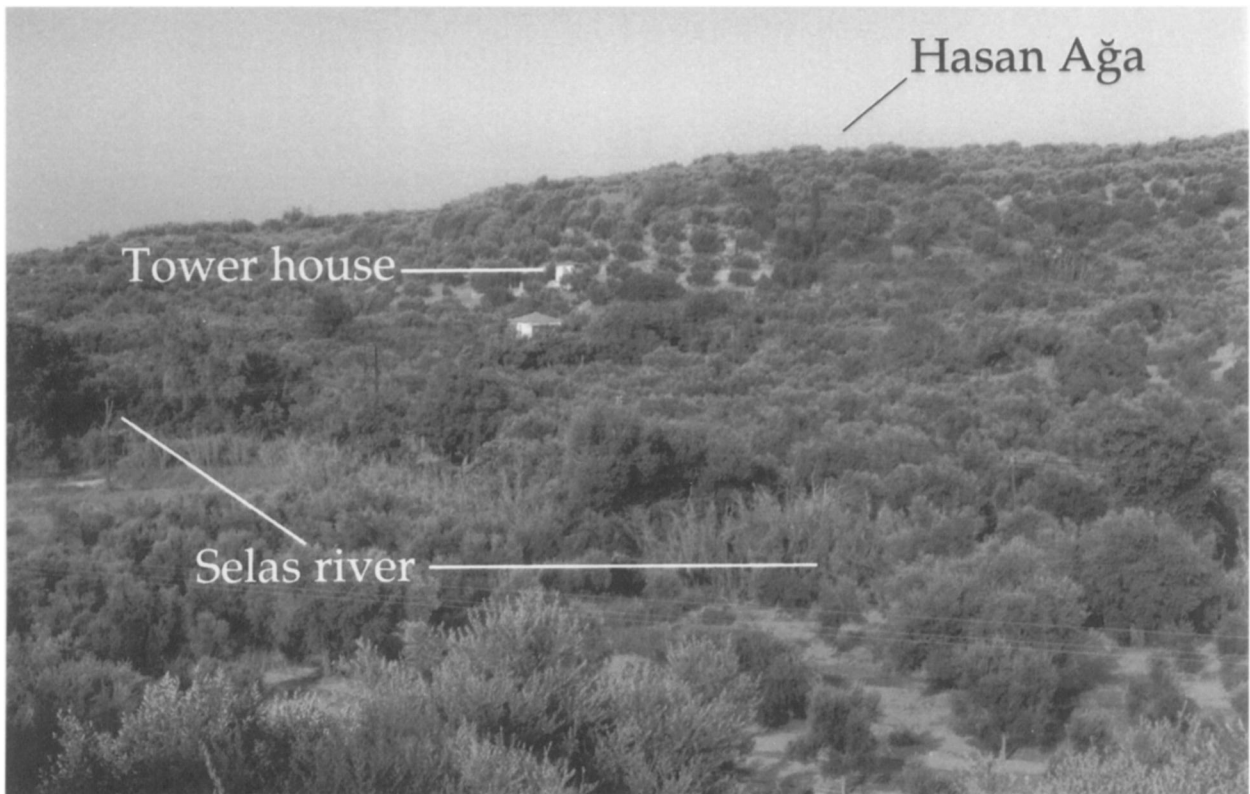


Figure 9. View of Hasan Ağa from the Kato Englianos ridge

the direction of modern Koryfasio, an extensive alluvial plain. From here Gell would have gained his first view (Fig. 8) of the village of Koryfasio (Osman Ağa) and, to the northwest of it, on the opposite side of the Romanou River (the modern Selas), a glimpse of the prominent hillock of Hasan Ağa (his Haslan Ağa). A few minutes later, but before reaching the river, he notices a plane tree, an aqueduct, and then a well, a house, and the hill of "Lirachi."

It is clear that the settlements of Osman Ağa and Hasan Ağa were well populated in the early 18th century and that they remained so in Gell's day. Gell therefore barely missed reaching two significant population centers, whose residents engaged in extensive agricultural activities in the areas through which he passed. Archaeological investigations by PRAP also provide insights into the nature of the settlement at Hasan Ağa in the Second Ottoman period.

HASAN AĞA

Members of PRAP first became aware of Hasan Ağa in the course of fieldwalking in the area (Fig. 9). The toponym, which appears on neither the modern 1:5000 nor 1:50,000 maps of the area, was supplied to us by a local resident. Subsequently, the site was examined in detail by PRAP, its architectural and other remains plotted, and a collection of artifacts made.⁸⁰ One of the most striking features of the site today is a house with a two-story tower in one corner. Although probably a 20th-century construction, it may have imitated earlier structures on the site; *TT* 880 refers to a

80. Davis et al. 1997, pp. 481–482; Alcock 1998b.



Figure 10. Bridge near Romanou

tower and Gell in his *Narrative* (pp. 61–62; above, p. 349) also alludes to one. In 1716 nine sharecroppers lived there; slightly earlier Venetian censuses gave figures of 12 men and a total population of 37 (1689), and 2 families and a total population of 7 (1700). Pouqueville in 1815 reported a population of 28 individuals. In 1829, the *Expédition scientifique* listed only 5 families at Hasan-Ağa (sic), while Ramfos lists 42 individuals.⁸¹

OSMAN AĞA

The two “villages, or tchifliks” that Gell describes (*Itinerary*) would have been the most substantial remains visible from the low-lying coastal area of station 15. In the *Narrative*, he appears to distinguish Hasan Ağa, which he refers to as a “village,” from Osman Ağa, which he describes as a “country-house.” The name of this village was officially changed from Osmanaga to Koryfasio in May 1915,⁸² one of the earliest in a series of renamings designed to purge the region of non-Greek (especially Turkish) village names. The name Osmanaga continues to be applied to the lagoon north of the Bay of Navarino, however, perhaps some indication of the importance in the region either of this individual or the village.⁸³ In 1716, the settlement was designated as a *çiftlik* and was called either Osman Ağa or Büyük [“Greater”] Pisaski, to distinguish it from nearby Küçük [“Lesser”] Pisaski. The Venetians employed a similar distinction, referring to the two villages as Pisaschi *piccolo* and *grande*, although Suman Ağa is an alternative name for the latter.⁸⁴

The relative importance of the two settlements seems not to have been one of size, since in 1716, Küçük Pisaski had thirteen sharecroppers as opposed to twelve at Büyük. However, *TT* 880 suggests a higher status for Osman Ağa since it had a “big house” or *saray* (“palace”) and a *han*, in addition to ten houses belonging to the *çiftlik*.⁸⁵ In the case of Küçük Pisaski, only three “lower rooms” are mentioned as property of the *çiftlik*, but an annotation indicates that each of the sharecroppers had a house. Küçük Pisaski, therefore, seems more like a village than an estate. Moreover, in addition to its grand buildings, Büyük Pisaski/Osman Ağa also boasted the largest number of olives in the *kaza* (district) of Anavarin [Navarino]

81. *TT* 880, p. 80; Panayiotopoulos 1987, pp. 226, 262; Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1; Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85; Loukatos 1984, p. 219, note 1.

82. Politis 1915, p. 281.

83. Bory (1836, p. 140) rather puzzlingly notes that the name Osmanaga is only correctly applied to the lagoon. In the *Expédition scientifique* census, Osmanaga appears as Souman-aga (Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85); in the census of 1815 it appears as Osman-aga (Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1); and in 1830 as Sumanaga (Loukatos 1984, pp. 211–212).

84. For the Venetian censuses of 1689 and 1700 that relate to the “territorio” of Navarino, see Panayiotopoulos 1987, pp. 226 [1689], 262 [1700]. Note that Gell was wrong in supposing that Osman Ağa, the man, was his contemporary. Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 26) similarly notes the “villages ou tchiftlicks qui portent les noms d’Osman et de Hassan, propriétaires auxquels toute cette contrée appartient.”

85. *TT* 880, pp. 84–85. Compare Gell’s reference to a “country-house.”

(1903 roots), the largest area of vineyards (*bağlari*, “gardens”; 300 *dönüm*, approximately 27.5 ha), and 1500 *dönüm* (approximately 137.5 ha) of arable land at Tavarne and the nearby deserted *çiftlik* of Lefku.⁸⁶ Many mulberry saplings (1500) are also recorded, presumably to nourish the silkworms that produced silk for the workshop (*ipekthane*), another feature unique in Anavarin to Osman Ağa. Since Pouqueville's figures suggest that a situation similar to that described in 1716 still obtained at the time of Gell's trip, it is surprising that even in January Gell noticed no one working the land in the vicinity of either Osman Ağa or Hasan Ağa.⁸⁷

Remains of the bridge with which this stage of Gell's itinerary ends are visible beneath the modern concrete bridge on the Selas River that is crossed by the modern asphalt road from Romanou to Tragana (Fig. 10). This bridge seems to have given its name to the *mazra'a* recorded in *TT* 880 that is explicitly called “the other Yufiri” to distinguish it from the Yufiri near Bešli.⁸⁸ Although the modern village of Romanou appears not to have been inhabited prior to the mid-19th century, the name Romanou was applied to the river, and the presence in *TT* 880 of the toponym Rum Bağ/Bağlari (“Greek Garden[s]”) must reflect this.

FROM THE ROMANOU RIVER TO GARGALIANI

In his description of the third part of his journey, Gell gives far fewer local toponyms, although it is still possible to trace his route. It is clear that he did not follow either of the principal modern roads to Gargaliani, either the route that runs along the coast and approaches Gargaliani from Pigadia or the upper route through Ambelofyto (formerly Agorelitsa).⁸⁹ After crossing the bridge over the Romanou River (Fig. 10), Gell seems to have climbed to a point near the modern village of Tragana (what he calls “the top of the opposite bank”), and then to have descended into the upper reaches of the present Mati rema (which he variously calls Brisomero Nerro [*Itinerary*, p. 52] or Brusomavo [*Narrative*, p. 62]).⁹⁰ Because Gell makes no mention of the village of Mouzousta, he is likely to have followed a poor switchback trail that makes its way up a gorge on the precipitous southern flank of the hill of Profitis Ilias (Lefkis), and then crosses the area of Kalantina before finally arriving at the southern outskirts of the town of Gargaliani (Fig. 11).⁹¹

86. See above, p. 363 and note 75.

87. In 1815 Küçük and Büyük Pisaski had 22 and 29 individuals, respectively (Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1); and in 1829, 9 and 7 families (Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85). *TT* 880, pp. 80–81, also lists a *çiftlik* of Rustem Ağa, some of whose arable land was located in the vicinity of Osman Ağa *çiftlik*.

88. See above, note 49.

89. These routes are indicated in the *Atlas* of the Expédition scientifique, pls. III.3 and III.5 (see Fig. 5). The track followed by Gell is not.

90. Bory (1836, p. 165) also mentions a “Brisomero-nero” in the course of his journey to Mouzousta; there were ancient remains there and the land was worked by farmers from Mouzousta (modern Lefki). Pouqueville too (1826–1827, VI, p. 26) refers to the “Vryssso-Nero.” It seems clear from context that none of these authors refers to the sulphurous springs at modern Vromoneri. See Lyriztis 1982–1983, p. 123, concerning the application of the toponym Vrysomylos to the stream fed from the springs at Mati, and to its vicinity. The village of

Tragana was founded after the Greek Revolution; it is not mentioned by the Expédition scientifique.

91. Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, p. 26) pursued precisely the same route in reverse, mentioning the chapel of Ayios Nikolaos on the outskirts of Gargaliani, a semicircular valley, a steep descent, and an aqueduct fed by the spring of “Vryssso-Nero.” The Expédition scientifique, on the other hand, traveled from Navarino to Gargaliani via Mouzousta (Bory 1836, p. 167); the church there had been destroyed.

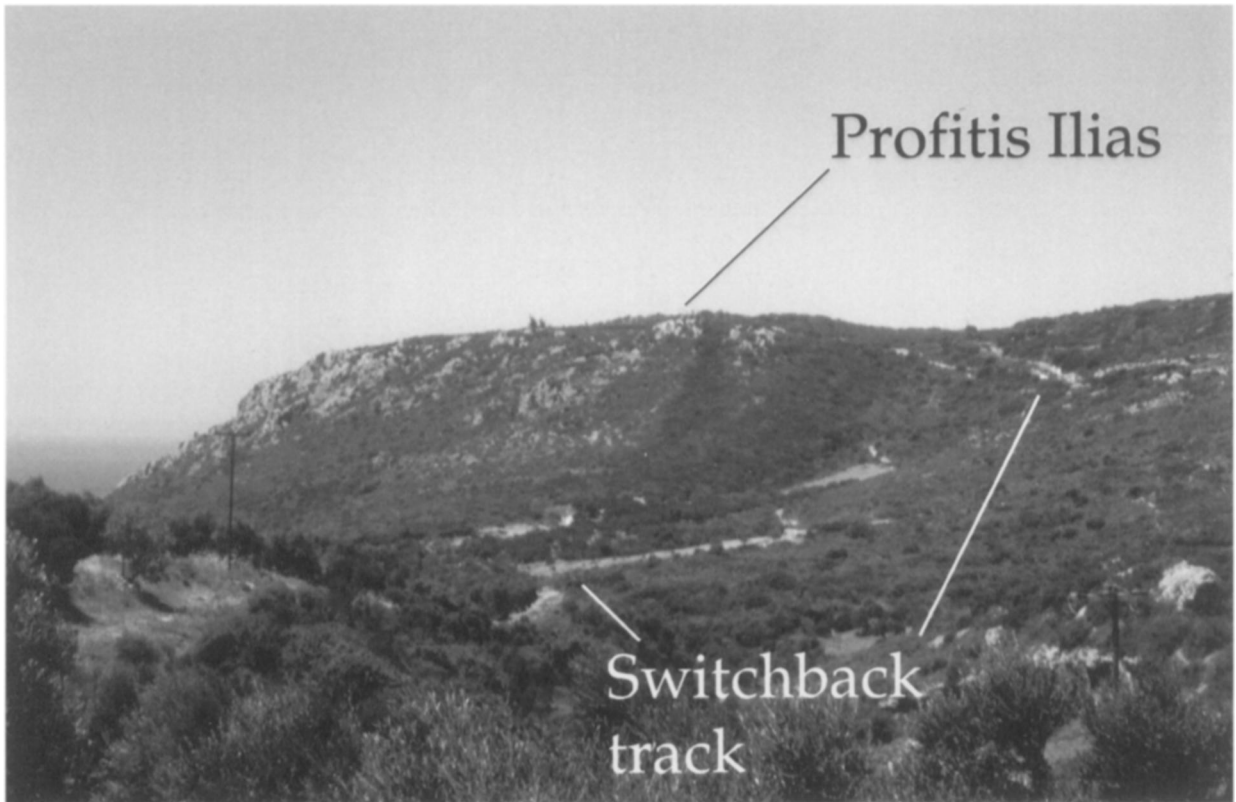


Figure 11. Switchback road leading from the Mati valley to Kalantina

Gell's description closely fits this geography. The summit that he reaches, in the *Itinerary* "after a steep and dangerous descent [sic],"⁹² must be the crest at the top of the switchback trail, a place that does, indeed, afford spectacular views of the sea and the island of Protì. A distinct natural hollow between Profitis Ilias and the area of Mylolitha slopes west toward the sea, and behind it lies the semicircular valley of Kalantina. A church of Ayios Nikolaos, now ruined, once lay at the edge of town.⁹³

Had Gell taken the coastal, lowland route to Gargaliani, he would again have avoided signs of habitation and witnessed a similarly depopulated landscape. This is, in fact, precisely the impression conveyed by another traveler making the journey along the coastal route a decade before Gell. A. L. Castellan traveled from Petrohori to Filiatra in 1799. He did not visit Gargaliani, but stayed on the coastal plain all the way. Thus, after crossing various rivers north of the Osmanaga Lagoon, he found himself on higher ground amidst an extensive olive forest:

Ces oliviers, dont on ne paraît pas récolter le fruit, étant livrés entièrement à la nature, sont devenus de grands arbres. Cet endroit se nomme les *Cent-Villages*, quoiqu'il n'y existe pas en ce moment une seule cabane. Au-delà du bois se trouve un terrain stérile, couvert de bruyères, et peu après le chemin se dirige vers une forêt que le Zantiote nous a signalée comme la retraite des forbans de l'île de Prodano.

92. Cf. Gell 1823, p. 62: "We ascended from hence by a steep and difficult track to a summit" (our emphasis).

93. Bory saw its ruins (1836, p. 169). It is clear from his description that the chapel lay near the hill of Hondrovouni, on the outskirts of Gargaliani in the direction of Mouzousta. Its existence is attested already in 1698 (Dokos 1976, p. 133).

There follows an account of making camp for the night and of an alleged attack by pirates. Castellan then continues:

Le 29, à la pointe du jour, nous nous sommes hâtés de sortir de cette forêt malencontreuse; ce que nous avons fait sans obstacle. Ayant jeté les yeux en arrière nous nous sommes convaincus que toute cette côte, en effet voisine de l'île des Pirates, était absolument déserte et inculte.

Devant nous était un pays plus riant, et à mesure que nous avançons nous avons retrouvé avec plaisir des champs cultivés et ensemencés pour la seconde fois. Les collines étaient tapissées de vignes, et la fumée qui s'élevait çà et là parmi des bouquets d'arbres indiquait des habitations. Ce spectacle ramena parmi nous la tranquillité, et nous laissâmes les craintes et les dangers derrière nous, dans le brouillard qui couvrait la forêt.⁹⁴

The party ultimately reached Filiatra in safety.

COASTAL SETTLEMENT IN THE SECOND OTTOMAN PERIOD AND THE ACCOUNTS OF TRAVELERS

Narratives like those of Gell paint a rather bleak picture of coastal settlement in the last century of Ottoman rule. Many scholars have concluded from such accounts that, prior to 1821, the Greeks had fled to the highlands, leaving the lowlands in waste. By the time the French expeditionary force arrived in the Morea, such a picture is indeed accurate. Ibrahim Pasha and his troops had cut swathes of destruction through the Peloponnese. Much farmland had been intentionally destroyed and villages pillaged and burned. The area of the Bay of Navarino was especially hard-hit.⁹⁵ During the sieges of Neokastro and of Sphacteria (1825), Ibrahim had camped at Yialova. Later he occupied Navarino itself (1825–1828). During the campaign of Papaflessas (1825), additional damage was inflicted on the district. But the lowlands around the Bay of Navarino do not appear to have been severely depopulated prior to the Greek Revolution. It is clear that the vision of a traveler like Gell must have been restricted both physically and conceptually in order for him to have failed to comment more extensively on the considerable settlement and land use there, and that his descriptions must be counterbalanced by a review of newly available documentary and archaeological evidence. Although his route kept first to the coastal lowlands and then avoided the village of Mouzousta on the way to Gargaliani, it is inconceivable that Gell would have been unaware of the substantial human activities in the areas through which he traveled, had he cared to record them.⁹⁶

It seems clear from archival sources that the land surrounding the Bay of Navarino was cultivated by Greek sharecroppers at the beginning of the Second Ottoman period and that the villages they occupied were not far

94. Castellan 1808, pp. 91, 94.

95. On the devastation at this time and the placement of Greek and Egyptian forces, see Humphreys and Pecchio 1826. On battles for the fortress of Navarino, see Makriyiannis 1966. Makriyiannis (chapter 3) describes the large Greek force assembled at Hores (the area of modern Hora); on the existence of the name Hores before the name Hora officially replaced Ligoudista, see also Bory 1836, p. 229, and the *Atlas* of the *Expédition scientifique*, pls. III.3 and III.5.

96. Gell's account can also be contrasted with that of Perdicaris, who visited the area soon after the Greek Revolution. Perdicaris (1845, p. 209) wrote: "From ancient Pylos to the city of Arcadia, a distance of about twenty-four miles, the country, though generally in a state of neglect, is, in comparison with the deserted regions between Petalidi and Navarino, well cultivated, and pretty well inhabited."

from the lands they farmed (Figs. 12, 14). Nor is it probable that by Gell's day the situation had changed to any appreciable extent. In fact, the settlement pattern in the district of Navarino, in terms of villages or *çiftlik*s recorded, is quite stable—from the Venetian censuses of 1689 and 1700 (Fig. 13), through *TT*880 in 1716, through Pouqueville's "cadastre of 1815," to the *Expédition scientifique*'s census of 1829. Only three populated villages included in Venetian censuses were deserted in 1716 (*TT*880: Other Papla [modern Kato Papoulia], Kurd Bey, and Elyas Ağa [modern Lezaga]). Only Kurd Bey, now known as Yialova, had not been resettled by Pouqueville's 1815 "cadastre," although it was populated by 1829, the time of the census of the *Expédition scientifique*. On the basis of Pouqueville's *cizye* figures, the population of the district of Navarino appears to have almost doubled between 1716 and 1815 (cf. Figs. 14 and 15, and see Fig. 16 for population in 1829).⁹⁷ The impression of desertion in the Second Ottoman period conveyed by travelers' accounts like Gell's is thus illusory.

Viewed in this light, Gell's narrative seems less a straightforward description of what he saw than a construction that reflects his own agenda in composing it.⁹⁸ It seems likely, for example, that Gell was influenced by earlier travelers' accounts, such as that of Castellan, who charted a similarly deserted landscape. Susan Sutton has demonstrated how formulaic travelers' accounts can become: at Nemea, desertion and isolation are themes maintained consistently in narratives of the 19th century in spite of the fact that documentary and archaeological evidence demonstrates that there was dense habitation and land use.⁹⁹ Simopoulos has discussed Gell's general distaste for ordinary farmers, and his preference for the Greek Europeanized elite, the so-called *κοτζαμπάσιδες*. Gell may also have been influenced in part by the *topos* of desertion that had already been established by ancient authors. It is important to remember that, despite his frequent reference to the mundane (for which he was sometimes mocked by reviewers),¹⁰⁰ he was a graduate of Cambridge University, a scholar engaged in debates over the Homeric question, and a leader in the Society of Dilettanti.¹⁰¹ Pausanias and Strabo served as his guides, as they did for other scholars of his day, and no doubt directed his vision away from regions and subjects that played no substantial role in their texts.¹⁰² Gell himself describes the land around Navarino as "a country where no one goes, because it affords no object of curiosity."¹⁰³

97. Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1; Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85. Pouqueville's (1820–1821, V, p. 15) figure for *cizye* billets of 447 is almost twice that for *ispence* listed in *TT*880: 269.

98. Other aspects of his texts suggest that Gell at times consciously chose to omit significant information, perhaps in an attempt to defamiliarize his narrative. For example, although he was accompanied by English servants and a western companion (1823, p. 366), they are rarely mentioned, and never named.

99. Sutton, in press.

100. Simopoulos 1985, p. 124.

101. Gell published significant studies of both Troy (1804) and Ithaka (1807).

102. Indeed, Gell himself published a geographical commentary to Pausanias and Strabo: Gell 1810. For Pausanias, there was not "much to 'see' in the region, thanks to the years lost to Spartan domination" (Alcock 1998a, p. 191).

103. Gell 1823, p. 32. He searched for antiquities only in the fortress of Old Navarino, but rejects it as a likely

location for Nestor's Pylos (pp. 26–28).

Pouqueville (1826–1827, VI, pp. 26–27) also paints a picture of scant cultivation and restricted grazing: "Le pays, parsemé de groupes d'oliviers, ne présente à de grandes distances que peu de terrains cultivés, entremêlés de parcours dans lesquels passent une multitude de moutons et de chèvres, car les grasses génisses ainsi que les taureaux qui faissaient l'opulence du roi de Pylos, pasteur des hommes, n'existent depuis long-temps que dans l'Iliade et l'Odyssée d'Homère."



Figure 12. Map of settlements in the administrative district of Anavarin, showing place-names as they appear in *TT 880*. Settlements between the dotted and dashed lines were reassigned to Arkadia after 1716. Some modern place-names (in *italics*) for reference. R. J. Robertson

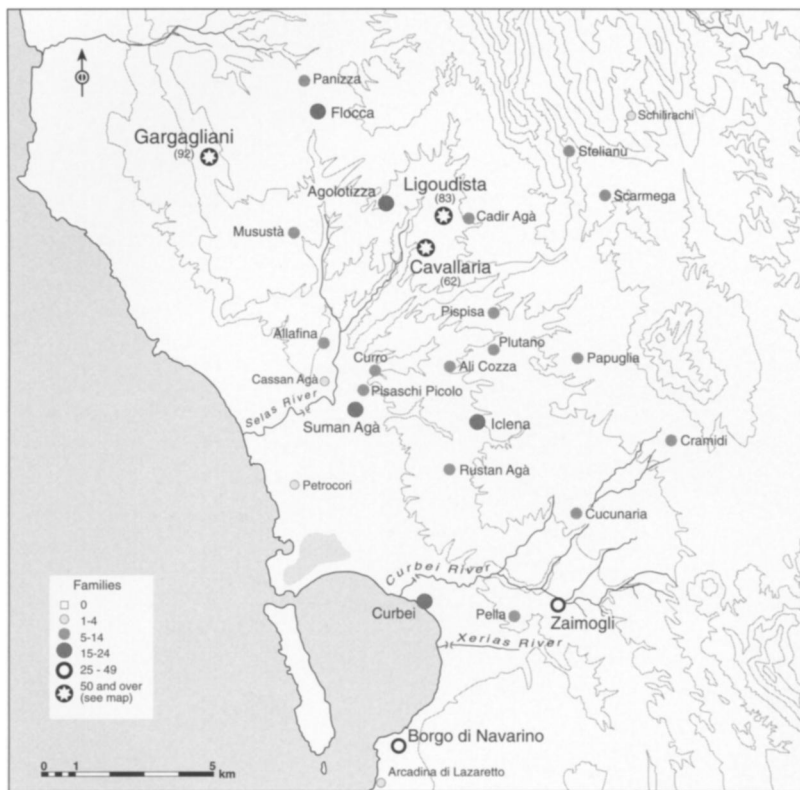


Figure 13. Population in 1700.
Place-names appear in original orthography. After Panayiotopoulos 1987, pp. 250, 262. D. K. Harlan and R. J. Robertson.

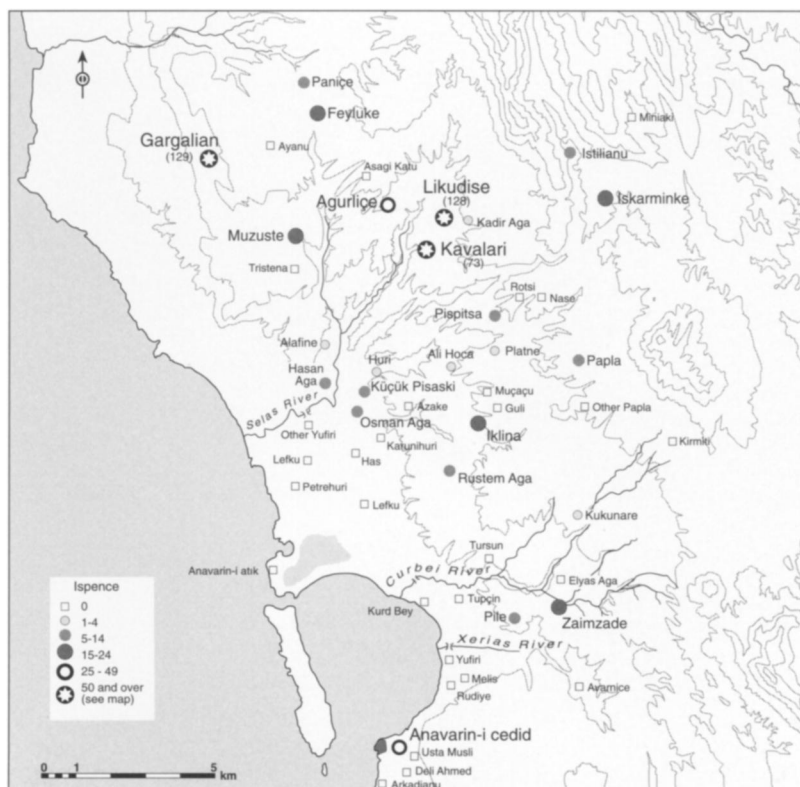


Figure 14. Population in ca. 1716.
Place-names appear in original orthography. After TT 880. D. K. Harlan and R. J. Robertson.

Figure 15. Population in 1815.
Place-names appear in original orthography. After Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1. D. K. Harlan and R. J. Robertson.

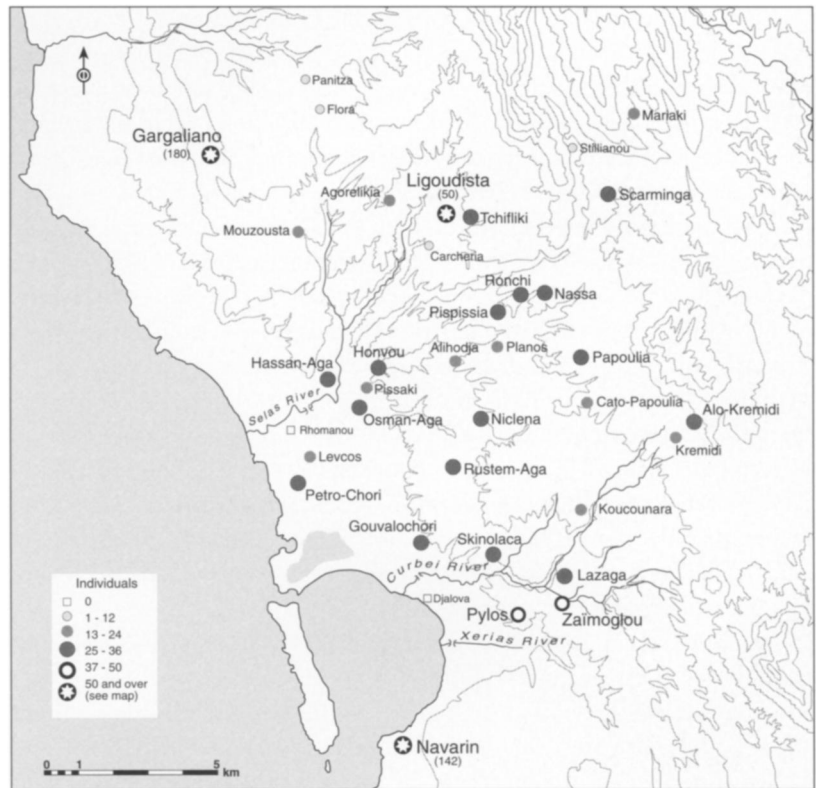
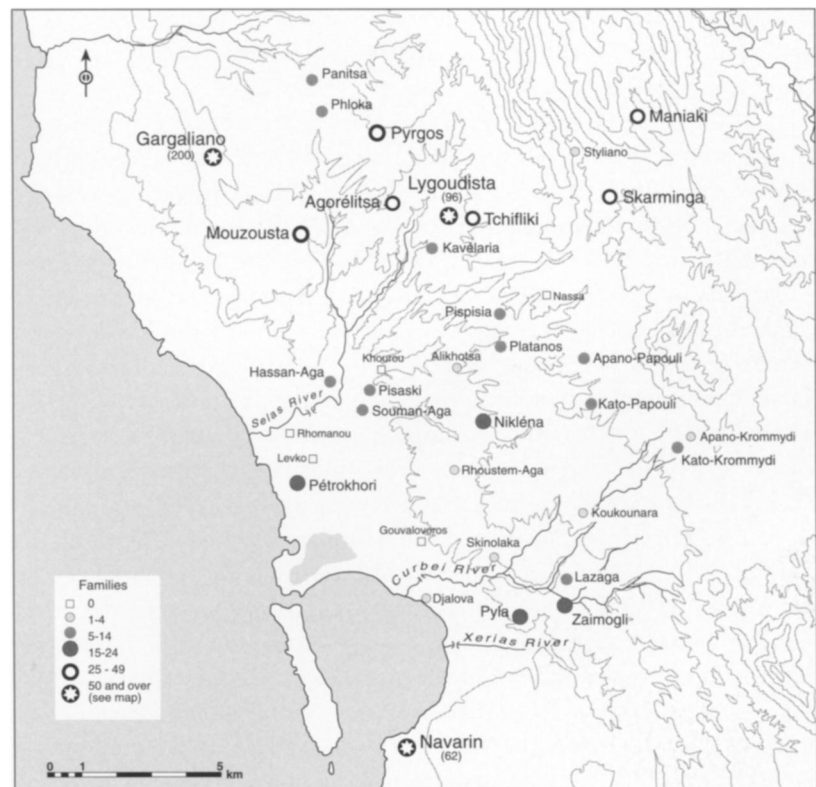


Figure 16. Population in 1829.
Place-names appear in original orthography. After Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85. D. K. Harlan and R. J. Robertson.



Such conclusions are relevant to recent examinations by Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff of the so-called question of “height zonation” mentioned earlier in this article (see above, p. 345). Many scholars have suggested that the lowlands of the Morea were widely deserted in the Second Ottoman period. More specifically, they have argued that the Greek peasant population fled from these areas in the face of excessive taxation and other oppression inflicted upon them by the Turkish administration, and forsook fertile lowlands for “barren but secure mountain heights.”¹⁰⁴ Such a widespread desertion of lowlands, if accurately portrayed, would hardly provide strong support for the position of the many Ottoman historians who have argued of late that the incorporation of Turkish territories into expanding world systems in the 18th century led to an expansion of markets in the 19th century and increased commercialization of agriculture in the Ottoman Balkan provinces.¹⁰⁵ Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff have, however, questioned the supposition that lowlands were deserted, basing their argument on analysis of population figures and lists of settlement names included in published Venetian censuses, on early maps, and especially on data reported by the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*.

But how reliable are the data employed by Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff for their purposes? Information recorded by the *Expédition scientifique* can only be used with great risk to sketch a typical picture of land use and settlement in the 18th century, as Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff note; the turmoil produced by Ibrahim Pasha’s occupation of the Peloponnese had, at least in part, created the settlement patterns that were witnessed and described by the French. In this instance, population variability, even radical change in the extent and density of human settlement, was hardly a long-term phenomenon, and landscape archaeologists cannot afford to ignore short-term events of this sort while privileging *conjoncture* or the *longue durée*.¹⁰⁶

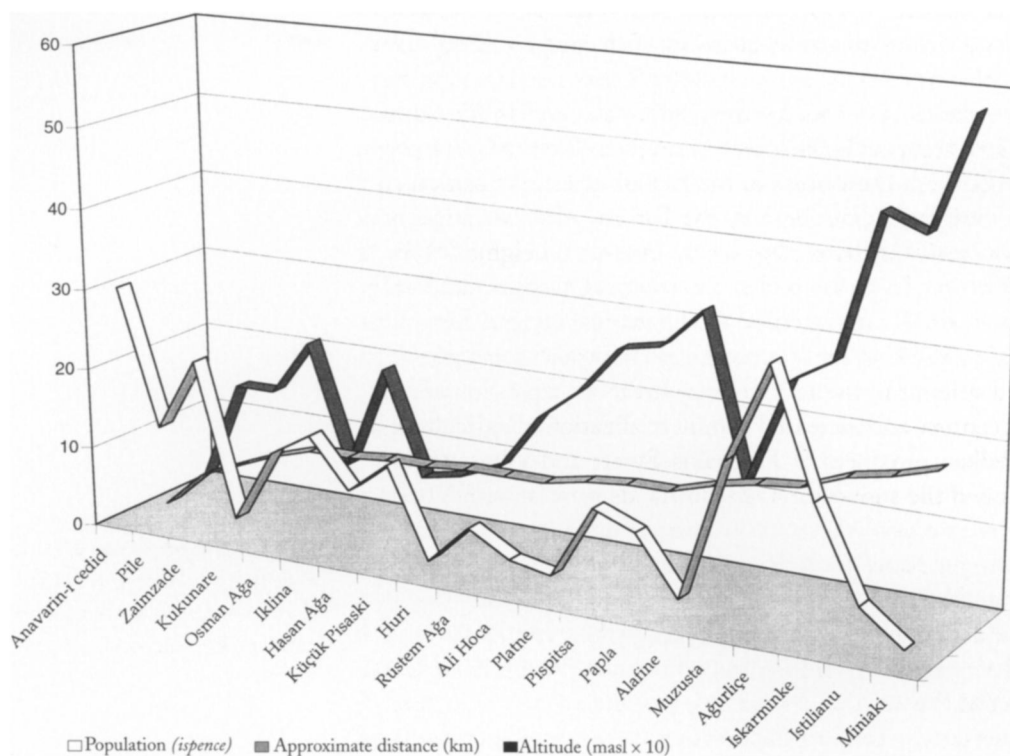
The results of our own investigations are thus a welcome opportunity to evaluate the position advanced by Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff. In our view, the pattern of settlement around the Bay of Navarino, as it existed in the Second Ottoman period, was to a large extent already established before the Venetian occupation of 1685–1715. For example, there are patterns in the distribution of settlement types that suggest strongly that direct Ottoman involvement in the rural economy diminished with distance from the fortress at New Navarino (Anavarin-i cedit). In particular, those settlements characterized as “villages” (Turkish, *karye*) in *TT* 880 tend to have the highest populations, are also at the highest altitudes, and are farthest from New Navarino (Fig. 17). Settlements categorized as *çiftliks*, but with a non-Turkish village name, tend to fall in the middle range of distance from Anavarin-i cedit and are situated at lower elevations. In *TT* 880 such settlements invariably have a Turkish personal name as an alternative to the village name. These Turkish personal names never appear in Venetian documents, which might imply that the extensive establishment of estates (*çiftliks*) in existing villages (signified by attaching the personal name of the Ottoman “owner” to an existing village name) happened not long before the Venetian reconquest of 1685. Finally, what seem to be the major Ottoman estates, bearing only the name of an Otto-

Figure 17 (*opposite page*). Ottoman population (*ispence*) vs. altitude and distance from New Navarino (Anavarin-i cedit). J. Bennet

104. See McGrew 1976.

105. E.g., Kasaba 1988.

106. The *Expédition*’s figures are based in part on reports submitted to Kapodistrias by the administrator of the district; see above, note 53.



107. One possible exception to this rule is Abdul Kadir Ağa *çiftlik* (*TT* 880, p. 34; see Fig. 12), Cadir Ağa in the Venetian censuses (Panayiotopoulos 1987, pp. 226, 262), which may have been established specifically to exploit the area around the prosperous villages of Ligoudista and Kavallaria. This settlement becomes simply Tchifliki by the early 19th century (Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1; Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85; see Figs. 15, 16).

108. These are the *mazra'a* of Deli Ahmed *çiftlik* and the *mazra'a* of Arkadianu or Mufti *çiftlik*: *TT* 880, p. 91.

109. In the Second Ottoman period these three settlements were under the jurisdiction of Arkadiye (modern Kyparissia). Ligoudista, along with Skarminga (modern Metamorfofis), İkılina, and Pyla, is among those villages with the longest attested history in the region, stretching back into the 13th century (Bon 1969, pp. 430–433).

man individual (Hasan Ağa, Rustem Ağa, Kurd Bey, Osman Ağa, and Ali Hoca), dominate the lower reaches of the major valleys leading into the Bay of Navarino. These estates must have been established during the First Ottoman occupation, since their names do appear in Venetian census lists, and their locations seem to reflect a preference for positions close to the fortress.¹⁰⁷ *TT* 880 also indicates the existence of *mazra'a*s in the immediate vicinity of Navarino itself, which were worked by the inhabitants of the suburb of the fort.¹⁰⁸

There is some evidence to suggest that the Greek population did avoid the lowlands nearest the fort of Anavarin, and it is impossible to exclude the possibility that, in the earlier centuries of Ottoman control, non-Muslim populations had moved from these areas to settlements farther inland and therefore at higher elevations. In Venetian censuses, the largest concentration of population in the area (although just outside the borders of the *kaza* of Anavarin) had been in the Ligoudista/Kavallaria/Kadir Ağa region (modern Hora), where a total of 157 families are listed in 1700.¹⁰⁹ Siriol Davies notes that the Venetians repeatedly tried to encourage inhabitants to relocate to the town of Navarino, apparently without success. The total number of households recorded in *TT* 880 is, in fact, substantially greater than in Venetian times (Ligoudista, 128; Kavallaria, 73; and Kadir Ağa, 4), offering further proof of the failure of Venetian policy. In general, it is also clear that the majority of the Greek population lived at elevations above the 100-m contour, the arbitrary threshold employed by Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff. Nonetheless, in marked contrast to the Peloponnese as a whole, virtually all settlements in the district of Anavarin

were located at elevations beneath the 200-m contour, and, even if lands at the higher elevations were not in all cases as fertile as the coastal plains, they were hardly barren.¹¹⁰

Such micro-regional patterns here and elsewhere in the Morea may well lie behind commonly held traditions that Orthodox populations took refuge from Turkish administrators in the mountains, more so than the macro-regional patterns that Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff examine, which do not in the aggregate demonstrate that a disproportionate fraction of Greek settlements were located at higher elevations. Is the pattern of settlement recorded in *TT* 880 a reflection of state policy during the First Ottoman occupation of the Morea? The scanty evidence available suggests that at Navarino, at least, depopulation occurred at that time. A Frankish inventory of the property of Niccolò Acciaiuoli in 1354 records a large population in the village of Kremmydi, an area that appears to have been entirely depopulated by 1716. But it is impossible to be certain if this was a general pattern. Might the Ottoman pattern itself reiterate in part a settlement structure established already in the Frankish Morea? No additional Frankish data can be brought to bear on these questions.¹¹¹ Nor is there yet available detailed information concerning patterns of settlement in the First Ottoman period. Conclusions must consequently be limited to the final phase of Ottoman rule, 1715–1821.

The evidence presented in this paper appears to offer support for the deduction of Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff that a downward movement of population into the lowlands had begun before the Greek Revolution—that there was no flight from such areas in the Second Ottoman period.¹¹² In this period, it seems clear that Greek settlement at Navarino shifted toward the harbor from the area of the older suburb near the gate of the citadel. Because of the problems with Pouqueville's figures, it is difficult to assess the Greek population of Navarino between 1716 and 1815, but it appears to have held approximately steady: 30 families in 1716 to 142 individuals in 1815.¹¹³ It also seems evident that this Greek settlement had begun to be integrated significantly into larger Mediterranean economies before 1821. Such a trend was severely disrupted by the invasion of Ibrahim in 1824, but accelerated when the French occupation reestablished security in the Morea. By 1829, 62 families are listed in the census at Navarino, already a significant underestimate by 1830, according to the *Expédition*.¹¹⁴ It is not impossible that the establishment of new villages in the 18th century around the Bay of Navarino also represents an expansion of local economic systems. Two coastal settlements (Lefko and Petrohori) appear to have been resettled subsequent to 1716.¹¹⁵ At the same time, there appears to have been a significant reduction in the population of the large settlement cluster in the area of modern Hora. There appear to have been only 85 individuals in 1815, and not until the time of the census of the *Expédition* do we see a return to the levels of the Venetian period, with a total of 153 families in Ligoudista, Kavellaria, and Tchifliki (= Kadir Ağa).¹¹⁶

In conclusion, our results agree largely with those of Frangakis-Syrett and Wagstaff. A more fine-grained approach using high-quality unpublished documentary information and archaeological data has, however,

110. *TT* 880 includes information concerning the productivity of various crops for a selection of settlements and *mazra'a*.

111. See Longnon and Topping 1969, pp. 67–115; Gerstel 1998.

112. This is not to imply that the Greek community did not take measures to ensure their personal security in the Second Ottoman period. Facilities were built to protect property and produce, and settlements were situated in sheltered places. See Forbes, in press, an article that evaluates the “height zonation” hypothesis for another micro-region of Greece, Methana.

113. See Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1, for 1815, almost certainly individuals (above, note 25).

114. Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85: the population had risen to 300 families. Ramfos lists only 63 in 1830 (Loukatos 1984, p. 214).

115. See above, pp. 362–363.

116. Pouqueville 1826–1827, VI, p. 73, note 1; Puillon de Boblaye and Virlet 1833–1834, p. 85.

allowed a more nuanced settlement history to be developed for our geographically restricted and temporally focused case study; it has thus been possible to evaluate their conclusions in detail at a micro-regional level. Whatever depopulation of the lowlands existed prior to the Second Ottoman period, this trend was surely reversed in the 18th century. Nor can observations recorded in travelers' accounts that might be adduced in support of a picture of widespread abandonment of agricultural pursuits in these areas be accepted as uncontested facts when other categories of evidence contradict them. This seems particularly true of the two published works of Sir William Gell that have been examined here.

Finally, we return to the archaeological implications of this research. It should be obvious to readers that the meaning of information contained in Ottoman documentary sources is not always transparent. Not least, its interpretation requires a substantial investment in time and energy in unraveling the toponymic history of an area such as the Pylia, a task that can only be accomplished by comparing side by side a great variety of source material, including new field research, firsthand accounts published by earlier travelers, maps, and administrative documents. Such exacting research is, however, an essential first step in planning any strategy for the study of a region if the archaeology of the recent past is to be exploited to the fullest possible extent. In our own case, we hope not only to have created a framework in which the results of PRAP can be interpreted, but also to have provided groundwork for future programs of research into the archaeology of the recent past.¹¹⁷

117. E.g., Lee, in press, a study examining the recent history of the village of Margeli and its vicinity, in the far northeastern reaches of the PRAP study region. In Ottoman times this village lay in the administrative district of Androusa.

REFERENCES

- Aeschimann, W., and J. Tucoc-Chala, eds. 1984. *Edgar Quinet, La Grèce moderne et ses rapports avec l'antiquité suivi du Journal de Voyage*, Paris.
- Alcock, S. E. 1998a. "Liberation and Conquest: Hellenistic and Roman Messenia," in Davis 1998, pp. 179–198.
- . 1998b. "Hasanaga: A Glimpse into the Ottoman Countryside," in Davis 1998, pp. 262–266.
- Alcock, S. E., J. F. Cherry, and J. Elsner, eds. In press. *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, New York.
- Amaury-Duval, P. 1885. *Souvenirs (1829–1830)*, Paris.
- Anderson, R. 1830. *Observations upon the Peloponnesus and Greek Islands Made in 1829*, Boston.
- Andrews, K. 1953. *Castles of the Morea* (Gennadeion Monograph 4), Princeton.
- Atlas = *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Section des sciences physiques V: Atlas*, Paris 1835.
- Baltas, C. A. 1997. *Πύλος: Ναβαρίνο, Νιόκαστρο, ανάκτορο Νέστορος. Τουριστικός οδηγός και σύντομη ιστορία*, Athens.
- Belle, H. 1881. *Voyage en Grèce: Trois années en Grèce*, Paris.
- Bennet, J., and S. Voutsaki. 1991. "A Synopsis and Analysis of Travelers' Accounts of Keos (to 1821)," in Cherry et al. 1991, pp. 365–382.
- Bessan, J. F. 1833. *Souvenirs de l'expédition de Morée en 1828, suivis d'un Mémoire historique sur Athènes, avec le plan de cette ville par J. F. Bessan*, Lalognes.
- Bintliff, J. 1999. "The Ottoman Era in the Context of Long-Term Settlement History. A Case-Study: The Archaeological Survey of the Valley of the Muses, Boeotia, Greece," *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 19–20, pp. 203–229.
- Blouet, A. 1831–1838. *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, sculptures, inscriptions, et vues du*

- Péloponnèse, des Cyclades et de l'Attique*, Paris.
- Bon, A. 1969. *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques, et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)*, Paris.
- Bory de Saint Vincent, M. 1836. *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Section des sciences physiques I: Relation*, Paris.
- Castellan, A. L. 1808. *Lettres sur la Morée et les îles de Cerigo, Hydra et Zante*, Paris.
- Cherry, J. F. 1994. "Regional Survey in the Aegean: The 'New Wave' (and After)," in *Beyond the Site: Regional Studies in the Aegean Area*, P. N. Kardulias, ed., Lanham, pp. 91–112.
- Cherry, J. F., J. L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani. 1991. "Introduction to the Archaeology of Post-Roman Keos," in Cherry et al. 1991, pp. 351–364.
- Cherry et al. 1991 = J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani, eds., *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times*, Los Angeles.
- Davies, S. 1994. "Tithe-Collection in the Venetian Peloponnese, 1696–1710," *BSA* 89, pp. 433–455.
- Davis, J. L. 1991. "Contributions to a Mediterranean Rural Archaeology: Historical Case Studies from the Ottoman Cyclades," *JMA* 4, pp. 131–216.
- Davis, J. L., ed. 1998. *Sandy Pylos: An Archaeological History from Nestor to Navarino*, Austin.
- Davis, J. L., S. E. Alcock, J. Bennet, Y. G. Lolos, and C. W. Shelmerdine. 1997. "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part I: Overview and the Archaeological Survey," *Hesperia* 66, pp. 391–494.
- Dokos, K. 1976. "Ἡ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ περιουσία κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς Β' Ἑνετοκρατίας," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21, pp. 43–168.
- Dokos, K., and G. Panagopoulos. 1994. *Το βενετικό κτηματολόγιο της Βοστίτσας*, Athens.
- Driault, E. 1930. *L'expédition de Crète et de Morée (1823–1828): Correspondance des consuls de France en Égypte et en Crète*, Cairo.
- Duheaume, M. A. 1833. *Souvenirs de la Morée*, Paris.
- Faroqhi, S. 1999. *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*, New York.
- Fokas, D. G. 1927. *Ἡ ναυμαχία του Ναβαρίνου, 1827–1927*, Athens.
- Forbes, H. 1997. "Turkish and Modern Methana," in Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 101–117.
- . In press. "Security and Settlement in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Peloponnese, Greece: 'Hard' History versus Oral History," *JMA* 13.
- Frangakis, E., and J. M. Wagstaff. 1987. "Settlement Pattern Change in the Morea (Peloponnisos) c. A.D. 1700–1830," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11, pp. 163–192.
- Frangakis-Syrett, E., and J. M. Wagstaff. 1992. "The Height Zonation of Population in the Morea c. 1830," *BSA* 87, pp. 439–446.
- Gell, W. 1804. *The Topography of Troy and Its Vicinity, Illustrated and Explained by Drawings and Descriptions*, London.
- . 1807. *The Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca*, London.
- . 1810. *The Itinerary of Greece, with a Commentary on Pausanias and Strabo and an Account of the Monuments of Antiquity at Present Existing in That Country; Compiled in the Years 1801–06*, London.
- . 1817. *Itinerary of the Morea: Being a Description of the Routes of That Peninsula*, London.
- . 1819. *The Itinerary of Greece, Containing 100 Routes in Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, and Thessaly*, London.
- . 1823. *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, London.
- Georgacas, D. J., and W. A. McDonald. 1967. *Place Names of Southwest Peloponnesus*, Minneapolis.
- Gerstel, S. E. J. 1998. "The Estates of Niccolò Acciaiuoli," in Davis 1998, pp. 229–233.
- Hahn, M. 1997. "Modern Greek, Turkish, and Venetian Periods: The Pottery and the Finds," in *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Ayia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania, 1970–1987*, E. Hallager and B. P. Hallager, eds., Stockholm, pp. 170–196.
- Humphreys, W. H., and G. Pecchio. 1826. *A Picture of Greece in 1825: As Exhibited in the Personal Narratives of James Emerson, esq., Count Pecchio, and W. H. Humphreys, esq., Comprising a Detailed Account of the Events of the Late Campaign, and Sketches of the Principal Military, Naval, and Political Chiefs*, New York.
- İnalçık, H. 1983. "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," *Turcica* 15, pp. 311–348.
- . 1994. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire I: 1300–1600*, Cambridge.
- Jameson, M. H., C. N. Runnels, and T. H. van Andel. 1994. "The Early Modern Period, 1537–1834," in *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, M. H. Jameson, C. N. Runnels, and T. H. van Andel, eds., pp. 126–139.
- Kasaba, R. 1988. *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy: The Nineteenth Century*, Albany.
- Kiel, M. 1987. "Population Growth and Food Production in 16th-Century Athens and Attica according to the Ottoman Tahrir Defters," in *Proceedings of the VIth CIEPO Symposium* (Varia Turcica 4), J. L. Bacqué-Grammont and E. van Donzel, eds., Istanbul, pp. 115–132.
- . 1990. "Remarks on the Administration of the Poll Tax (Cizye) in the Ottoman Balkans and the Value of Poll Tax Registers (Cizye Defterleri) for Demographic Research," *EtBalk* 26, pp. 70–104.
- . 1997. "The Rise and Decline of Turkish Boeotia, 15th–19th Century (Remarks on the Settlement Pattern, Demography, and Agricultural Production according to Unpublished Ottoman-Turkish Census and Taxation Records)," in *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece: Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference (BAR-IS 666)*, J. L. Bintliff, ed., Oxford, pp. 315–358.

- Kiel, M., and F. Sauerwein. 1994. *Ost-Lokris in türkischer und neugriechischer Zeit, 1460–1981: Persistenz und Zäsuren in der Siedlungsentwicklung und demographischen Geschichte Mittel-Griechenlands auf Grund osmanisch-türkischer und neugriechischer administrativer Quellen* (Passauer Mittelmeerstudien 6), Passau.
- Kontoyioryis, G. D. 1982. *Κοινωνική δυναμική και πολιτική αυτοδιοίκηση: Οι ελληνικές κοινότητες της τουρκοκρατίας*, Athens.
- Koukou, E. E. 1980. *Οι κοινοτικοί θεσμοί στις Κυκλάδες κατά την τουρκοκρατία*, Athens.
- Koukoulis, T. 1997. "Catalogue of Churches," in Mee and Forbes 1997, pp. 211–256.
- Lair, J. 1902. *La captivité de François Pouqueville en Morée* (Publications diverse de l'Institut de France 23), Paris.
- . 1904. *La captivité de François Pouqueville à Constantinople, 1800–1801 (9 prairial, an VII–16 ventôse, an IX)*, Caen.
- Leake, W. M. 1830. *Travels in the Morea I*, London.
- Lee, W. In press. "Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part IV: Change and Material Culture in a Modern Greek Village in Messenia," *Hesperia* 70.
- Locatelli, A. 1691. *Racconto storico della Veneta Guerra in Levante diretta dal valore del principe Francesco Morosini contro l'Impero Ottomano*, Cologne.
- Lock, P., and G. D. R. Sanders. 1996. *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (Oxbow Monograph 59), Oxford.
- Longnon, J., and P. Topping. 1969. *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*, Paris.
- Loukatos, S. D. 1984. "Πολιτειογραφικά Κορώνης, Μεθώνης, και Νεοκάστρου, 1830," in *Πρακτικά του Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Μεσσηνιακών Σπουδών* (Κυπαρισσία, 27–29 Νοεμβρίου 1982), Athens, pp. 209–231.
- Lyritzis, S. T. 1982–1983. "Ο αρχαίος ποταμός της Δυτ. Μεσσηνίας Σέλας," *Platon* 34–35, pp. 106–139.
- Makriyiannis, Y. 1966. *The Memoirs of General Makriyiannis, 1797–1804*, H. A. Lidderdale, trans., London.
- Mangeart, J. 1830. *Souvenirs de la Morée, recueillis pendant le séjour des Français dans le Péloponèse*, Paris.
- McDonald, W. A., and R. Hope Simpson. 1961. "Prehistoric Habitation in Southwestern Peloponnese," *AJA* 65, pp. 221–336.
- McGrew, W. W. 1976. "The Land Issue in the Greek War of Independence," in *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821–1830): Continuity and Change* (Institute for Balkan Studies 6), N. P. Diamandouros, J. P. Anton, J. A. Petropoulos, and P. Topping, eds., Thessaloniki, pp. 111–129.
- Mee, C., and H. Forbes, eds. 1997. *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece*, Liverpool.
- Miller, J. P. 1828. *The Conditions of Greece in 1827 and 1828*, New York.
- Molin, A. 1900. "Relazione del Nobile Homo ser Antonio Molin ritornato di Provveditor Estraordinario di Morea," in S. P. Lambros, "Εκθέσεις τῶν Βενετῶν Προνοητῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 5, pp. 429–447.
- Nixon, L., J. Moody, and S. Price. In press. "Settlement Patterns in Mediaeval and Post-Mediaeval Sphakia: Issues from the Environmental, Archaeological, and Historical Evidence," in *Proceedings of the Mediaeval and Post-Mediaeval Greece Conference, Corfu, May 1998*, J. Bintliff and D. Tsoungarakis, eds., Corfu.
- Panayiotopoulos, V. 1987. *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της Πελοποννήσου, 13ος–18ος αιώνας*, Athens.
- Pellion, J.-P. 1855. *La Grèce et les Capodistrias pendant l'occupation française de 1828 à 1834*, Paris.
- Perdicaris, G. A. 1845. *The Greece of the Greeks II*, New York.
- Politis, N. G. 1915. "Τοπωνυμικά," *Laografia* 5, pp. 249–308.
- Pouqueville, F. C. H. L. 1820–1821. *Voyage dans la Grèce, comprenant la description ancienne et moderne de l'Épire, de l'Illyrie grecque, de la Macédoine Cisaxienne, . . . avec des considérations sur l'archéologie, la numismatique, les moeurs, les arts, l'industrie, et le commerce des habitants de ces provinces*, Paris.
- . 1826–1827. *Voyage dans la Grèce: Deuxième édition revue, corrigée et augmentée*, Paris.
- Puillon de Boblaye, M. M., and T. Virlet. 1833–1834. *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Section des sciences physiques II: Géographie et géologie*, Paris.
- Ridgway, D. 1996. "Gell, Sir William (1777–1836)," in *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, N. de Grummond, ed., Westport, pp. 483–484.
- Robinson, T. In press. "Ottoman Records and Classical Archaeology," in *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, R. Dokter and E. Mordmann, eds., Amsterdam.
- Sauerwein, F. 1969. "Das Siedlungsbild der Peloponnes um das Jahr 1700," *Erkunde* 23, pp. 237–244.
- Simopoulos, K. 1984. *Πως είδαν οι ξένοι την Ελλάδα του '21*, Athens.
- . 1985. *Ξένοι Ταξιδιώτες στην Ελλάδα, 1800–1810* 3, pt. 1, 2nd ed., Athens.
- Sutton, S. B. In press. "A Temple Worth Seeing: Pausanias, Travelers, and the Narrative Landscape at Nemea," in Alcock et al., in press.
- Topping, P. 1972. "The Post-Classical Documents," in *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment*, W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp, eds., Minneapolis, pp. 64–80.
- . 1976. "Premodern Peloponnese: The Land and People under Venetian Rule (1685–1715)," in *Regional Variation in Modern Greece and Cyprus: Toward a Perspective on the Ethnography of Greece*, M. Dimen and E. Friedl, eds., New York, pp. 92–108.
- Valta, E. 1989. *L'Eubée à la fin du XV^e siècle: Économie et population, les registres de l'année 1474*, Athens.
- Vroom, J. 1998. "Early Modern Archaeology in Central Greece:

- The Contrast of Artefact-Rich and Sherdless Sites," *JMA* 11, pp. 131–164.
- Wagstaff, M. 1982. "Post-Classical Exchange," in *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*, C. Renfrew and M. Wagstaff, eds., Cambridge, pp. 236–243.
- . In press. "Pausanias and the Topographers: The Case of Colonel Leake," in Alcock et al., in press.
- Woodward, A. M., and R. P. Austin. 1925–1926. "Some Notebooks of Sir William Gell," *BSA* 27, pp. 67–80.
- Wroth, W. 1921–1922. "Gell, Sir William (1777–1836)," *Dictionary of National Biography* 7, pp. 994–996.
- Zangger, E., M. E. Timpson, S. B. Yazvenko, F. Kuhnke, and J. Knauss. 1997. "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part II: Landscape Evolution and Site Preservation," *Hesperia* 66, pp. 549–641.

John Bennet

OXFORD UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
36 BEAUMONT STREET
OXFORD OX1 2PG
ENGLAND
JOHN.BENNET@ARCH.OX.AC.UK

Jack L. Davis

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45221
JACK.DAVIS@UC.EDU

Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
5828 SOUTH UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
ZARINEBAF@USA.NET