

URBAN IDENTITIES IN A LATE OTTOMAN FRONTIER

A study on the deserted (Palia) Sagiada, Epirus-Greece

by

Alexandra Koumpouli

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Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a doctoral dissertation by

Alexandra Koumpouli

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,

and that any and all revisions required by the final
examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu (Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nikos Kontogiannis [Co-Advisor]

Prof. Dr. Baha Tanman

Prof. Dr. Deniz Özkut

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kostis Kourelis

Prof. Dr. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ivana Jevtic

Date: June 23, 2024

ABSTRACT

URBAN IDENTITIES IN A LATE OTTOMAN FRONTIER A study on the deserted (Palia) Sagiada, Epirus-Greece

Alexandra Koumpouli

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This dissertation focuses on Palia Sagiada, a little-known deserted settlement in Thesprotia, coastal Epirus –Greece, aiming to reconstruct tangible and intangible aspects of a bygone culture on the contested border between Greece and Albania. Employing an interdisciplinary methodology that takes into consideration the rich material evidence, historical records, and ethnographic perspectives, this work delves into the domains of architecture, residential areas, and public spaces through the lens of late Ottoman urbanism. Following the settlement's reconstruction post the 1872 earthquake and subsequent abandonment after World War II, this research offers a historical view that juxtaposes macro-scale cultural phenomena onto the micro-scale of this rural frontier.

Examining the Ottoman State's bureaucratic apparatus, the Ecclesiastic authorities, the non-Muslim, Christian residents of Palia Sagiada – various individuals circulating within the Empire and abroad, and traveling groups of craftsmen, the study reveals them as space-makers in re-generating the heterogeneous, eclectic built environment post-disaster. The resulting material culture, including houses and other settlement spaces, blends established patterns with novelties, reflecting individual tastes. Moreover, public spaces linger between the profane and sacred, shaping communal identities through their daily function and through the various events and celebrations that host. By contextualizing architecture and spatial planning within the broader late Ottoman cultural milieu, the study on Palia Sagiada offers a more comprehensive understanding of these creations as integral aspects of their contemporary culture and catalysts/generators for evolving social practices.

In Palia Sagiada, the boundaries between urban and rural blur as it happens with its private and public spheres, architectural styles and individual identities. Finally, this dissertation challenges contemporary romanticisms and nationalistic misconceptions, highlights a diverse and eclectic architectural landscape that reflects local interpretations of post-Tanzimat Ottoman urban reforms and nuances, revealing a rich material for further research.

Keywords: Abandoned Settlements, Ottoman Epirus, House Architecture, Neighborhoods, Public Spaces, Daily Life

ÖZETÇE

GEÇ OSMANLI DÖNEMİ SINIRINDA KENT KİMLİKLER Terk Edilmiş (Palia) Sagiada, Epir-Yunanistan, Üzerine Bir Araştırma

Alexandra Koumpouli
Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi, Doktora
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Bu tez, Yunanistan ve Arnavutluk arasındaki tartışmalı sınırda yer alan, Thesprotia, kıyı Epir-Yunanistan'daki az bilinen terkedilmiş bir yerleşim olan Palia Sagiada üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Zengin maddi kanıtlar, tarihî kayıtlar ve etnografik perspektifleri dikkate alan disiplinler arası bir metodoloji kullanarak, bu çalışma, geç Osmanlı kentleşmesi merceğinden mimarlık, konut alanları ve kamusal alanlar gibi alanları inceler. 1872 depremi sonrasında yeniden inşa edilen ve II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında terk edilen yerleşimin yeniden inşası izlenerek, bu araştırma, makro ölçekli kültürel fenomenleri bu kırsal sınırın mikro ölçeğine karşıt olarak sunan bir tarihî görüş sunar.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin bürokratik aygıtı, Kilise otoriteleri, Palia Sagiada'nın gayrimüslim, Hristiyan sakinleri - İmparatorluk içinde ve dışında dolaşan çeşitli bireyler ve gezici zanaatkar grupları incelenerek, çalışmada felaket sonrası heterojen, eklektik yapılaşmış çevreyi yeniden üreten mekân yaratıcıları olarak ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Ortaya çıkan maddi kültür verileri, evler ve diğer yerleşim alanları dahil, yerleşik kalıpları yeniliklerle harmanlayarak bireysel zevkleri yansıtır. Ayrıca, kamusal alanlar gündelik işlevleri ve ev sahipliği yaptığı çeşitli etkinlikler ve kutlamalar aracılığıyla topluluk kimliklerini şekillendirerek kutsal ve sıradan arasında bir sınırda durur. Mimarlık ve mekânsal planlamayı daha geniş geç Osmanlı kültürel ortamı içinde bağlamlaştırarak, Palia Sagiada üzerine yapılan çalışma, bu yaratımları çağdaş kültürlerinin ayrılmaz parçaları ve gelişen toplumsal pratikler için katalizörler olarak daha kapsamlı bir şekilde anlamamıza olanak tanır.

Palia Sagiada'da, kentsel ve kırsal arasındaki sınırlar, özel ve kamusal alanlar, mimari tarzlar ve bireysel kimlikler arasında bulanıklaşır. Sonuç olarak, bu tez, çağdaş romantizm ve milliyetçi yanlış anlamaları sorgulayarak, post-Tanzimat Osmanlı kentsel reformlarının ve nüanslarının yerel yorumlarını yansıtan çeşitli ve eklektik bir mimari manzarayı vurgular ve daha fazla araştırma için zengin bir malzeme sunar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terk Edilmiş Yerleşimler, Osmanlı Epir, Ev Mimarisi, Mahalleler, Kamusal Alanlar, Günlük Yaşam

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The conception of this research began before the start of my Ph.D. studies, while I was still a M.Sc. student in the Conservation and Restoration program at the School of Architecture at NTU Athens. Despite being originally from the region of Thesprotia, Epirus, Greece (Figure 1.1), it was during this period that I first recognized the potential of a wide range of house types dating from the 18th to the mid-20th centuries.

The definition of this time frame is related by two main factors: the devastating earthquakes that struck the coastal part of Epirus multiple times since the early 19th century, leading to significant material losses from much earlier periods, and the introduction of reinforced concrete in the region as a new building material during the 1920s and 30s, gradually becoming established after the 1950s. This marked a contrast to the stone architecture of the preceding period.

Therefore, these houses were primarily constructed during the late Ottoman period and dominated the region after its incorporation into the Kingdom of Greece in 1913 until World War II. They present as sturdy, prismatic building volumes in various forms: tower-like houses, fortified structures—sometimes combined with towers—and impressive houses surrounded by courtyards. Let alone the common houses, which often feature complex outdoor configurations. These structures are scattered across the countryside or serve as parts of settlements that persist, incorporating more or less contemporary structures. Some even form parts of entirely abandoned settlements gradually fading away in the Mediterranean coastal natural landscape.

It was a surprise for me to observe this rich built environment, often standing in very poor condition, yet receiving little to no attention. Initially, I attributed this to the apparent issue of inaccessibility due to the poor road infrastructure in this area bordering Albania. My initial interest focused on mere architectural documentation for the future preservation of the material. However, as I delved deeper into researching the conditions of abandonment and the relationships between various owners, I began to

interpret this lack of appreciation as part of a local contested history. This history extends beyond political aspects, encompassing wars and the Greek national narrative in relation to the Ottoman past. It also intertwines with post-WWII personal experiences, marked by migration and the rise of urbanization, particularly in Athens.

The narratives that emerged following the abandonment of this countryside, often passionate and hovering between truth and imagination, are sometimes misleading, though not always with malicious intent. Ultimately, it raises the question: How well do we truly understand our recent past?³

While one approach could center on the post-abandonment potential of the region, highlighting how the past generates new meanings expressed through practices such as celebrations, events, and religious rituals—ultimately revitalizing a collective local identity—the historical contexts of these fragmented architectural pieces are equally important. Understanding the function of these structures and spaces as part of their milieu is crucial for gaining a better grasp of the recent past. Consequently, my focus shifted from single documentation for preservation towards comprehending the historicity and culture of the houses and their neighborhoods or settings at the time they were created and operated.

Additionally, focusing on a historical perspective brings macro-scale cultural phenomena to the micro-scale of the study. Specific cultural contexts imbue significance to materials and create the backdrop for individuals to interact and shape a specific material culture like architecture and urban spaces - in essence the architectural remains of the late Ottoman period in Thesprotia are discussed as cultural products. Ultimately, this historical perspective aims to explore how established and new concepts coexisted in this countryside during the late Ottoman period, endeavoring to define this distinct historical frame within a once evolving and adaptable space.

These considerations led to the selection of the dissertation topic titled "Urban Identities in a Late Ottoman Frontier: A Study on the Deserted (Palia) Sagiada, Epirus-Greece." The title encapsulates three key elements: the exploration of late Ottoman urbanity or modernity as the subject matter, the broader geographical context denoting the frontier zone of Epirus between the Ottoman world and the West, and the specific case study of this research—the settlement of (Palia) Sagiada (Παλιά Σαγιάδα), which

³ For the stimulating discussions on this topic, I would like to thank cordially my colleague Ms. Elena Vorobyeva, Ph.D. student in ARHA department at Koç University.

was abandoned after WWII and has remained deserted since then.

Specifically, while aspects of late Ottoman urbanity and its visual impact have been extensively discussed within the context of the major urban centers of the Ottoman Empire, the countryside has predominantly been the subject of historical studies. Consequently, there is limited information available on how rural areas functioned as physical and cultural wholes. Existing efforts in this regard can be attributed to the various schools of architecture that have documented settlements, albeit with a focus on surveys highlighting the potential of the material for heritage preservation.

In the case of Thesprotia and the border area to Albania, which once operated as a common geopolitical unit, there is currently no systematic architectural study. The information on how local settlements operated is very limited, often non-existent, fragmented, and shaped by national histories.

The emphasis on the large urban centers of the Ottoman world is undoubtedly justified, given their active participation in the process of transformation. These centers produced a material and intangible culture that is easily correlated with their modern counterparts in the West and/or the Ottoman capital, Istanbul.

However, the 19th century Ottoman reforms aimed to the modernization of the whole Empire and not only of the central areas. Very characteristically, the *Gülhane Hatt-i Hümayunu* (*Gülhane Imperial Rescript*) issued in 1856 after the Tanzimat proclamations and announced in the State newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi*, had to be read and explained to the public squares “in a mood of celebration,” in front of every local elite, to everyone around the Empire, in every province (*kaza*) and their administrative centers (*kasaba*), and to the rural areas too.”⁴ Although the catholic alignment of the Ottoman world to these reforms, proclaimed in this announcement, the heterogeneous social, geographical, and cultural domains could possibly totally align, resist, partially adapt, or at least process the new reality based on their peculiarities, producing, as Sibel Bozdoğan puts it, “multiple modernities.”⁵ And for the cultural and geographical space is diverse, there isn't a singular type of urban space or a uniform method of

⁴ Halil Inalcik, *Application of the Tanzimat and its Social Effects*, Vol. 1 (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2019), 3.

⁵ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001), 22.

urbanization.⁶ Therefore how urbanity could be perceived in areas such as rural Epirus and its frontier coastline?

Understanding the multifaceted Ottoman modernity and urbanity within rural spaces requires consideration of developments in urban theories that encompass various cores and determinants. Even today, there is a common association of the urban with large cityscapes. Early 20th-century theories contributed to such impressions by linking urbanity to the physicality of the city and economic activities. Ideas with strong visual and spatial connotations, such as the market, the center of political and administrative authority, and technological advancements, were amalgamated.⁷ This amalgamation contributed to the ongoing development of the notion of the urban in relation to the city environment.

However, by the 1930s, urban theories began to transcend the physical boundaries of a setting. Urbanism evolved to become synonymous with society and social change, relating, to some extent, to issues like the circulation of identity, history, and materiality.⁸ Gradually, these concepts expanded, and urban circulation referred not only to the development of physical networks like roads but also to the broader regulatory framework. This framework included limitations, conditions, and facilities that allowed for the circulation of individuals and ideas within the urban environment.⁹

Additionally, human-oriented approaches have gained prominence in the field, viewing individuals as active participants and actors within the urban environment. These ideas resonate with H. Lefebvre's perspective on urbanity, which goes beyond traditional associations with capital, institutions, and commodification. Lefebvre emphasizes the inclusivity of urban spaces, highlighting their suitability for entertainment and the occurrence of surprising events that contribute to learning

⁶ Ananya Roy, "What is urban about critical urban theory?," *Urban Geography* 37, no. 6 (2016): 6.; S. N. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2020): 1–29.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027613>.

⁷ Such theories were developed by thinkers such as M. Weber. Ashwin Kumar, "A Re-examination of Max Weber's Urbanism," *Social Alternatives* 11, no. 1 (2004): 7–8.

⁸ L. Wirth, *Urbanism is a way of life*, reference in A. Kumar, "A Re-examination of Max Weber's Urbanism," 2, 10; Christoph Schneider et al., "Urbanity and urbanization: An interdisciplinary review combining cultural and physical approaches," *Land* 3, no. 1 (2014): 111.

⁹ Mark Usher, "Veins of concrete, cities of flow: Reasserting the centrality of circulation in Foucault's analytics of government," *Mobilities* 9, no. 4 (2014): 550–569, 557.

experiences.¹⁰

In this perspective, daily life and the urban are explored as lived experiences, conceptualized as more than mere functional entities. Lefebvre envisions the urban as a space for living and enjoyment, accessible to a broader spectrum of society beyond the upper class. Ultimately, evolving perspectives depict urban areas as an 'intricately woven fabric' made up of social relations, struggles, experiences, and strategies.¹¹ This viewpoint highlights the complexity and inclusiveness of urban phenomena, challenging strict distinctions and recognizing the dynamic interaction of various elements in the creation of urban spaces.

This research aligns with such contemporary approaches regarding the urban and views late Ottoman urbanity in the rural, coastal area of Epirus, as a more inclusive phenomenon with its own local color. As a focus, it considers local architecture and settlement spaces as the obvious, remaining testimony that creates direct visual associations with the architecture and spaces developed in the large urban centers of the 19th century. At the same time, further research on the makers of these private and public spaces, as well as their functions can highlight urban phenomena in areas lacking demographic density and edgy technological advancements, yet able to demonstrate their understanding of modernity within the transforming late Ottoman world.

1.1 (Palia) Sagiada in Thesprotia, Greece

For discussing late Ottoman urban phenomena in the rural periphery of Epirus, this dissertation focuses on the case study of Palia Sagiada (Παλιά Σαγιάδα) (Figure 1.2-1.6), a little known, deserted settlement in the present-day region of Thesprotia, in Greece, right on the Greek-Albanian borders and the Ionian Sea coast, opposite of Corfu/Kerkyra (Κέρκυρα).

The toponym Sagiada (Σαγιάδα) or Sagiades (Σαγιάδες), in plural, actually refers to three locations. These are the deserted settlement of Sagiada, vacated since the 1940s, taking the denomination *palia* (παλιά) (meaning 'old' in modern Greek); the

¹⁰ Henry Lefebvre, *Writing on cities* (London: Blackwell, 1996), 66; H. Lefebvre, *The urban revolution* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2003), 18; Andrzej Zieleniec, "Lefebvre's politics of space: Planning the urban as oeuvre," *Urban Planning* 3, no. 3 (2018): 4-6.

¹¹ Andrew Merrifield, *The new urban question* (New York: Pluto Press, 2014); A. Roy, "What is urban about critical urban theory?," 6.

contemporary Sagiada, established after 1950's on the western outskirts of the old settlement; and a small outpost to the Ionian Sea, known as *skaloma* (σκάλωμα) or *skala* (σκάλα) organized on a strip of land in a lagoon area, close to the Kalamas' river estuaries and the old salines.

The settlement of Palia Sagiada is concealed from the shore, naturally protected by the steep topography, nestled within the rugged slopes of the local mountain Vouno (Βουνό). It covers corfan approximate area of 20 hectares, expanding in an east-west direction. Following a pattern similar to the history of other settlements in Thesprotia and wider Greece, Palia Sagiada suffered burning and gradual abandonment after World War II and the Greek Civil War in the 1940s. In the post-abandonment period, the realities of the settlement, now dilapidated and challenging to access, include the plunder of building materials for the construction of new houses elsewhere, encroachment by nature, and exploitation by animal husbandry.

The in situ preservation of various groups of private and public spaces in Palia Sagiada, combined with its relatively easy accessibility for surveys compared to other settlements, were important factors in selecting this site as a case study. Moreover, the lack of need for official authorizations and the collaboration with locals made it feasible to obtain valuable private materials and information about life and housing culture in the settlement. Following the relocation of residents, several families in contemporary Sagiada still preserve objects and various testimonies, including photographs and documents retrieved from the abandoned houses. These artifacts provide valuable information about their ancestors who lived in the old settlement, or from individuals who personally experienced daily life in Palia Sagiada.

Additionally, the preserved architecture of Palia Sagiada remains largely unaltered by contemporary modifications, allowing for a clear view of its historical context. In contrast, other local settlements either underwent changes in their built environment due to contemporary interventions or lack historical information beyond the timeframe of this present research.

Lastly, ample historical and architectural information underscores Palia Sagiada as a cultural and material product of the late 19th century, particularly following the almost complete devastation caused by the February 1872 earthquake. This pivotal event allows for a comprehensive discussion that situates Palia Sagiada within its broader historical perspective of the late Ottoman period.

The complex geomorphology of coastal Epirus and the natural boundaries have been an advantage and a trammel for the development of its settlements, including the settlement under study. In particular, the mountainous ranges that branch out from Pindos Range (Πίνδος) define the mainland and the contemporary boundaries of Thesprotia: Tsamandas/Mourgana (Τσαμαντάς/Μουργκάνα) on the north, Souli (Σούλι) and Paramythia (Παραμυθιά) on the east, and Parga (Πάργα) on the south. These ranges fade out towards the Ionian Sea, creating gorges and lowlands coursed and fed by the main rivers Kalamas (Καλαμάς) and Acheron (Αχέρων) and their tributaries, which flow into the sea, creating impressing estuaries. The coastline of Thesprotia is a lacework composed of continuous gulfs suitable for roadstead, saltmarshes, coastal lagoons, and a coastal Mediterranean flora and fauna that defined the local agro-pastoral activities, extending northern to the Adriatic coast of Albania and southern until Preveza.

The turbulent geopolitical history of this frontier zone was elated to its wealth sources and strategic topography between the Ottoman Empire and the western world. Particularly the location of Sagiada, was the end or/and start point of a commercial route connecting the Epirotan shore to the center of Yannina/Yanya/Ioannina (Ιωάννινα), and the hinterland. However, the local administrative subdivisions (*kaza*) of Filat/Filiates (Φιλιάτες), Margaliç/Margariti (Μαργαρίτι), and Aydonat/Paramythia (Παραμυθιά) more or less retained their defined geographical boundaries, depending either on the broader centers (*sancak*) of Gjirokastrë/Argyrokastro/Ergiri, Berat/Berati, Yannina/Yanya/Ioannina, or Preveze/Preveza (Πρέβεζα) (Figure 1.7-1.9; 2.9-2.11).

Despite the broader political unrest, the region of Sagiada (including the old settlement Palia Sagiada and the coast) maintained its administrative affiliation during the late Ottoman period until 1913 within the periphery – *kaza* of Filat, whose boundaries remaining unchanged.¹²

During the late Ottoman period, Palia Sagiada was a small settlement demographically. In 1856, the settlement had 60 houses. Subsequently, the population grew, as evidenced by earthquake reports in 1872 recording the collapse of 100 houses.

¹² Michalis Kokolakis, *Το Ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι. Χώρος, Διοίκηση και Πληθυσμός στην Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ήπειρο (1820-1913)* (The Late Pashalik of Jannina) (Athens: Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών, 2003), 191, 393.

By 1895, Sagiada had expanded to 141 houses with 593 residents.¹³ The population of Sagiada continued to grow, reaching 894 residents in the first population census after 1913.¹⁴ However, a decline was observed in the 1918 census, with the community having 656 residents. By the census of 1940, the population further decreased to 486 residents (real population) until its abandonment until the end of the decade.¹⁵

Today, Palia Sagiada although without its residents, still expands on both sides of three gullies between the locations Vigla (Βίγλα), in the west, and Vounos (Βούνος), in the east of the Vouno mountain (Βουνό). These gullies were associated with patriarchal family groups residing nearby and bear the names: Antoni's or Troubata's gully (ο λάκκος του Αντώνη ή ο λάκκος του Τρουμπάτα) in the east, Tsogka's gully (ο λάκκος του Τσόγκα), which nearly bisects the settlement, and Moustaki's gully (ο λάκκος του Μουστάκη) in the west.

This spatial association with the gullies resulted in the organization of the settlement into three sections or neighborhoods: the Pazara (Παζάρα) section/neighborhood expands to the west; Mesomahalas (Μεσομαχαλάς) is the central section, and the Lagkada (Λαγκάδα) section to the east. The naming of the Mesomahalas and Lagkada functioned as a topographic indicator: the former means actually 'the central neighborhood' (*mesi* (μέση) meaning 'middle area' and *mahalas* (μαχαλάς) from the Ottoman/Turkish *mahalle* meaning a 'neighborhood') and the latter means a 'gully' (*lagkada* (λαγκάδα)) in modern Greek. Although the name Pazara implies the existence of a market in this location (*pazari* (παζάρι) from the Ottoman/Turkish *bazar* meaning a 'market'), its steep topography cannot be associated with such a function.

Despite their current poor condition, groups of residential areas and certain public or communal spaces still remain. These include heterogeneous architectural complexes featuring houses of various types and sizes, surrounded by impressive, multileveled, and

¹³ Michalis Kokolakis, "Η Τουρκική Στατιστική της Ηπείρου στο Σαλναμέ του 1895 (Yanya Salnamesi 1895)," in *Πληθυσμοί Και Οικισμοί Του Ελληνικού Χώρου: Ιστορικά Μελετήματα*, ed. Vasilis Panagiotopoulos, L. Kallivretakis et al. (Athens, 2003), 270-271.

¹⁴ The Ministry of National Economy, *Απαρίθμησης των κατοίκων των νέων επαρχιών της Ελλάδος τοῦ ἔτους 1913* (Enumeration of the residents of the new regions of Greece in the year 1913), 1915, Athens: National typography, 74.

¹⁵ Hellenic Statistical Authority, *Πληθυσμός Ελλάδος κατά την ἀπογραφὴν τῆς 15-16 Μαΐου 1928* (Population of Greece according to the recording of the 15th-16th of May 1928), 1929, Athens: (National typography, 25; *Πληθυσμός Ελλάδος κατά την ἀπογραφὴν τῆς 16 Ὀκτωβρίου 1940* (Population of Greece according to the recording of the 16th of October 1940), 1946, Athens: National typography, 27.

multifunctional courtyards. Additionally, the settlement retains the main church, some smaller churches and chapels; two market streets, threshing floors or public squares, a fountain, and the cemetery. An olive press and the *milikon* (μυλικόν), a hostel type for the Ottoman authorities, remain only partially in a very poor condition, almost indistinguishable. Lastly, the school building of the settlement, once attached to the main church, no longer exists.

Within the settlement, the mountain's slopes exhibit irregularities with gradients of varying inclines. Steeper sections transition into gentler ones, forming a diverse topography even in the same section/neighborhood. Topography or natural elements, such as trees become landmarks within neighborhoods. Rocks are sometimes integrated into structures, taking on roles such as curved staircases, while plateaus served as public gathering points in the residential areas. The topography also offers various perspectives of the surroundings: views towards the coast, the built environment of the settlement, or the mountain. Finally, structures took on a monumental character, visually dominating as placed close to prominent locations.¹⁶

A Mediterranean flora, the local trees, bushes, flowering plants, and herbs contributes to this diverse topography: fig trees, chaste trees, grapevines, pear trees, pomegranates, olive trees, kermes oaks, thyme, sage, savory, and brooms, all intermingled, create a unique sensory experience filled with vibrant colors and aromatic scents, establishing distinctive character for the various pathways within the settlement.

Furthermore, if the physical landscape played a role in shaping the different settlement spaces, it simultaneously evolved into a cultural creation, humanized and socialized.¹⁷ It acquired names, as seen in the case of the gullies, became an integral part of the local identity while defining one self's belonging after a particular location, and has always been woven into local stories, myths, communal experiences, and religious practices. The natural elements establish a complex relationship between the materiality of the natural environment, human-made structures, and the tendency of human behavior to imbue nature with human and social qualities.

To examine better such associations this research brings together history,

¹⁶ Based on Tilley's associations that relate a place or a monument to its surroundings. Christopher Tilley, *Interpreting landscapes: geologies, topographies, identities; explorations in landscape phenomenology* 3, Vol. 3 (Routledge, 2016), 38-39.

¹⁷ Vasilis Nitsiakos, *Εθνο-οικο-τοπικά* (Ethno-eco-topika) (Ioannina: Isnafı, 2022), 170-171, 178; C. Tilley, *Interpreting landscapes: geologies, topographies, identities*, 27.

architecture, and anthropology, using phenomenological and ethnographic methods such as personal explorations of the natural and built environment, as well as interviews with engaged locals. As Y. Hamilakis emphasizes for the interdisciplinary studies, such a “multi-sited” research has been essential because the study of a deserted settlement, such as the case-study of Palia Sagiada primarily draws from fragmented components of an abandoned whole, whose material and symbolic essence has now become the foundation of a local imaginary shaped by the descendants of the settlement’s former residents.¹⁸

Under the historical lens of the late Ottoman world, this research presents the places, spaces, and landscapes of Palia Sagiada in a manner that W.J.T. Mitchell presented the analytical relationship of these ideas, based on Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of space as "conceived, perceived, and lived."¹⁹ In other words, this dissertation examines Palia Sagiada as a designed settlement place in its conception after the earthquake calamity of 1872, involving spatial design with an emphasis on the roles played by various professionals in spatial production; a space as perceived through social practices, elucidating how daily life is organized to create social cohesion and continuity; and a landscape as an image and symbol that participates in the creation of a communal self-identity. These spaces in Palia Sagiada encompass visual associations and symbolisms that convey meanings during the experience of space, often expressing the desires of the elite.²⁰ At the same time those involved in shaping space, whether planners, craftsmen, elites, or ordinary individuals engaged in the act of making space, sought to manipulate, dominate, possess, and shape the urban environment according to their intentions.

1.2 Binary terms

In the studies on houses and rural settlements, terms like 'tradition-traditional,' 'vernacular,' and 'village' often appear, but deliberately, these are avoided throughout this dissertation. These terms have become established in common vocabulary with specific meanings. For example, 'traditional architecture' of Thesprotia refers to houses

¹⁸ Yannis Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 23-25.

¹⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and power* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), ix, x, 1.

²⁰ H. Lefebvre, *The production of space* (1991), 38-39.

built with stone mainly dating from the 18th to the mid-20th centuries. Similarly, 'villages' are commonly perceived as rural settlements with a small population mainly engaged in agro-pastoral activities, lacking or having poor infrastructures, and featuring houses dispersed in a particular manner.

However, these terms carry multiple meanings and contexts, often formulated as modern classification values. Here, a brief explanation will highlight their problematic nature, especially when applied to the subject matter of this study—the houses and spaces of Palia Sagiada as creations of the late Ottoman historical and cultural milieu, and as products of the specific Epirotan locality.

The term 'traditional' commonly conveys the idea of repetition and fixed, established practices passed down from generation to generation until technological breakthroughs introduce new standards.²¹ In that regard, the materiality of the houses in Palia Sagiada, constructed with stones and timber, reflects indeed building practices that prevailed in the Eastern Mediterranean for centuries. The introduction of reinforced concrete in construction during the early 20th century, consolidating its presence after the 1950s in Thesprotia, led to a distinctly different built environment. One of the discussions around 'traditional' building techniques revolves around this material differentiation.

Moreover, this concept has been adopted by official institutions and persists until today. As an illustration, in 1978, the Hellenic Ministry of the Environment, Urban Planning, and Public Works designated settlements around Greece as 'traditional,' primarily characterized by a stone-built environment.²² Fifty years later, the 2023 UNESCO nomination for the inscription of the settlements of Zagori/Zachorochoria (Ζαγόρι/Ζαγοροχώρια) in the UNESCO World Heritage List continued to reference 'architectural traditions,' describing the impressive stone architecture of the houses in this region dating from the 18th to 19th centuries.²³

²¹ For this topic see the classic Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

²² Greek Republic. Presidency and Ministry of Public Works, Περὶ χαρακτηρισμοῦ ὡς Παραδοσιακῶν Οἰκισμῶν τινῶν τοῦ Κράτους καὶ καθορισμοῦ τῶν ὅρων καὶ περιορισμῶν δομήσεως τῶν οἰκοπέδων αὐτῶν (About the characterization of traditional settlements), ΦΕΚ 594/Δ/13-11-1978.

²³ UNESCO, "Zagori Cultural Landscape. Nomination for Inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List," last accessed 4 January 2024,

<file:///Users/admin/Downloads/1695-2483-Executive%20Summary-en.pdf>.

However, this consideration alone is insufficient to understand these houses and their settings as integral parts of their contemporary cultural milieu. These houses are creations that embody established know-how while also embracing contemporary novelties by the owners and building craftsmen, operating within the Ottoman context. Above all, the people who lived in Palia Sagiada did not consider themselves as 'traditional,' and the term does not accurately reflect the actual aspects and colors of daily life in the houses and settlements of the recent past; in this case of the late Ottoman period, characterized by capital accumulation and mobility. The life in these houses covered people's old and new needs; therefore, it was formulated by them.²⁴

As a consequence, the term 'tradition' assigns to the houses an a-chronical identity deeply rooted in the local context as defined today, such as Epirotan or national Greek. This classification aligns with national historiographies on houses in the Balkans following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.²⁵ For example, certain house types found in the broader Eastern Mediterranean region, like the house with the typical bay or bow window (kiosk, çıkma, *şahniş* or *sahnisi* (σαχνισί)) or the tower houses, have become subjects of contention to claim ethnic ownership, such as the 'Albanian *kulla*' (from the *kule/kulle* meaning a 'tower' in Arabic). This emphasizes the prominence of the architectural type in a local level, yet not being ultimately a local privilege, expanding, in the broader region of Albania, Epirus, Balkans, and W. Anatolia.

Nevertheless, this sense of locality, while important, cannot be considered independently of the cultural framework that led to the establishment and geographical expansion of these house types. The late Ottoman milieu, with its impressively broad eclectic character across many aspects of cultural life, played a significant role. During the late Ottoman period, personal tastes and styles, serving various agendas from nationalistic associations to wealth demonstration, could be expressed through architecture and urban planning. The discussion of participation in the late Ottoman milieu is emphasized, disregarded, or carefully used by the scholars, depending on the context each time. The abovementioned example of the tower houses in Albania that became a national cultural property is one of the many examples of house types around

²⁴ V. Nitsiakos, *Εθνο-οικο-τοπικά*, 19.

²⁵ Tchavdar Marinov, "The "Balkan House": Interpretations and Symbolic Appropriations of the Ottoman-Era Vernacular Architecture in the Balkans," in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans* vol. 4 (Brill, 2017), 440-593, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004337824_009

the Eastern Mediterranean, which disconnected from their Ottoman context.²⁶

Additionally to the use of the word 'tradition' as indicating a transmitted culture (tangible or intangible), this term also implies the process of characterizing the past after a contemporary perspective.²⁷ In the case of Epirus, it describes this means the mental process that followed the trauma of war, immigration, shame of origin, and the reconsideration of local and personal heritage.

World War II for Thesprotia was not just a fight against foreign forces, but also the eruption of another civil war with an ethno-religious character. This conflict unfolded between the two main groups that had shared the same space for centuries: the Greek-speaking Christians and the Albanian-speaking Muslims, known as Chams/Tsamides (Τσάμηδες). The latter social group comprised the ruling land elites during the Ottoman period, often wrongly associated by locals with Turks due to their administrative positions and common religion. Their prominence led to the naming of the area as Chamlik/Çamlık/Tsamouria (Τσαμουριά). During World War II, the Greek-speaking Christians aligned with the official Greek State's participation in the war on the side of the Entente, while the Muslim Chams coalesced with the Axis Powers.

Bigotry and violent obstinacy led to violent acts from both sides, including deliberate arsons of properties belonging to people who had once shared common spaces, as daily life stories tell us between Christians living in Palia Sagiada and the Muslim Chams from the neighboring settlements.²⁸ In the aftermath of the war, the Chams were accused of treason by the Greek State, resulting in their deportation to Albania. Entire settlements once populated by the Chams, such as Liopsi, Kotsika, and Skefari neighboring Palia Sagiada, as well as Vrachonas and Argyrotopos in southern Thesprotia, were nullified by parliamentary laws and have remained abandoned since then.²⁹

Even before the dust had settled, the Greek Civil War erupted in 1946-1949 between the communist-oriented reactions (Democratic Army of Greece) and the

²⁶ T. Marinov, "The "Balkan House," 506.

²⁷ E. Hobsbawm, *The invention of tradition*, 4.

²⁸ Michalis Pasiakos, "The Chams in the coffeeshops and the market of Palia Sagiada, and their acts during the war." Interview by the author, Sagiada, 03/08/2022.

²⁹ Kingdom of Greece, "Περὶ τῶν προσόδων τῶν δήμων καὶ κοινοτήτων καὶ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ καὶ κοινοτικοῦ Κώδικος (About the income of the municipalities and communities)," ΦΕΚ. 204/A/1957, 1568.

Kingdom of Greece (Hellenic Army). In Epirus, very cruel fights took place at the mountainous fronts, including Mourgana/Tsamandas in Thesprotia. In Palia Sagiada, as in many settlements during the Civil War, people were divided between supporters of one or the other party. War conflicts within the settlement were common until January 18, 1948, when the Democratic Army entered the settlement, and the remaining residents left for Corfu.³⁰ The end of the Civil War left this Greek countryside even more "wounded," with its people seeking psychological and mental distance from a lifestyle deeply affected by poverty and death.

During that period, a massive migration wave occurred, with people moving for work to the USA, Australia, Germany, and other European countries, as well as to Greek urban centers, mainly Athens. In particular, Athens' industry benefited and grew due to the financial support the Kingdom of Greece received from the USA after the Truman Doctrine (1947) and the Marshall Plan (1948). The trauma of war and migration was compounded by individual shame regarding their rural origin, tainted by the "petit bourgeois" mentality that considered it backward and shameful.³¹

Over the decades that followed, this feeling gradually transformed into the urban concept of heritage, advocating for a "return to the roots" and the revival of 'traditions' that romanticized and objectified the past.³² Palia Sagiada, like other settlements, became a charming abandoned setting, inspiring national pride. Therefore, the term 'traditional,' serving as a modern social need for cohesion and eclectic memory, cannot adequately capture the contemporaneity of the old houses or the function of an old settlement.

The term often used in English literature is 'vernacular.' Scholarship on vernacular architecture has evolved around various perspectives related to the study of house architecture, encompassing aesthetic products, landscape-oriented approaches, and postcolonial/post-imperial studies. Initially, the term referred to structures created by builders without the institutionalized training of an architect, mainly denoting houses or settlements of ordinary people and distinguishing them from the official and elite

³⁰ Giorgos Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα. Η ιστορική της πορεία, γραπτές μαρτυρίες και αφηγήσεις* (Sagiada. Its history, written testimonies and narratives) (Athens: Dodoni, 2009), 220-221.

³¹ Kostis Kourelis, "Three Elenis: Archaeologies of the Greek American Village Home," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 38, no. 1 (2020): 85-108.

³² V. Nitsiakos, *Εθνο-οικο-τοπικά*, 20.

architecture produced by professionals.³³

Although scholarship in the 1960s-1970s challenged the binary of 'vernacular' and 'architectural' by considering vernacular as an architectural product, as demonstrated in Rudofsky's famous exhibition "Architecture Without Architects," the term continued to be questioned for not being universally applicable to the architectural production of every culture. Specifically, it may not apply to cultures that have developed high specialization in various building activities, incorporating rich cultural values.³⁴

Such a building culture was cultivated in the late Ottoman Balkans, Anatolia, and generally in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean. Craftsmen, despite lacking a degree from a school of architecture, possessed high architectural and engineering expertise, allowing them to implement projects that could compete those signed by architects or engineers in terms of aesthetics, design, and techniques. Particularly during the 19th century, the institutionalization of the architectural profession did not exclude craftsmen who were already operating as both designers and contractors.

In fact, the established building practices employed by "untrained" craftsmen were enriched by new institutionalized knowledge but not entirely replaced. Therefore, architecture destined for the elites quite often remained "anonymous," further blurring the boundaries between vernacular and official architecture.

The last dichotomy between towns and villages, used as synonyms for urban and rural settings respectively, also requires further clarification. The present-day identification of settlements as villages is closely associated with urban theories that attribute demographic and physical standards to the classification of settlements into the three categories of villages, towns, and cities. Specifically, regarding Greek settlements, present-day legislation clearly establishes quantitative standards for each category. Consequently, all settlements with a population under 2000 people are designated as rural communities, villages, irrespective of their administrative role, the infrastructures they possess, or the institutions they develop.³⁵

³³ Suzanne Preston, Blier, "Vernacular architecture," in *Handbook of material culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Susanne Kuechler-Fogden, and Keane Webb (SAGE PUBLN, 2006), 231.

³⁴ Paul Oliver, "Vernacular know-how," in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response*, ed. M. Turan (Aldershot: Avebury, 1990), 146–64; Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without architects: a short introduction to non-pedigreed architecture* (UNM Press, 1987).

³⁵ Hellenic Statistical Authority, "Ορισμοί (Definitions)," 2001; M. Kokolakis, *Το Υστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 238-239.

However, during the late Ottoman period, the categorization of the settlements had an administrative essence and not demographic. Thesprotia during the Ottoman period was a region characterized by many small, dispersed settlements organized within the boundaries of the three subdivisions, the *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia, Filat/Filiates and Margaliç/Margariti. The administrative centers of these three areas were recorded as '*kasaba*'. Settlements with some autonomy or centers to which were dependent other settlements were called as '*nahiye*,' as parts of the *kasaba*. The rest were defined as '*karye*' (free villages), '*ciftlik*' (private properties), and '*muaccele*' (previously private properties confiscated by the Ottoman State).³⁶ Even the word *karye* often translated as 'village' throughout its etymological history, often carried the notion of a town.³⁷ Moreover, the development of institutions and infrastructures was not a result of the population development, but rather as consequence of the administrative centralization that required well-organized peripheral centers.

To highlight the disproportionate relationship between the characterization in the Ottoman registrars of the settlements in the three *kazas* and their population or the administrative position, the following quantitative analysis will help. In the yearbook of 1895 (Yanya salnahmesi), that recorded population data from the broader administrative region of Yannina/Yanya (*vilayet*), the whole *kaza* of Aydonat had 14.648 residents, including 62 settlements, while the *kasaba* of Paramythia, the administrative center of the *kaza* had 2.009 residents; the *kaza* of Filat had a total population of 24.179 residents, 68 settlements, and the *kasaba* of Filat had 1.575 residents; the *kaza* of Margaliç had in total 23.955 residents, 71 settlements and 2 *nahiye* (Parga (Πάργα) and Goritsa (Γκορίτσα), and the *kasaba* of Margaliç had 2.230 residents.³⁸

The three administrative subdivisions, the *kaza*, belonged to more extensive peripheries, the *sancaks*. According to the same yearbook of 1895, the administrative centers of the Epirotan *sancaks*, were populated as follows: the *kasaba* of Gjirokastre/Argyrokastro/Ergiri had 8.399 residents, the *kasaba* of Preveza/e had 4.527 residents, the *kasaba* of Berat had 9.362, and the *kasaba* of Yannina/Yanya, the center

³⁶ For more information see Chapter 2: A contested, multicultural frontier.

³⁷ Osman Gümüşçü and Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşci, "Köy (Village)," TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, last accessed January 4, 2023, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/koy>

³⁸ M. Kokolakis, "Η Τουρκική Στατιστική της Ηπείρου," 261-271, 311-312.

of the whole *vilayet*, had 17.564 residents, even more than the whole population of the kaza of Aydonat the same year.

Noteworthy is that all the centers of the administrative divisions, are referred with the word '*kasaba*,' regardless of the population.³⁹ Let alone that several other settlements within the three coastal *kazas* had a population similar to the population of the *kasaba*: in the *kaza* of Filat the settlement of Konispol/Konispoli had 1.488 residents, and Plesivitsa/Plaisio (Πλεσίβιτσα/Πλαίσιο) had 1.297, while in the *kaza* of Margaliç the settlement of *Parga* had 1.702 residents.

The years that followed the population of the three *kazas* gradually increased, yet not drastically changed. In 1913, during the year of the unification with the Kingdom of Greece, the settlement of Filiates had 2.000 residents, Paramythia had 2.372, and Margariti 2.606, and in 1928, Filiates had 2.928, Paramythia had 2.462, and Margariti 1.925.⁴⁰ Considering the present-day standards in Greece, all these settlements could be classified as villages today, small towns in the best cases.

As discussed above, in the contemporary discussions on urbanization, the focus has shifted from the physical attributes of the city to the broader urban phenomenon, the longstanding dichotomy between urban and rural, or non-urban, as emphasized in early scholarship, is undergoing a reshaping.⁴¹

Therefore, how can such an approach apply to the settlements of Thesprotia during the late Ottoman period? This is the era when these settlements were reshaped after disasters and participated, in their own way, in the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire. In other words, how can the Ottoman rural world, illustrated through the case study of Palia Sagiada, be viewed as a part of the late Ottoman urban project?

1.3 The chapters' organization

This dissertation is organized into three parts (Part A, Part B, Part C) that discuss the issue of the late Ottoman urbanity in the rural space of the coastal Epirus through the

³⁹ Ibid., 261, 276, 306, 289.

⁴⁰ As that period the administrative boundaries had changed together with the number of the settlements, a comparative consideration of the total population of the three peripheries under the Greek State would probably create confusion. *Απαρίθμησης τῶν κατοίκων τῶν νέων ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦ ἔτους 1913* (Enumeration of the residents of the new regions of Greece in the year 1913), 64-65, 69; *Πληθυσμὸς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τῆς 15-16 Μαΐου 1928* (Population of Greece according to the recording of the 15th-16th of May 1928), 24-25, 33.

⁴¹ A. Roy, "What is urban about critical urban theory?," 6-7.

case of Palia Sagiada. Each part explores various aspects of the subject, looking at how these can reflect on architecture or spatial planning, contributing to the final conclusions that re-examine the initial reflections.

Part A, "Historical Milieu and Research Approach," presents introductory material that includes historical research (Chapter 2) and the methodological approach that locates this work into the existing or emerging scholarship (Chapter 3).

Chapter 2, "A Contested, Multicultural Frontier," compiles historical information on the Sagiada-es, aiming to contextualize events within the broader political landscape(s), from the Ottoman period until the abandonment of the settlement of Palia Sagiada after World War II, with an emphasis on the 19th century. The research delves into the geopolitical importance of the spot, exploring potential cultural influences arising from its identity as a frontier zone. The remarkable history of this small frontier spot stands in stark contrast to its present-day character of a peaceful seaside settlement; throughout its history and until its abandonment, Sagiada had been a contested space, claimed by local and international stakeholders for its wealth sources, mainly the outpost, resulting into a multicultural meeting of people.

Among the various actors belonged the local Cham land elites, the ağas and beys, the emerging Christian merchants after the 19th century, the French, Russians, Britons, the Ottoman State, the Ecclesiastic authorities, and hegemonic figures such as Ali Pasha Tepedenli. Moreover, the late 19th century capital accumulation and the centralized bureaucratic Ottoman mechanism supervising the area resulted into a multicultural social platform. Together with foreigners, co-existed entrepreneurs and other social groups from the settlement of Palia Sagiada interacting actively and developing their culture. Lastly, after the disasters caused by the earthquake of 1872, the reconstruction process that followed, involved negotiations between all these multicultural actors for assuring their interests in the outpost and the settlement. These efforts for development according to the new 19th century Ottoman urban projects were bestowed with success or ended up as missed opportunities.

The third chapter, "Historiography and Methodology," focusing on historiography and methodology subjects, explores the existing research conducted in the region of Thesprotia, with an emphasis on Palia Sagiada, as well as the local architecture from the 18th to the 20th centuries. Its purpose is to position the current study on Palia Sagiada within the limited scholarly endeavors for Thesprotia, emphasizing its importance in

starting to fill this academic gap with the study of abandoned settlements and house architecture through the lens of an interdisciplinary methodology for approaching the subject of urbanity in the countryside. Moreover, the chapter delves into the perspectives presented in the few existing works on Thesprotia within the broader academic context, considering the influences in the studies of houses and settlements both in Greece and internationally.

In particular, the Annales School played a significant role in broadening perspectives on settlements by introducing macro-scale historical contexts, leading to studies on architecture that extended into the Ottoman world. This evolution gradually contributed to the development of Greek-Ottoman studies and Ottoman archaeology in Greece. Within these interdisciplinary studies that approach history and monuments from the Ottoman period in Greece, the study on Palia Sagiada introduces a new perspective on how the rural, frontier coast of Epirus functioned. This study diverging from a focus on prestigious monuments, it delves into house architecture, daily life, and individual and communal identities, examining them as late Ottoman modern or urban concepts within their local dynamics. The research focuses on architecture, but also incorporates historical information from public and private archives, personal explorations, and local intellectual production. It also incorporates vital information from the semi-ethnographic workshop, “Palia Sagiada. Narrating our Village through its Objects,” I organized in collaboration with the locals from the modern settlement of Sagiada and local cultural institutions.

Part B, "Architectural and Social Spaces in Palia Sagiada," presents the documentation of the various spaces of the settlement, and it is divided into three chapters: on the private spaces (Chapter 4), on the public spaces and institutions (Chapter 5), and the intangible component of celebrations that transformed the function of the public and private spaces in special occasions (Chapter 6)

More analytically, Chapter 4, "Private Spaces: Houses and Households," discusses Palia Sagiada's private spaces, examining houses with courtyards and households through field research. Despite challenges stemming from disasters and substantial material loss, a combination of comparative studies—both bibliographic and field-based—facilitated the categorization of the documented materials. This chapter presents and proposes a two-fold classification for understanding the architectural and social dimension of the settlement's residential neighborhoods. First it suggests categories

related to architecture: materials, techniques, and typologies. Second, it classifies the houses based on their social character as households. The term ‘household’ encompasses family members, potential domestic groups involving assistants, tenants, and relatives linked by affinity bonds.

The prevalent house type in Palia Sagiada is the *anogokatogo makrinari* (ανωγκάτωγο μακρινάρι), a two-story, oblong-shaped structure and its variations. However, houses belonging to more affluent owners exhibit innovations reminiscent of the enclosed *krevata – hagiati/hayat* (κρεβάτα – χαγιάτι) type prevalent in larger Balkan and Western Anatolian urban centers. Additionally, eclectic elements, neoclassical features, and influences from the architecture of the Ionian Islands are also present.

Apart from these typological variations, all houses incorporate courtyards and outdoor areas—integral components including storage, livestock management spaces, furnaces for cooking, and lavatories. This design renders each household an autonomous and sustainable unit. The classification into common, extended, and interconnected households, hinges on the household's autonomy concerning the family model, whether simple or extended patriarchal, and the spatial manifestation of this model. By exploring these private spaces, this research sheds light on the intricate relationship between architecture and social structures within Palia Sagiada. At the same time, it highlights the organization of the rich variety of housing groupings or sub-neighborhoods within the settlement's three main sections, Pazara, Mesomahalas, and Lagkada.

Chapter 5, "Public Spaces and Institutions," delves into the public spaces and institutions of Palia Sagiada, exploring their material evidence and impact on daily life. Public life occurred within the residential neighborhoods and along main streets connecting the various settlement areas to each other and the near-by outskirts. Gatherings ranged from intimate meetings among neighboring households to communal assemblies, fostering interactions and leisure. Of a particular interest is the market street, reconstructed post-1872 earthquake; the construction standards of the buildings there, are discussed within the framework of urban regulations and notions of urban planning developed by the late Ottoman bureaucratic mechanisms. These regulations were gradually applied in Ottoman centers when being reconstructed after calamities such as fires. Moreover, the market street served as a hub for commercial activities,

services, and public gatherings, bolstered by coffeehouses facilitating social engagement.

The central area, including the main church and public square, was pivotal, alongside other religious spaces that doubled as landmarks of individual or communal patronage identity and metaphysical symbols. The *piadi* (πηάδι), the fountain, beyond the settlement, provided water and held symbolic significance. Overall, Palia Sagiada embodied a profane and sacred landscape, reflecting a complex interplay of tradition, innovation, and community identity, characteristic of the late Ottoman urban culture.

The sixth chapter, "To See and To Be Seen: Private and Public Celebrations," delves into the transformative nature of celebrations in Palia Sagiada, where *eortes/giortes* (εορτές/γιορτές) and *panigyria* (πανηγύρια) merged religious duties with social, economic, and political functions. In Palia Sagiada, both public squares, streets and squares, as well as private homes become hubs of festivity. Music and dance play pivotal roles, enhancing sensory experiences and reinforcing communal bonds. These events redefine and merge public and private spaces, fostering community cohesion and identity, altering the physical and social landscape, turning everyday environments into vibrant areas of community activity. The selection of the spaces for celebrating is strategic in conveying social and architectural hierarchies.

Moreover, these celebrations throughout the region of Filat/Filiates, documented by local newspapers from the late 19th century until the 1930s, reflect the gradual evolution of rural religious events into modern expressions of national identity, highlighting contested legitimacies and aspirations for independence. Overall, the celebrations in Palia Sagiada demonstrate a strong communal spirit and organizational skill that highlights both the private and public spheres' transformation during these events.

Part C, "Insights from the late Ottoman Architecture and Space-making in Thesprotia," brings more information on the architectural styles in the region of the three *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia, Filat/Filiates and Margaliç/Margariti (Chapter 7), as well as a better understanding on the building processes (Chapter 8), always with Palia Sagiada serving as a reference.

Chapter 7, "Local Architectural Eclectic Imagery," expands the discourse on architectural styles and morphological elements beyond Palia Sagiada to the wider region, offering insights into 19th-century architectural examples. The study relies on

primary observations and documentation. The late Ottoman architectural landscape of Thesprotia exhibits a diverse blend of styles and influences both to the Christian and Muslim buildings, although few remnants of Muslim structures remain today post-WWII. Architectural diversity is evident in late 19th-century constructions, with neoclassical, eclectic, and academic influences prevailing, reflecting the ambitions of affluent local figures such as Tsogkas in Palia Sagiada and Riggas in Paramythia. Urban centers like Yannina and Corfu, influenced by European institutions, notably shaped architectural trends in the region. In the late 19th century, Thesprotia and south Albania witnessed innovations marked by symmetrical designs, notably Π -shaped (U-shaped) houses, functional spaces, decorative elements, and the integration of towers and arched porticoes. These features were incorporated into various structures, including rural buildings, reflecting a trend of experimentation, and blending tradition with modernity.

The eighth chapter, "Space-thinkers and Space-makers," builds upon previous analyses of Palia Sagiada, initiating a discussion on the "makers" and their tangible and intangible creations: architecture, public spaces, and celebrations. In alignment with certain theoretical perspectives, architecture and the constructed environment are closely tied to their creators, serving as expressions of their ideas, notions, or consciousness.

Following the earthquake calamity of 1872, the Ottoman State, owners, and craftsmen emerged as pivotal agents in the spatial recovery and resilience of Palia Sagiada and the broader region. Similarly to other settlements of late Ottoman Thesprotia, the Ottoman State in Palia Sagiada acted as the primary authority overseeing public construction and petitions and collaborated with Ecclesiastic authorities to safeguard the religious and daily practices of both Muslims and non-Muslims.

The emerging eclectic architecture, encompassing both public and private structures, showcased a diverse array of styles interwoven into a distinct local idiom. To comprehend this eclectic phenomenon, this chapter delves into the collaborative relationship between circulating individuals, property owners, and craftsmen. The Epirotan craftsmen, travelling and undertaking a rich variety of public and private projects around the Empire and abroad, were able to adapt in new techniques and architectural novelties. Therefore, they assisted the process of the circulation of styles and their implementation within the material culture of Palia Sagiada and the coastal

Epirus in general.

Finally, this dissertation investigates all the above as facets of urban life in this frontier, rural area of Epirus and through the case-study of the abandoned Palia Sagiada, exploring continuities vis-à-vis manifestations of the new modern consciousness that emerged post the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire. Expressing the personal needs and tastes, community representation, contention, and their visual manifestations, are all modern developments in the rural area where Palia Sagiada is inscribed, among other settlements with their own dynamics.

The interdisciplinary methodology used in this research facilitated the reconstruction of both tangible and intangible aspects of a bygone culture, in which the boundaries between urban and rural blur as it happens with the private and public spheres, architectural styles and individual identities. It reveals a diverse and eclectic architectural landscape that reflects local interpretations of post-Tanzimat Ottoman urban reforms and nuances.

The neighboring to Palia Sagiada Cham settlements such as Liopsi (Λιόψη) and Kotsika (Κώτσικα), also deserted, still preserve material that, while quite different from the architecture and public spaces of Palia Sagiada, demonstrates a transformed environment based on modern concepts. This material provides an excellent basis for further comparative research that will highlight the function of a multicultural countryside that no longer exists. The findings from Palia Sagiada suggest that these transformations are not merely distant echoes of changes in larger urban centers but represent unique developments within this coastal area of Epirus; developments situated within the specific local and broader late Ottoman context, highlighting their distinctiveness of the changes in this region.

PART A

HISTORICAL MILIEU AND RESEARCH APPROACH



Chapter 2:

A CONTESTED, MULTICULTURAL FRONTIER

Some remains from the various activities once taking place in the broader region of Sagiada today are scattered and reused in imaginative ways that little remind of their initial purposes. For example, pieces of a monolithic stone cylinder, featuring holes likely for timber branches, once used in the saltpans of Sagiada, was embedded up until recently, in an outdoor wall in the new settlement of Sagiada. Although in its present-day status it can be barely associated to the once-thriving salt industry in the close-by valley, it nevertheless reflects a bygone era when the process of salt production was a vital source of local wealth.⁴² (Figure 2.6-2.8)

Gradually, a rich biotope has reclaimed the landscape of the salines, replacing what was once one of the region's primary wealth sources.⁴³ Adding to this, contrasting the present scene of the locals and tourists entertaining themselves in the few taverns and cafeterias around the lagoon in Sagiada's outpost, it's difficult to imagine the multicultural bustle captured in a photograph from 1895.⁴⁴ (Figure 2.1-2.5) In this historical image, Ottoman officers, Muslim Chams, individuals dressed in European clothes, and Corfu locals gathered for various purposes, probably continuing their journey to Corfu or conducting business.

⁴² M. Pasiakos who found this cylinder informs about its use: "In some areas this cylinder was called as so 'kylindros' (κύλιντρος). It was used mainly in the threshing floors for straightening and putting pressure on the soil of the threshing floor. It was also used as 'doukana' (ντουκάνα); a horse or an ox was dragging it to separate the seed from the rest of the plant. In Sagiada the basic use of this cylinder was for putting pressure on the mud on the pans of the salines. Some years ago, I found in the salines a similar cylinder, but this one out of cement."

Michalis Pasiakos, "Πατητήρι (Press)," La Bastia, 5 June 2017,

<http://labastia.blogspot.com/search/label/%CE%91%CE%9B%CE%A5%CE%9A%CE%95%CE%A3>

⁴³ In 1962 was constructed a dam that changed the course of the Kalamas River to its present-day flow.

Hellenic Parliament, *Νόμος για την προστασία του περιβάλλοντος* (Law for the protection of the environment), N.1650/86, article 19, paragraph.2.

Antoine Chabrol et al., "Geomorphology of the Kalamas river delta (Epirus, Greece)," *Journal of Map 18*, no. 2 (2022): 281.

⁴⁴ From the personal archive of M. Pasiakos, conceded to the author.

This chapter delves into aspects of the political, economic, and social history of this frontier enclave/zone that includes the old and new settlements of Sagiada, the outpost-*skaloma*- and the salines. By placing local history within a broader framework, the goal is to illuminate the varied claims and interests that molded a dynamic, multicultural contested space—an environment remarkably different from its present-day condition.

Drawing extensively from secondary bibliography and combined with some primary archival material, this section provides a nuanced understanding of the main historical phases of the settlement and their distinctive characteristics. Finally, setting the general late Ottoman milieu in the broader location of the outpost, the salines, the plains and the neighboring region related to settlement through production, commercial, political, intellectual, and other material and social networks will help to understand its impact in the material culture and architecture within the settlement of Palia Sagiada.

2.1 Geopolitics and land administration

2.1.1 14th – 15th cent. CE

The first available information about the location of Sagiada-es appears in Venetian records as ‘Saiata’ or ‘Bastia’ after the Venetian occupation of Corfu in 1386, without being very clear whether it refers only to the coast or to a possible settlement as well.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the coastal salines and the outpost were frequent sources of contention, and the control over the two was shifting among various powers. Moreover, at periods, the administration of the settlement on the mountain was different from the administration of the outpost. During the late 14th to early 15th centuries, the main competing powers were the Venetians, the Byzantine Despot of Ioannina/Yannina, the Albanian clans, and the newly emerging Ottomans.

The Venetians, who established trading stations along the Albanian and Epirotan coast, often clashed with the Byzantine Despot of Ioannina, Esau de' Buondelmonti (Despot of Ioannina from 1385-1411), over control of salt exports.⁴⁶ Insights from the Venetian archives, as published by J. Valentini, and analyses in D.M. Nicol's work shed light on these events. Esau, at a certain point, rebuilt and fortified a previously ruined tower in the coast of Sagiada and constructed saltpans, which created the reaction of the

⁴⁵ Giuseppe Valentini, ed., *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, vol. 2 (Typis Josephi Tosini, 1967); Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 161, 163-164, 194, 227, 230.

⁴⁶ D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 227.

Venetian Senate in Corfu. In 1387, Nicoletus Grasso, the rector of Corfu, was instructed to dismantle Esau's installations, arguing that the region of Sagiada had been Venetian under Corfu's jurisdiction, as evidenced by a 1386 document naming Antonius of Venice as the head of the tower of Sagiada.⁴⁷ This structure probably refers to a tower structure with inclined base (*scarpa*) remaining today in the coastal islet of Agioleni near the former salines.

However, by 1394, Sagiada remained still under Esau's influence until his capture by the Albanian clan leader Gjin Zenevesi in 1399. Consequently, the salt pans in Sagiada passed to the Albanians. Despite Florence and Venice paying the ransom requested by the Albanians, the latter retained the control of the salt pans.⁴⁸

2.1.2 The Ottoman period until 1799

This was also the period when the Ottomans first appeared in the region under the reign of Murat I (1362-1389) to establish their presence with the capture of Argyrokastro/Gjirokastrë in 1418. The newly acquired territories, spanning from the region of Kroya to the valley of the Kalamas River, formed the foundation of the new administrative district (*sancak*) of Arvanid, situated within the broader *eyalet* (province) of Rumeli. The very valuable fiscal record from the *sancak*, dated 1431 (Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid), provided a detailed account of the regions within the *sancak* and their subdivisions.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, I, 2, no 331, 47; no 320, 34.

⁴⁸ Ibid., no. 543 (15 May 1394), 243.

In 1399, the Senate suggested that he might be willing to sell the place and the tower or they would be destroyed. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 161, 164.

⁴⁹ Based on the fiscal record of 1431 published by H. Inalcık. Halil Inalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli, Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954).

The Arvanit *sancak* was divided into the following *vilayets*: Argyrokastro/Gjirokastrë, Klisoura, Kanina, Berat (Beligrat), Skrapari, Tomoritsa, Tsartalos (Souliova, Akça Hisar (Kroya) Pavlo Kurtiç (Elbasan). A subdivision of the *vilayet* was the *nahiye*. In the *vilayet* of Gjirokastrë, belonged the *nahiyes* of Vagenetia/Vayonetya (Delvino and Parakalamos), Lachanokastro, Drino, Zagoria, Chimara, Kourvelesi, and Sopotos. Subsequently, the land of the region was divided into *timars* (*hass*) given to the Ottoman Turks and the local Albanian warriors. The Ottoman regime was fragile as land was given to the defenders or the already established local elites. The Ottoman terminology on the land administration changed throughout Ottoman history.

Michalis Kokolakis, *Το Ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι. Χώρος, Διοίκηση Και Πληθυσμός Στην Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ήπειρο (1820-1913)* (The Late Pashalik of Jannina) (Athens: Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών, 2003), 116, 98-114; Halil Inalcık, "Timariotes Chretiensen Albanieau XV siècle," *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Staatsarchivs* 4 (1951), 118-138; Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University, 1983).

In this fiscal record there is the first information regarding the actual settlement of Sagiada (karye-I Sayade), which appeared as a ‘karye’ (village) including 20 houses (*hane*).⁵⁰ It belonged to the *vilayet* of Vagenetia/Vayonetya the Ottoman successor to the homonymous Byzantine *theme*/province.⁵¹ The region became a landholding of the administrator of the *sancak*, the *sancakbey*, Ali Bey. There is also a possibility that the late Byzantine/early Ottoman settlement of Sagiada operated behind a fortification, a detail potentially depicted in the maps of Chrostoforo Buondelmondi (c.1385 – c.1430) in the early 15th century.⁵²

An important administrative change took place after the resolution of the remaining areas of the Despotate of Epirus by the Ottomans; in 1430, Ioannina/ Yannina passed to the new Ottoman regime and the *beylerbey* of Rumeli Sinan Paşa upon agreement (*amannname*); Arta and Preveza followed in 1449.⁵³ Following this, the establishment of the new *sancak* of Yannina led to the separation of the Arvanit *sancak*. What remained from the former *sancak*, encompassing the regions between the Skoubis and Kalamas River, along with the settlement of Sagiada, constituted the *sancak* of Avlona.⁵⁴ Regarding the coastal area, it remained under Venetian control, and a series of continuous battles resulted in a fluctuation of commanders. The coastal Sagiada briefly fell to the Ottomans in 1452 during Hacı Bey's attempts, but by 1454, the Venetians

⁵⁰ Halil Inalcik, *Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, 3.

Most usually, the word ‘karye’ is understood as a village, a smaller place from a town. However, also in the Encyclopedia of Islam; however, throughout the use of the word ‘karye’ in the Ottoman documents there are also cases where it also meant a town. Osman Gümüşçü, Mustafa Sabri Küçükbaş, “Köy (Village),” TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, last accessed January 4, 2023, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/koy>

⁵¹ H. Inalcik, *Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, 3-4, 6-23, 27-28. According to Soustal and Koder, the name of Vegenetia came after the Slavik Baiounitai, during the 7th cent. Slavik presence in the Balkans.

Peter Soustal, and Johannes Koder, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Nikopolis und Kephallenia*, vol 3 (Vienna: Akademie d. Wissenschaft, 1981), 119.

⁵² “Corfu and adjacent Mainland,” Royal Museums of Greenwich, last accessed January 4, 2023,

<https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-541521> .

The scholar P. Aravantinos imagines and describes Palia Sagiada as an important Byzantine castle-town (*kastropoliteia*-καστροπολιτεία) of the Despotate of Epirus.

Panagiotis Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία της Ηπείρου των τε Όμορων Ελληνικών και Ιλλυρικών Χωρών* (Chronography of Epirus) (Athens: Vlastos Print, 1857), 145.

⁵³ Melek Delilbaşı, "Selanik ve Yanya'da Osmanlı Egemenliğinin Kurulması," *Belleten* 51, no. 199 (1987): 94, 96-97.

⁵⁴ It is not clear from the sources when exactly the *sancak* of Avlona replaced the *sancak* of Arvanit. M. Kokolalis, *To Ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 118.

regained control.⁵⁵ While the exact date is uncertain, the admiral and *sancakbey* of Avlona, Gedik Ahmet Pasha, reclaimed the coastal Sagiada-Bastia, Strovili, and Phanarion. Finally, in 1482, Avlona became the seat of the *sancak* of Avlona.⁵⁶

Following the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537-1540, significant administrative changes took place under Süleyman I (Süleyman the Magnificent: 1494-1566). Parga, Strovili, and the Ottomans, leading once more, to the reorganization of the local *sancaks*, conquered Butrint again. A new *sancak*, centered around Delvino, was established, incorporating territories from the *sancaks* of Avlona / Vlore and Yannina. The *sancak* of Delvino included the *nahiye* of Parakalamo (later becoming the kaza of Filat)⁵⁷ from the *sancak* of Avlona and the *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia and Mazaraki/Margaliç from the *sancak* of Yannina. The *nahiye* of Parakalamo and the *kazas* of Aydonat and Margaliç roughly corresponded to present-day Thesprotia.⁵⁸

Subsequently, the reorganized *sancaks* of Avlona, Delvino, and Yannina formed the *eyalet* of Yannina and remained largely unchanged until the 19th century. From I. Süleyman's reforms onward, the part of the old *nahiye* of Vagenetia that included at least the settlement of Sagiada, belonged to the Ottoman *nahiye/kaza* of Parakalamo, falling under the *sancak* of Delvino, in the *eyalet* of Yannina.⁵⁹

However, the coastal areas remained fraught with danger. After 1540, the Venetians, compelled to retreat, were obliged to pay taxes to solidify their presence in the reclaimed territories like Butrint and Parga. Despite this, they persisted in acts of plunder and arbitrary behavior against the coastal residents. Notably, they confiscated herds belonging to Ottoman subjects on the opposite shores and enticed merchants away from Sagiada's outpost by offering lower prices if they conducted their business in

⁵⁵ P. Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία Ηπείρου*, 175.

⁵⁶ About Gedik Ahmet Pasha: L.H. Uzunçarsili, 1983: *Osmanlı'tarihi*, vol. 2: *Istanbul'un Fethinden Kanunîsultan Süleyman'ın ölümüne kadar* (Ankara: 1983), 136. Reference in M. Kokolakis, *To 'Yστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 118.

⁵⁷ During the first periods, the *kaza* had a hiero-judicial meaning, as it was the seat of the judge (kadı). Then, the region was under the jurisdiction of the *kaza* of Mazaraki. Later, the word '*kaza*' meant the administrative seat of a broader region. *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵⁸ The term 'Thesprotia' was given to the region much later and after the integration of the region in the Greek Kingdom in 25.11.1936, see this Chapter 2.1.5 *After 1913*. During these earlier periods there is no information about a possible coherence of the three *kazas* that would attribute the area a particular name. Besides, information about the denomination as Çamlık/Tsamouria is a 19th century feature.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 115, 119-121.

Corfu.⁶⁰ These actions were tied to piratical operations originating from Corfu and extending to the coasts of Epirus. One such instance involved a certain Frangkiskos Sfendonis, who, having loaded his own ships with necessary supplies, conducted raids on behalf of the Venetians of Corfu; he attacked Sagiada, ambushed the Ottoman commander, another official, and their servant, subsequently delivering the plunder and prisoners to the Venetians.⁶¹

The efforts of the Ottomans to consolidate their power over the shore of Sagiada continued also in the first half of the 17th century. In 1615 Aslan Pasha of Yannina controlled the outposts on the Epirotan coasts. The Venetian correspondence in the region during the middle of the 17th century described the challenges for the proper operation of the outpost due to the plague that affected the region for years and the claims of the various *pashas* and commanders.⁶² These were trying to take advantage of the system of the life-term leased tax farms (the *malikane mukataa* system) that already made their appearance in the late 17th century if not earlier, and therefore, benefit from the activities in the outpost.⁶³ According to a document dating back to 1700, the soldiers stationed at the castle of Delvino received their salary from the *mukataa* of the custom of the Sagiada port.⁶⁴

Subsequently, under the Passarowitz Treaty of 1718, the coastal regions of Epirus, including Butrint, Sagiada, Igoumenitsa, Parga, Preveza, and Vonitsa, were ceded to the

⁶⁰ Evangelia Balta, Mustafa Oğuz, and Filiz Yaşar, "Ethnic and Religious Composition of Ottoman Thesprotia in the 15th to 17th Centuries," in *Thesprotia Expedition II. Environment and Settlement Patterns*, ed. by B. Forsén and E. Tikkala, Papers and Monographs (Helsinki, 2011), 355.

⁶¹ Alexandra Kradonelli, *Η ιστορία της πειρατείας στην Ελλάδα στους μέσους χρόνους της Τουρκοκρατίας 1538-1699* (The history of piracy in Greece during the middle period of Tourkokratia) (Athens: Estia, 1991), 276-277.

⁶² 25/05/1615: the Aslan Pasha of Yannina rules all the coastal outposts; 1646: due to the plague the communications stop in the outpost of Sagiada; with a letter in 28/01/1651, Osman Bey from Delvino asks the Venetians to stop the commerce with Sagiada, until he gets back the outpost, as this was given by the *beylerbey* to Becri Bey. The petition was followed by the refusal of the Venetians; In 1658 Osman Karapiperis Pasha, initially a landholder, appears as the key person for the proper operation of the outpost of Sagiada. In 1659 Karapiperis Pasha was the general commander of the region and Kapllan Pasha the commander in Sagiada. K. Mertzios, "Το εν Βενετία κρατικόν αρχεῖον (The state archive in Venice)," in P. Vizoukidis, G. Anagnostopoulos and A. Kontopanos (eds.), *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά 15* (Epirotan Chronicles), Ioannina 1940, 38, 49, 51-52.

⁶³ In the 17th cent. many powerful local elites tried to grasp the new opportunity that the *mukataa* system offered to lease lands, later transformed into *çifliks*. The *mukataa* lands were acquired by individuals with a lease for the term of the contract, eventually extending to life-terms. Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformations in the Ottoman Empire," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 283-337. Reprinted in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, London, Variorum, 1985.

⁶⁴ AE_SMST_II./ 39 – 3870/ H-20 Z. 1111 (08.06.1700).

Venetians. Following the Campo Formio Treaty in 1797, the area came under French control. However, two years later, in 1799, it returned to Ottoman rule under Ali Pasha Tepedenli (born 1744, ruled: 1778-1822). In 1800, the coastal area of Sagiada was leased as *mukataa* to Ali Pasha's commander.⁶⁵

2.1.3 Under the governance of Ali Pasha Tepedenli until 1820-22

Since 18th century there is the first available information about the composition of the population in this area. As the study of this topic faces difficulties such as the complex relationship between spoken language, ethnic origin, and religion, here there will be only a brief mention on the prominent groups that influenced local politics.

The Greek-speaking Christians and Albanian-speaking Muslims, or Çam/ Chams (Τσάμηδες/ Tsamides) were the two main ethnoreligious groups; much fewer were the semi-nomadic tribes of Sarakatsani and Vlachs, Gypsies, while during the end of the 19th century appear some Jewish names in the local censuses.⁶⁶ As until the 19th century, the regions of Albania and Epirus with the today's ethnical division were not evident, quite often, the various travelers described the region of present-day south Albania and Epirus based on these ethnoreligious groups.

Particularly the Chams, together with the Labs were from the Albanians of the southern region: the Labs lived in the area between Avlona (Vlorë), Tepelena (Tepelenë), *Gjirokastre*, Delvino (Delvinë or Delvina), and the Adriatic coast, while south of Labs, lived the Chams, until the mountainous ranges of Souli.⁶⁷ As a consequence, that period the area was first referred to as Çamlık/Chamlik/Tsamouria, with Pouqueville, who traveled in Epirus under Ali Pasha's protection, naming the region of the three *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia, Parakalamo/Filyat, and Mazaraki/Margariti/Margaliç as Chamlik *sancak*.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ M. Kokolakis, *To ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 123.

⁶⁶ E. Balta et.al, "Ethnic and Religious Composition," 349, 356. For the Jewish population in Filiates information by M. Pasiakos was shared with the author.

⁶⁷ Grigory Arsh, *Η Αλβανία και η Ήπειρος στα τέλη του ΙΗ' και στις αρχές του ΙΘ' αιώνα: τα δυτικοβαλκανικά πασαλίκια της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας* (Albania and Epirus at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century), translated into Greek by Antonia Dialla (Athens: Gutenberg, 1994), 32-78.

⁶⁸ It appears since 1820. Evangelia Balta, Fehmi Yilmaz, and Filiz Yaşar, "Tsamouria. Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia," in *Thesprotia Expedition I. Environment and Settlement Patterns*, ed. B. Forsén and E. Tikkala (Helsinki, 2009), 246; F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels in Southern Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Attica, and Peloponesus, or the Morea in the Years 1814-1816* (London: S. Richard Phillips and Co., 1822), 21.

During Ali Pasha Tepedenli's governance, extensive information provides insights into the prevailing conditions in the coastal region of the three *kazas*. This period highlighted arbitrary acts by both international actors and local stakeholders. Ali Pasha Tepedenli, in addition to his efforts to establish authority over various international actors, such as the Venetians, French, Russians, and Britons, mainly having commercial interests, also exerted considerable energy in subduing local Cham *ağas* and *beys*. Notable figures included Dino in Liopsi, Paramythia, and Preveza, Dalianides in Konispoli / Konispol, Çapari of Margariti, Pronioi of Paramythia, and Greek-speaking Christian notable clan families like the Souliotes in Souli. These local powers were often collaborating with the Great Powers against Ali Pasha to secure their own interests.⁶⁹

The political influence of the local land aristocracy during the late 18th to early 19th century was substantial and should not be underestimated. Although there is no available historical information about particular individuals officially appointed as *ayans*, local representatives to the Ottoman State, it is known for some of the aforementioned families, such as the Dino, that they were involved in various activities and architectural patronage (rich houses, mosques, *türbe*) demonstrating their political and social importance.

Since the middle 18th-century, the powerful local Chams *ağas* started appropriating land, even whole villages, after agreeing with the local peasants for protection over a certain percentage of the production (*ağalık*), converting lands and settlements into private estates (*çiftlik*) asserted by official titles.⁷⁰ Their power extended to the point of challenging and disobeying the Ottoman administrative system, including matters of military affairs.⁷¹ Notably, the *ağalık* for protection was not only a privilege of the Muslim elites, but also the Souliotes clan leaders and their fellows received this income

⁶⁹ Grigory Arsh, *Η Αλβανία και η Ήπειρος*, 203-205.

⁷⁰ M. Kokolakis *Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 67-68.

The term '*ağalık*' refers to protection agreements between the inhabitants of Christian settlements and the powerful Muslim landlords. The agreement included a fee paid by the Christians of the settlement. Various methods of joining *agaliki* payment agreements included payment in cash or in part of agricultural production. Moreover, the Muslim landlords assigned this work to their local representatives, while the "protection" on their behalf included armed interventions.

D. Dimitropoulos, "Αγαλίκι (Agaliki)," *Τα Ιστορικά* (Ta Istorika), vol. 26, n.50 (2009), 73-82.

⁷¹ A prominent example is the *kaza* of Gjirokastrë that was offered as a timar to the *sancakbey* of Delvine while the southern part of the *sancak* was like a special regime with some administratively autonomous *kaza* during the 1790s such as Filyat. M. Kokolakis, *Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 122-123.

from the local peasants in Souli. This situation drew the attention of 19th-century travelers like F.C.H.L. Pouqueville and J. Hobhouse, who provided vivid descriptions of the prevailing conditions.⁷² Ali Pasha, employing tactics such as raw violence, terror, and bribery, strategically took under his protection the majority of these rebellious locals and secured the profits from their lands.⁷³ The letters found in the published Archive of Ali Pasha serve as illustrative documents of this complex political landscape.⁷⁴

Ali Pasha's impact on his territory, the *pasalik* of Yannina, went beyond his diplomatic and military expertise; it extended to cultural, economic, and architectural spheres. Thorough research has been conducted on his governance, revealing numerous civic and religious projects, defense initiatives for coastal territories, and efforts to foster secure conditions for development.⁷⁵ Under Ali Pasha's governance, the region saw the development of numerous ports, totaling 16 by the early 19th century, according to G. Smyris. Examples include Ag. Saranta, Vivari, Katachytos, Sagiada, Goumenitsa, Volia, Arpitzia, Agiannaki, and Parga. These ports served both commercial and military purposes, with extensive land routes connecting them to the inland areas.⁷⁶

While more information about the development or condition of the outpost of

⁷² John Hobhouse traveled in Epirus together with Lord Byron in 1813 and described the violent authority of the local agas and beys around Gjirokastra, to the extent the Sublime Porte has no authority over them and therefore, the administrative subdivision of the previous periods has almost no importance. J. Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania and other provinces of Turkey*, 160-161. Pouqueville describes a similar condition. F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels in Southern Epirus*, 16.

⁷³ Even by issuing the related documents-orders/ *firmans*. (M. Kokolakis, *To ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 124).

⁷⁴ Vasilis Panagiotopoulos, Dimitris Dimitropoulos and Panayiotis Michaelaris, "Αρχείο Αλή πασά Συλλογής Ι. Χώτζη Γενικών Αρχείων του Κράτους και Μουσείου Μπενάκη, 1792-1820 (The Ali Pasha Archive)" (2018). Vol. 1, (130), 250-251, (131), 252-253, (145), 173-175.

Also see Paraskevi Nakou, "Η οικονομική και κοινωνική κατάσταση στην περιοχή της Θεσπρωτίας κατά την περίοδο της ηγεμονίας του Αλή Πασά στο Γιαννιώτικο πασαλίκι (1788-1821), με βάση νέα στοιχεία από το αρχείο του και άλλες πηγές (The economic and social condition in the region of Thesprotia during the hegemony of Ali Pasha in the pashalik of Yannina)" (master's thesis, University of Ioannina, 2021).

⁷⁵ For example, Neumeier and Yaycioğlu, discussing the architectural patronage of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, conclude that architectural and infrastructural patronage helped a magnate to consolidate leadership among local people and to guarantee their prestige to the center. Ali Yaycioğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*, (Stanford University Press, 2016); Emily Neumeier, "The Architectural Transformation of the Ottoman Provinces under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, 1788-1822" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2016).

⁷⁶ Giorgos Smyris, "The Venetian coast by the end of Venetian rule to the development of the pashalik of Ioannina (1797-1822), defensive and offensive formations," in *Θεσπρωτία Ι (Thesprotia I)*, ed. Ioannis Houliaras and Georgia Pliakou (Ioannina: Ministry of Culture and Sports-Ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia, 2019), 645-658.

Sagiada will be explored in the following part, it's noteworthy that amidst Ali Pasha's fortification projects along the coast, he had intentions to build a tower there, in 1811, although this plan was not realized. E. Neumeier provides insights into this project, as relayed by Ali Pasha to the British consul George Foresti, with Ali planning to send materials from Preveza.⁷⁷

2.1.4 The late Ottoman period until 1913

In the early 19th century, the broader periphery, *eyalet*, or *paşalık* of Yannina encompassed the three *sancaks* of Avlona, Delvine, and Yannina.⁷⁸ Subsequent changes, influenced by the efforts of Mahmud II and the Tanzimat reforms (1839, Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif), eventually had an impact on the peripheries.⁷⁹ These reforms aimed to the political and institutional transformation and modernization of the Ottoman Empire, expressed through the well-organized, centralized bureaucratic mechanism. These changes aimed to organize the internal disintegration of the Empire and establish the government's political control over the provinces, resulting to strong social rearrangements.

However, it's important to note that this transformation faced serious reactions from local powers that had benefited from the old system.⁸⁰ In the case of Epirus, where significant reactions emerged after the seizure of Ali Pasha Tepedenli by Mahmud II, immediate alignment with the new system was not necessarily expected; even until the 1840s the privilege of leasing the profits was given to the *vali*/administrator of the *eyalet*.⁸¹

The actual change in Epirus occurred in 1845 when the official committee for examining the application of the new orders in the provinces (Meclis-i Imariye) was established in Yannina, and Mehmet Resit Pasha was appointed as the new governor

⁷⁷ E. Neumeier, "The Architectural Transformation," 117-118.

⁷⁸ The terms '*eyalet*', '*vilayet*', '*sancak*', and '*nahiye*' have a geographical identity. The words '*paşalık*', '*mudirlik*', '*mutessariflik*' are related to the identity of their governor. M. Kokolakis, Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι, 99-103.

⁷⁹ Musa Çadirci, "Tanzimat Döneminde Türkiye'de Yönetim (1839-1856)," *Belleten* 52, no. 203 (1988), 601-626; Mehmet Seyitdanlioglu, "Meclis-i Ali-I Umumî (The Supreme Conseil-General) and the Transformation in the Ottoman Political Thought (1839-1876)," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 8, no. 23 (2010), 107-123.

⁸⁰ Robert Zens, "Provincial Powers: The Rise of Ottoman Local Notables (Ayan)," *Historical Studies* 3/3 (2011).

⁸¹ M. Kokolakis Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι, 128.

(*vali* and *seraşker*). Resit Pasha successfully curtailed the reactions of the local elites and implemented new administrative, military, and economic schemes.⁸² One notable change included the introduction of official councils at each administrative level (*eyalet*, *sancak*, *kaza*) comprising representatives from both Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

The subsequent administrative finalization occurred during the period 1867-1910, prompted by the 1864 (revised in 1867) Provincial Law (Teşkil-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi), which divided the Empire into 13 new *vilayets*. Consequently, the *eyalet* of Yannina became the new *vilayet* of Yannina. The *kaza* of Filat, including Sagiada, was initially part of the *sancak* of Gjirokastrë/Argyrokastro until 1874, after which it was incorporated into the *sancak* of Yannina.⁸³

Sagiada's administrative affiliation during the late Ottoman period remained within the periphery-*kaza* of Filat from 1820-1846, 1846-1867, and 1867-1913, with unchanged boundaries.⁸⁴ However, it also held the special status of *nahiye*, a smaller district of the *kaza* that normally included other settlements in its jurisdiction. In particular, in the yearbook (Salname-i Vilayet-i Yanya) of 1881-1883 and 1885, the settlement of Sagiada was referred to as a *nahiye* without though constituting a separate administrative unit, and without including other settlements.⁸⁵ Kokolakis suggests that this authority likely operated as a local coast guard, as other coastal areas in these yearbooks had a similar status, disappearing and reappearing (such as Mourtos and Igoumenitsa). This pattern continued until 1911.⁸⁶ During that period, the Vilayet Law (Vilayet Belediye Kanunu, 1876-77) was also enacted.⁸⁷ Sagiada together with other settlements in the region such as Plaisio/Plesivitsa, and Foiniki had representatives elected from the members of the community.

⁸² Ibid., 129-130, 133.

⁸³ The vilayet of Yannina of 1867 was divided in the following *sancaks*: Yannina, Argyrokastro/Gjirokastrë, Berat, Preveza, Tırhala. Ibid., 154.

⁸⁴ The *kaza* of Filat/Filiates, included the villages of today's municipality of Filiates, without Kouremadi, it included Koutsi/Vrysoula from Dodoni, as well as 9 settlements in present-day Albania around Agioi Saranta. Konispoli was the largest one. Ibid., 191, 393.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 111, 191.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 191.

⁸⁷ Bayram Coşkun, Çiğdem Pank, and Eyüp Şen. "Yerel Yönetim Tarihinden Bir Kesit: 1877 Tarihli Vilayât Belediye Kanununun İncelenmesi," in *Kent Yönetiminde Yeni Yaklaşımlar ve Etkin Belediyecilik Uygulamaları*, ed. M. Mecek, B. Parlak, E. Atasoy (İstanbul: Nobel (2018); Tansuğ Feryal, "The Kocabaşis as Intermediaries? The Local and Central Administration in Imvros/İmroz and Lemnos in the Early 19th Century," *Belleten* 78, no. 281 (2014): 223-244.

During this later period, settlements in the region were classified into three categories based on their land administration: free settlements (*karye*), which elected their representatives; settlements under private ownership (*çiftlik*), gradually formed through the *ağalık* tax system which remained, although the *ağalık* was prohibited in 1846 in Epirus (officially in 1831), as the owners had confirmed the ownership with titles;⁸⁸ and *muacceles* or *imlak* settlements. The last type of settlements, the *muacceles*, was owned by the Ottoman state following confiscations from powerful landowners like Ali Pasha Tepedenli.⁸⁹ These lands were allocated to individuals as concessions with a rent. Such is the case of Ahmed Dino Ağa “of the Çamlık dynasty,” who bought the confiscated *çiftlik* of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha in 1844 and whose family name is related to the powerful Dino family of Liopsi, neighboring to Sagiada.⁹⁰

Moreover, *baştına/ baština* (μᾱσταινᾱ) was a dominant form of land property in Thesprotia and Epirus; small cultivators could lease a small part of land, commonly a part of the *çiftlik*, the *imlak* or the ecclesiastic property, having the right of transferring/ inheriting the lease to third parties; they were paying the 1/3 of the production and they could not be driven out from their land.⁹¹ Such land relationships often created tensions between the involved parties.

According to the yearbook 1895 (Salname-i Vilayet-i Yanya/ s. 1311), in the *kaza* of Filyat/Filiates, there were 23 *karye* (free settlements) (e.g., Sagiada, Giromeri, Foiniki, Plaisio) and 32 *çiftliks*. In the *kaza* of Margariti, there were 30 free settlements and 9 *çiftliks*, while in the *kaza* of Paramythia, there were 5 free villages, 52 *çiftliks*, and 8 *muaceles*.⁹² As a general observation, Muslim Chams predominantly populated the free settlements, while Christians mainly inhabited the *çiftliks*. Exception were the settlements such Sagiada and Plaisio/Plesivitsa that were under the jurisdiction of the patriarchic exarchate of Giromeri.⁹³

⁸⁸ M. Kokolakis Το ὕστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι, 68-69.

⁸⁹ E. Balta, “Tsamouria,” 248.

⁹⁰ C..ML. / 108 – 4758/ H-21-C-1260 (08.07.1844)

⁹¹ Aikaterini Ioannou, “Η εξέλιξη του ιδιοκτησιακού καθεστώτος στη Θεσπρωτία. Η περίπτωση του Δήμου Σουλίου” (The development of the land administration in Thesprotia. The case study of the Municipality of Souli), (MSc. Thesis, AUTH, Thessaloniki, October 2015), 26-27.

⁹² E. Balta, “Tsamouria,” 260-265.

⁹³ Giouli Evangelou, *Σταυροπήγια και εξαρχίες σε σχέση αλληλεξάρτησης. Η περίπτωση της μονής Θεοτόκου Γηρομερίου, 16ος-19ος αι. (Patriarchic exarchates and interrelationships. The case of the Giromeri Monastery)* (Athens: National Research Institute, 2016), 11.

Apart from the authorities representing the Ottoman State, the Christian Orthodox population (Rum Millet) of the Empire, recognized the Ecumenical Patriarch of Istanbul as the highest religious and political leader almost throughout the Ottoman history; a setting that did not change much during the late Ottoman period after the Tanzimat. The reforms that followed (1856 - Hatt-ı Hümayun) recognized equal rights between the Muslims and non-Muslims of the Empire, therefore, the organic relationship between the Orthodox Church and its subjects continued in parallel and in collaboration to the Muslim Institutions.⁹⁴ (Figure 2.12-2.13)

In the region of the three late Ottoman *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia, a/Filiates, and Margaliç/Margariti, the centers of the *kazas* were also religious-judicial centers, the seats of the judge, the *kadı*. Moreover, Paramythia was also the seat of the bishopric including the whole region of the three *kazas* and further to the north until Aghioi Saranta, and to the south until the Acheron River.⁹⁵ Additionally, from the 17th century until 1863, the Giromeri monastery operated as a patriarchic exarchate including 14 settlements from the *kaza* of Filat/Filiates.⁹⁶ From 1863 to 1867 the exarchate became part of the bishopric of Paramythia, and permanently joined the bishopric in 1895, when was this upgraded into the Metropolis of Paramythia, Filiates and Giromeri, after the initiative of the former bishop Anthimos VII, originated from the settlement Plesivitsa near the settlement of Sagiada, who during that period served as the Patriarch.⁹⁷

Some of the settlements of the exarchate, such as Sagiada, Faneromeni, Plaisio/Plesivitsa, and Kokkinolithari/Kızılkaya remained under the patriarchal jurisdiction throughout the period of the exarchate.

Additionally, since the 17th century, records illuminate the spatial landscape of the settlement of Sagiada, revealing the ecclesiastical institution as a significant player. The monastery of Agios Ioannis Theologos, affiliated with the Giromeri monastery, emerged in 17th-century Ottoman documents.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Bruce Masters, "Christians in a changing world," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi, Vol. 3: *The Late Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 272-280.

⁹⁵ M. Kokolakis, *To ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, Map 7.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 142-143; Machi Paizi-Anagnostopoulou, *Ο θεσμός της πατριαρχικής εξαρχίας 14^{ος}-19^{ος} αι.* (The institution of the patriarchic exarchate) (Athens: National Research Institute, 1995), 56-57.

⁹⁷ E. Balta, "Tsamouria," 252; M. Kokolakis, *To ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 222-223.

⁹⁸ The monastery of Giromerion possessed the following metochia (dependencies): Martyritsa in the village of Vryselas, Saint John the Theologian near Sagiada, and another dedicated to Saint John the Theologian near Martziani, a village located today in Albania. The monastery in *Sagiada* appears for the

Indications of a monastery's existence in Sagiada already in the 16th century arise from information suggesting that in 1525 and 1526, a monk named Kallinikos produced two ecclesiastic codes (κώδικες) in Sagiada.⁹⁹ These codes, later discovered and cataloged on Mount Athos, imply the need for appropriate infrastructure for their production, possibly a monastery. Today, only the place name remains at the western outskirts of the old settlement, marking the former location of the monastery.

Icon artists from Sagiada, active in other areas around the turn of the 17th century, further emphasize the cultural and artistic contributions of the settlement.¹⁰⁰ The circumstances surrounding the abandonment and destruction of the monastery remain unknown, as does its role in shaping other settlement spaces.¹⁰¹ Examining the relationship of the Giromeri monastery to Giromeri settlement, where the monastery is just a part of the periphery, we can speculate on a similar dynamic in Sagiada. The monastery likely had a limited impact on the overall spatial organization of the settlement.

Several documents attest to the collaboration between Ottoman and ecclesiastic authorities on various matters, primarily concerning the behavior of Christian subjects residing in settlements under the jurisdiction of the exarchate, inter-family violence, church building, education and spiritual guidance, matters of inheritance, and appointment of community representatives from the Patriarch through the exarchate.¹⁰²

An important event that that kept occupied the Ottoman authorities for many years and lead to correspondence with the Giromery monastery for solutions was related to the efforts for independence from private ownership, known as the notable 'fights of the

first time as a depended monastery to Giromery in a document of 1613 as “kilise-i Teologa der sinur-i karye-i Sayada” and in a letter by the patriarch Parthenios IV in 1667. E. Balta, “Ethnic and Religious,” 362; G. Evangelou, *Σταυροπήγια και εξαρχίες*, 132-133.

⁹⁹ Spyridon Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on the Mount Athos* (Cambridge University Press, 1895), 165, 423.

¹⁰⁰ A certain priest Ioannis from Sagiada produced the icon of Saint John the Baptist in 1735 in Kipinis Monastery. Foivos I. Piompinos, *Έλληνες Αγιογράφοι μέχρι το 1821* (Greek Iconographers until 1821) (Athens: Society of Greek Literature and Historical Archive, 1984), 153.

¹⁰¹ Oral narratives and traditions describe the monastery in Sagiada falling into despair and being abandoned due to piratic raids. During the late 16th century (1570), there were indeed operations in Sagiada and the coast of Epirus by commissioned pirates of Corfu by the Venetians. However, we do not know how these affected the monastery, which continued operating in the period that follows. Alexandra Kradonelli, *Η ιστορία της πειρατείας*, 276-277.

¹⁰² G. Evangelou, *Σταυροπήγια και εξαρχίες*, 199-204, 352-353.

16 villages' in the *kaza* of Filat/Filiates.¹⁰³ These uprisings commenced in 1856 and persisted for 70 years until 1929, referring to the fights of the Christian population of these settlements against the local Muslim landlords, who were trying to transform their areas into their private estates through the *ağalık*.¹⁰⁴ This uprising aligned with the general spirit of uprisings in Epirus and Thessaly and the Balkans and occasioned by the liberties that the non-Muslim start receiving.¹⁰⁵ The reactions of the local Christians being against the local landowners and not against the Ottoman State, led to the burning of Filat and Paramythia, along with other transgressions like killings and kidnappings.

In one of the correspondances initiated by the local *ağas*, these complained, after recapturing the town post-uprising, that the Giromeri monastery was assisting the criminals. This issue was resolved after the intervention of the sultan's representative in Preveze, who sided with the monastery's prior, Mr. Kosmas. The representative ordered the *ağas* and *beys* of Filiates to stay away from the monastery, clarifying that the loyal to the Ottoman State '*reaya*' Mr. Kosmas would never support criminal actions.¹⁰⁶

Such events underscore/underline that despite administrative modernization of the 19th cent., the dynamics of local social groups remained contentious. Both Muslim Chams and Christians asserted their rights within the new administrative system and legislation. As the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 recognized the estates and allowed private ownership over the public lands.¹⁰⁷ The rural upper classes of Thesprotia seemed legitimized in their efforts to exploit their influence for further land acquisition.

¹⁰³ This refers to the uprising known as the "fights of the 16 villages of the *kaza* of Filat" already mentioned in the chapter 2. This uprising resulted by the land administration and the privatization of the settlements by the local *ağas* through the method of *ağalık*. These settlements were Tsamandas, Vavouri, Lias, Glousta, Lista, Tsaraklimani, Koutsi, Leptokarya, Brania, Lykou, Raveni, Kokkinolithari, Malouni, Keramitsa, Libovo, Kokkinista, and their dependencies: Achouria/ Aghioi Pandes, Achouria/ Vavouri, Fatiri, Gola, Arachova, Xecho Memko, Xecho Zeyneli, Vortopia, Gardiki, Povla. N. Skopas, "Ο αγώνας των 16 χωριών της επαρχίας Φιλιατών: ένα αγροτικό ξεσήκωμα, 1858-1930"; Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, "Ιστορία Του Βόρειου Ελληνισμού" (History of the Northern Greeks), in *Ηπειρος, Μακεδονία, Θράκη 3 (Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace)*, 1993, 463.

Also information from the Ottoman Archives: MVL, 1003, 23, H-03-01-1281; MVL, 995, 72, H-24-04-1281; MVL, 1002, 07, H-22-06-1281; MVL 1017, 12, H-04-05-1282.

¹⁰⁴ Giorgos Kotsis, *Φιλιάτες. Ιστορικά και λαογραφικά στοιχεία* (Filiates. Historical and folklore elements) (Ioannina, Ektypotiki Ipeirou, 2021), 39-43; Note/Memoir written in 1915 and published in a contemporary newspaper (only this page remains): Minas Ballos, "Τα 16 χωριά και η απελευθέρωση των Φιλιατών στις 26/02/1913 (The 16 villages and the release of Filiates in 26/02/1913).

¹⁰⁵ Halil Inalcik, *Application of the Tanzimat and its Social Effects*. Vol. 1. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2019, 4.

¹⁰⁶ G. Evangelou, *Σταυροπήγνια και εξαρχίες*, 405-406.

¹⁰⁷ Attila Aytekin, "Agrarian Relations, Property and Law: An Analysis of the Land Code of 1858 in the Ottoman Empire, 3206 (2009), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200903268694>.

However, the Land Code did not define the relationships between the landlords and cultivators in the estates. The fights, which included legal and illegal efforts, ended in murders, arsons, and exiles. Similar rebellions took place in the Balkans and northern Anatolia.¹⁰⁸

Finally, the locals' efforts for the unification of the three *kazas* into a separate district-*sancak* named Chamlik, which began in the mid-19th century, proved successful, albeit for a brief period. From 1910 until 1913, the two *kazas* of Filat/Filiates and Paramythia from the *sancak* of Yannina, along with Margalich/Margariti from Preveza, constituted the *sancak* of Reşadiye (named after Sultan Mehmet V Reşad, 1909-1918), and the small outpost of Igoumenitsa became its capital.¹⁰⁹ Further insights into this political decision and its impact on the outpost of Sagiada will be discussed in the following section, focusing specifically on the outpost.

2.1.5 After 1913

After the Balkan Wars and the Treaty of London in 1913, the region of Epirus joined the Greek Kingdom. It experienced significant historical events, including World War I, the occupation of Epirus by Italian troops on May 26, 1917, local participation in the Greco-Turkish War/Asia Minor Campaign in 1922, a period of financial distress for the Greek Kingdom leading to the dictatorship of Theodoros Pangkalos from June 25, 1925, to August 1926, and the challenging Interwar period that culminated in the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas from August 4, 1936, until 1941.

The provinces faced demographic and financial consequences during this turbulent political situation. A series of laws addressing land property issues in the newly acquired territories from the previous period sparked reactions from local landowners. The primary objective of these laws, spanning from 1917 to 1949, was the complete dismantling of large and medium-sized properties, inevitably impacting the interests of the former land aristocracy.¹¹⁰

E. Manta argues that the “Muslim Cham question” in Epirus emerging in the Interwar period was related with all the previous conditions, only briefly mentioned: the population exchange resulted from the Minor Asia campaign, the land property, the

¹⁰⁸ A. Aytekin, “Agrarian Relations,” 943

¹⁰⁹ M. Kokolakis, Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι, 191.

¹¹⁰ ΦΕΚ 247/Α/1924, ΦΕΚ 370/Α/1926. ΦΕΚ 342/Α/1949. Also see Aik. Ioannou, “Η εξέλιξη του ιδιοκτησιακού καθεστώτος στη Θεσπρωτία,” 29-31.

suppressive practices of the dictatorships against the minorities, and irredentist ambitions.¹¹¹ The unsolved problems lead to the brutalities of World War II resulting in the partial burning and looting of many settlements around Greece, among them the settlement of Sagiada by Nazi troops and their affiliated locals - the neighboring Chams of Liopsi - on August 23, 1943.

Following these traumatic events, the gradual relocation of locals from the settlement of Sagiada to Corfu led to its total abandonment. After the war's conclusion, Chams were relocated to Albania as a consequence of their choice to align with the Axis Powers. This political decision by the Greek State marked the abandonment of several Muslim settlements in the region and disrupted the multicultural aspect of this coastal area.

After the London Protocol on 04/17/1913, the General Administration (*Γενική Διοίκηση*) of Epirus included most of the areas of the *vilayet* of Yannina, while its subdivisions (*Υποδιοίκηση*) included the territories of the previous *kazas*.¹¹² In 1918, the general administration of Epirus consisted of two prefectures (*νομός*): the prefecture of Ioannina and Preveza. The subdivision of Margariti, which belonged to the prefecture of Preveza; the subdivision of Filiates, where Sagiada was inscribed, and Paramythia belonged to Ioannina. Later, these would compose the prefecture of Thesprotia. In 1919, communities were being defined.¹¹³ In 1928, the prefecture of Ioannina included the regions (*επαρχία*) of Thyamis (previously Filiates) and Paramythia, while Preveza included the region of Margariti.

Lastly, the prefecture of Thesprotia was established on 25/11/1936, having Igoumenitsa as its center/capital.¹¹⁴ One year later, in 1937, were defined the subdivisions and communities of Thesprotia, therefore the three regions of Paramythia, Thyamis, and Margariti were defined. In 1951, the prefecture of Thesprotia was divided

¹¹¹ Eleftheria K. Manta, "The Çams of Albania and the Greek state (1923–1945)," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 4 (2009): 524–528.

¹¹² The other areas from the *vilayet* became part of the new Albanian state. The General Administration (*Γενική Διοίκηση*) of Epirus was divided in 9 sub-divisions (*Υποδιοικήση*): Ioannina, Konitsa, Metsovo, Preveza, Louros, Filiates, Igoumenitsa, Paramythia. The General Administrations were cancelled in 1915 and re-established in 1918. B.Δ. 31.1.1915, ΦΕΚ 50/Α/1915 και Ν. 1149/1918, ΦΕΚ 34/Α/1918.(Ibid.43)

¹¹³ "Περὶ συστάσεως δήμων καὶ κοινοτήτων ἐν τῷ νομῷ Ἰωαννίνων (About the formation of municipalities and communities in the Prefecture of Ioannina)," B.Δ. 07.08.1919, ΦΕΚ 184/Α/1919. 19 August 1919. Ibid., 44.

¹¹⁴ "Περὶ συστάσεως Νομοῦ Θεσπρωτίας ἐν Ἠπείρῳ (About the formation of the Prefecture of Thesprotia)." A. N. 353/ 25.01.1936, ΦΕΚ 525/Α/1936, 27 November 1936. Ibid., 44.

into the four regions of Thyamis, Margariti, Paramythia, and Filiates. Sagiada remained part of the region of Filiates. Lastly, in 1955, the prefectural authority (*νομαρχιακή αυτοδιοίκηση*) was established, and the administration in Greece entered the post-war period.

Sagiada had already been abandoned, while a new settlement was being built. With the law of 1978, the deserted settlement of Sagiada, Palia Sagiada, was designated, along with around 800 other settlements in Greece, as a 'traditional settlement' by the Hellenic Ministry of the Environment and Energy.¹¹⁵ In 1997, after reform known as the 'Kapodistrias' reform, Sagiada became a separate municipality within the prefecture/*nomos* of Thesprotia, Periphery of Epirus. After 2010, with the subsequent 'Kallikratis' reform, the region was partially incorporated into the municipalities of Filiates and Igoumenitsa, within the peripheral unit of Thesprotia.¹¹⁶ Apart from the nomination of the Palia Sagiada as a 'traditional settlement', Palia Sagiada is not nominated by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports as a monument or protected site, therefore it is not under the supervision of any Hellenic State institution.

2.2 Salines and *skaloma* (the outpost)

The previous focus on the geopolitics of the region of Sagiada and the broader location highlighted the various authorities, stakeholders, and political systems that framed the various activities and land property. The local sources that functioned as the template for all these actors to claim their profits were the salines, the outpost and the plains of Sagiada. As the administration of the plains was the privilege of the Cham *ağas* and *bey*s from the Muslim settlements of Liopsi, Skefari, and Kotsika, and the production and profits mainly affected the socio-economic function of the other settlements, this part focuses on the salines and the outpost, which were associated with the activities of individuals from the settlement of Sagiada.

¹¹⁵ This nomination provides only a very general framework for possible building activities within the settlement. Previous Ministry of the Environment, Urban Planning and Public Works. *Περί χαρακτηρισμού ως Παραδοσιακών Οικισμών τινών του Κράτους και καθορισμού των όρων και περιορισμών δομήσεως των οικοπέδων αυτών* (About the characterization of traditional settlements). ΦΕΚ 594/Δ/13-11-1978.

¹¹⁶ 'Kapodistrias' reform (1997-2010): administrative change on the boundaries of the various regions around Greece. After the 'Kapodistrias' reform the prefecture of Thesprotia included the municipalities of Acheron, Igoumenitsa, Margariti, Paramythia, Parapotamos, Sagiada, Filiates, Syvota, and Filiates. 'Kallikratis' reform (2011- today): the peripheral unit of Thesprotia includes the municipalities of Igoumenitsa, Souli, and Filiates. "Δήμοι και Κοινότητες (Municipalities and Communities)," last accessed 4 January 2023, <https://www.thesprotia.gr/dimoi/>

Moreover, during the late Ottoman period, these wealth sources attracted the international attention and entrepreneurship of the foreign capital. And this capital accumulation resulted to a more assertive presence of the Ottoman mechanism to secure the proper function of the area. In this multicultural social platform, together with foreigners, co-existed entrepreneurs and other social groups from the settlement of Sagiada interacting actively and developing their culture.

In 1949, the Hellenic Ministry of National Economy, responsible for overseeing the operation of salines in Greek territory, documented 25 salines that were operational until 1931, with 7 of them being abandoned by 1954.¹¹⁷ Sagiada's salines were among those that had ceased operations. In a letter addressed to the Department of Ethno-Economy in 1947, the community of Sagiada, through the municipality of Filiates and the regional office in Ioannina, requested the reopening of the salines. They emphasized the need for this income, especially given the area's status as a fire-damaged zone after WWII. However, the government department declined the request, citing a two-year surplus of salt—sufficient for the designated period. According to the state's decision, some salines were required to remain inactive.¹¹⁸

The abandonment of the salines marked a significant disruption in the local economy. Their historical importance dates back to the 14th century, when, as previously discussed, salt was an important export commodity in the Despotate of Epirus, highly sought after by foreign traders. Despite the Venetians relying on Corfu as their primary salt source, controlling salt commerce in the eastern Mediterranean territories remained a crucial business.¹¹⁹

E. Balta, through her study on Ottoman fiscal records, provides the first quantitative information regarding the income derived from salt production. The tax register for the *kaza* of Aydonat in 1551 mentions the taxes, which were attributed to the sultan's

¹¹⁷ N. Lambropoulos, Chysoula Kourteli, “Οι αλυκές της Ελλάδος ως μονάδες παραγωγής αλατιού και ως υγρότοπος ειδικής σημασίας (The salines of Greece as production units and as hydro-tops of importance),” report, Goulondris Museum of National History, Greek Center of Biotopes-Hydro-tops, 1995, 12-13.

¹¹⁸ Unpublished material from M. Pashiakos personal archive, given to the author. Application number 8763, sent in 28/04/1947 and answer through a telegram to the application with the same number (no date).

¹¹⁹ There were saltpans in Lefkas and near Arta, but also along the coast in the north, at Valona, Sagiada and elsewhere. Once the Venetians had acquired Corfu in 1368, they assumed a proprietorial right to the saltpans at Sagiada and Butrinto, even though Corfu provided salt in greater quantities. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 230; Theodora Petanidou, *Salt in European History and Civilization* (Athens: Hellenic Saltworks S.A., 1997), 243-255.

landholdings, including 100,000 *aspers* from the customs house at the outpost of Sagiada and 40,000 *aspers* as the income from the salines.¹²⁰ Similarly, the register of the villages in the *nahiye* of Parakalamo/Filat in 1613 begins by itemizing the taxes owed to the sultan's holdings. Notably, the taxes from the harbor and salines of Sagiada were specified, amounting to 12,000 and 214,000 *aspers*, respectively. It's worth highlighting that the 245 tax-paying inhabitants of the settlement of Sagiada were exempt from taxes that year because the entire population was compelled to work in the salines. This practice of exemption for salt workers was also observed in the older tax register of 1551, where the registrar notes, 'only 70 inhabitants were workers in the salines and they were exempt from all taxes except the head tax.'¹²¹

For the 18th century, there is currently no precise information available regarding the income from salt. Much later, according to the yearbook 1892-1893 (*Salname-i Vilayet-i Yanya/ sene1308*), Sagiada was producing 800,000 oke of salt annually, with a significant portion exported to Britain. The Britons, recognizing its importance, had established an agent in the outpost of Sagiada from the mid-19th century to facilitate commercial transactions.¹²²

Interestingly, a newspaper from 1893 reported that the management of the salines was entrusted to a certain Seifi Efendi from Gjirokastre/Argyrokastro. He operated under the monopoly of a French company that owned the plot, indicating a Anglo-French salt export transaction.¹²³ However, the newspaper misleads regarding the actual owner of the salines, which continued to be the Ottoman State and not the local *ağa*. A telegram sent in 1898 to the Ministry of Finance expressed concern that the process of transferring rights to administer the “salt mines” in Sagiada to a third party had been delayed. This situation was detrimental to the Ottoman treasury, causing distress to the Public Debt Administration. The total salt production for Preveza and Sagiada that year

¹²⁰ E. Balta, “Ethnic and Religious Composition,” 355-356

¹²¹ Ibid., 359.

¹²² E. Balta, “Tsamouria,” 255.

¹²³ “Εκ Κέρκυρας. Ἡ Σαγιαδά, τὰ σχολεῖά της, ἡ συγκοινωνία, καὶ αἱ ἀλυκαὶ της (From Corfu: Sagiada, its schools, transportation, and its salines).” *Φωνὴ τῆς Ἠπείρου* (Foni tis Ipirou), Ioannina, 06/08/1893, 2. Although not confirmed, Skandaletos Athanasios (probably born around 1850) from Sagiada seemed also being the administrator of the salines at some point. And if this information is correct, it is not known exactly whether he took the position from Seifi Efendi, or he had other administrative responsibilities. Anyhow, the family had connection with the French entrepreneur world as Georgios Skandaletos moved to France (Marseille) and established his business there.

was 25 tons.¹²⁴ It is likely that the French company acted as the administrator, and Seifi Efendi served as its local operator, a pattern observed in other foreign commercial affairs in the outpost. As a last remark, the article highlights that the operation of the salines significantly benefited the local residents of Sagiada who were engaged in this economic activity, proving to be a significant source of income for them.

The outpost, *skaloma*, equally significant as a source of income, held a central and bustling role, with abundant records detailing its physical presence since the 16th century. Ships would anchor at a distance from the outpost, and transportation to Sagiada was facilitated through smaller boats. Similarly to the salines, the outpost had an interlocal meaning for the region, while prominent people from the settlement of Sagiada appear as agents and entrepreneurs benefited financially by the outpost. At the same time, the outpost was an easy nod for transferring to Corfu, connecting many people from the settlement of Sagiada with the island and its inevitable western-oriented material culture.

From the earliest accounts, Evliya Çelebi (1610-1679) explored Epirus in 1665, detailing his travels along the coast. Upon reaching the outpost of Sagiada, he portrayed it as a crucial shore with stone-built storage facilities, a customs service, inns for travelers and merchants, and seats for representatives from the Sublime Porte and the Venetians.¹²⁵ Evliya observed that Sagiada played a central role in shipping products from Yannina, Trikala, Yenişehir (Larissa), Salonika, and Serres.¹²⁶

Despite occasional criticism for his exaggerated descriptions, Evliya Çelebi's depiction of Sagiada aligns closely with the actual conditions. D. Siorokas, in a detailed study on the French consulate in Arta, provides valuable information about the operation of the outpost in Sagiada during the 18th century. French presence in Sagiada is documented since 1669, along with agents from England, France, and the Netherlands before 1675.¹²⁷ To facilitate the circulation of their products within the

¹²⁴ DH. MKT. / 2141 – 28/ H-15-R-1316 (29.11.1898),1.

¹²⁵ Th. Siontis, "Ο περιηγητισμός στη Θεσπρωτία 17ος – 19ος αι. (Travelers in Thesprotia 17th – 19th cent)," in *Θεσπρωτία Ι* (Thesprotia 1), ed. Ioannis Houliaras and Georgia Pliakou (Ioannina: Ministry of Culture and Sports-Ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia, 2019), 622.

¹²⁶ E. Balta, "Ethnic and Religious Composition," 361.

¹²⁷ P. Aravantinos suggests that the French consul established the first consulate in Sagiada in 1695; the French historian Ed. Salvador mentions that the consulate of Sagiada was functioning since much earlier while K. D. Mertzios based on the venetian document, mentions the existence of a French consul in Sagiada since 1669; consul agents of England, France, and Holland/ Netherlands before 1675. However, after the mid. 17th century French representatives in the port areas such as Patra, Methoni, and Koroni

Ottoman Empire, the French established a consulate in the region, known as the Consuls Generales de France au Royaume d'Albanie. The first French consul, Benoist Garnier, arrived in Sagiada, the initial seat of the consulate, from where he sent his inaugural letter on 03/11/1702.¹²⁸

In his letter, Garnier underscored to the Chambre of Commerce in Marseille the advantages of the coastal area, noting the high-quality and abundant wheat produced from Amvrakikos Gulf to Sagiada. He proposed that French ships should stop at the outposts within the area of the consulate (Aghioi Saranta, Sagiada, Preveza, and Arta) for better prices compared to Selanic/Thessaloniki or Volos.¹²⁹ Garnier also claimed that establishing the consulate in the region removed the danger from pirates, making Sagiada one of the safest outposts in the Orient. Despite the positive assessment of Sagiada, the consulate's seat was moved to Arta a year later due to the lack of appropriate infrastructure for a comfortable and secure stay.¹³⁰

Hierosme Pellissier took over as vice-consul in Sagiada after Garnier, but the French representation in the area did not last long. Later accounts indicate the absence of a vice-consul, and Pellissier's tenure duration remains unknown. Moreover, the existing information about the residence of the French representatives is not enough for further suggestions on a possible consulate house in the outpost. Consul Laurent Boulle, in 1750, described Sagiada as a problematic port, highlighting the arbitrary actions of the Turkish customs officer. In his 1763 description, he portrayed Sagiada as a deserted port with only a simple warehouse store used by French captains to evade taxes (*proxeniko*/προξενικό, consulate). However, he also noted that Sagiada served as a valuable outpost for cargo traveling to Yannina.¹³¹ Interestingly, the French ambassador Louis Sauveur, Marquis de Villeneuve, who traveled in the Ottoman Empire from 1728 to 1841, attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a post station in Sagiada accessible from Otranto, Apulia.¹³²

used to take the title of the consul, but that was rather a suitable solution for assisting the French merchants and the French ships. D. Siorokas, *To γαλλικό προξενείο της Άρτας 1702-1789* (The French consulate in Arta 1702-1789) (PhD thesis, University of Ioannina, 1980), 19.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 19-20.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 174-175.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 21, 212.

¹³¹ Ibid., 30.

¹³² Ibid., 233.

During the period following the Treaty of Passarowitz, when Venetians exerted control over coastal activities, competition between Venice and France intensified, particularly concerning taxes under Venetian control. Sagiada became a common place for evading taxation, as evidenced by accusations against Genoese ships in 1737 for not paying consulate taxes.¹³³ In the early 18th century, Greek merchants from Yannina showed a preference for conducting business with ships from Ragusa and Livorno. When Italian ships arrived in Corfu, messengers were sent to merchants through the port of Sagiada. Furthermore, if Venice was the destination, Greek merchants did not have to pay taxes for storing cargo in Sagiada.¹³⁴

During the French consulate's period in Arta, the outpost of Sagiada primarily engaged in import and export activities associated with Greek merchants from Yannina. They imported Venetian textiles and exported mainly tobacco, wax, and wheat. Industrial products, coffee, and sugar were predominantly imported in other coastal outposts. In the early 19th century, Sagiada loaded tobacco, linen, wool, wheat, salt, structural timber, leather, and various other products.¹³⁵

Roads connecting Yannina to Sagiada, and subsequently to Corfu, are depicted in maps from the late 19th or early 20th century. Even from the earlier period, road guides (dromodeichtes-δρομοδείχτες) provided instructions for the shortest routes for travelers.¹³⁶ Although much of the old network has been abandoned today, some parts remain in good condition, retaining the main route and its key nodes.¹³⁷ A guide by Michael Glyki printed in Venice in 1829 describes the journey from Yannina to Corfu as a 22 ½ hour trip, involving walking and possibly using animals, and of course the shipping until Corfu. The route passes through the Raikos bridge and Carkovista (Dodone), entering the *kaza* of Filat, through Faneromeni to Filat, the roadstead of Sagiada, and finally Corfu (Figure 2.10). Along this route, settlements functioned as nodes and stops,

¹³³ Ibid., 150.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 101, 207.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 155; Gr. Arsh, *Η Αλβανία και η Ήπειρος*, 56-58.

¹³⁶ “3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary printed in 1910,” last accessed 4 January 2024.

<http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/200e/38-40.jpg>:

¹³⁷ This is about the Lagkaris trail, part of the so-called “salt route” connecting Sagiada to Yannina for transferring the salt from the salt marches. The remaining part of the trail starts close to the settlement Kokkinolithari and continues for around 2.200 m until Keramitsa. Pouqueville refers about its reconstruction in 1716.

featuring markets, weekly fairs, and inns to facilitate travelers and merchants.¹³⁸ Along this route, settlements functioned as nodes and stops, featuring markets, weekly fairs, and inns to facilitate travelers and merchants.

Travelers from the early 19th century shared their personal impressions. Pouqueville, between 1806-1815, described Sagiada as the "most frequented" outpost in the coastal area. The American politician Edward Everett (1794-1896), accompanied by Theodore Lyman (1794-1865), stayed in Sagiada at the house of the Cham *ağa* before continuing to Yannina.¹³⁹ Although Everett's description is influenced by cultural stereotypes, it provides a unique testimony about life and the spatial organization of an Ottoman elite house from that period.¹⁴⁰

In 1858, the German traveler Alexander Schläfli (1831-1863) described Sagiada as a small village where people only ate fish. He also noted that the British representatives in the outpost behaved as if the area belonged to the "Queen Majesty of England."¹⁴¹ Despite his biased views, Schläfli acknowledged significant commercial activity in Sagiada, yet poor infrastructure, with only a "filthy inn" and a "ruined customs service."

In the same year, accounts from the local merchants appear for the first time in the outpost: a document issued by the sub-health service office of the outpost mentioned Nikolas Tasis, identified as a "merchant of Sagiada," transferring his load to Corfu. When the Austrians later established their stronger presence on the Epirotan coast, at the end of the 19th century, the Tasis family continued its involvement, with Xenofon Tasis serving as the representative for Lloyd's in Sagiada, where the company's steamboats arrived once a week.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Michael Glyki, *Δρομοδείκτης των ακολούθων οκτώ ημερών* (The road guide of the eight days) (Venice: 1829), 17.

¹³⁹ Th. Siontis, "Ο περιηγητισμός στη Θεσπρωτία 17ος – 19ος αι.," 623.

¹⁴⁰ Edward Everett, Andia Frantzi (translator in Greek), Stathis Finopoulos (ed.), *Σελίδες ημερολογίου: 1819. Κέρκυρα, Ιωάννινα, Μετέωρα, Τύρναβος, Δελφοί, Αθήνα, Καλάβρυτα, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Βουκουρέστι* (Pages of a diary: 1819) (Athens: Trochalia, 1996), 58-64.; I. Vingopoulou, "Ταξιδιώτες και Αλή Πασάς: όταν η Δύση συναντά την Ανατολή" (Travelers and Ali Pasha: when West meets the East), in *Ο Αλή Πασάς όπως τον γνώρισα: Οι μαρτυρίες δύο ταξιδιωτών*: Peter Oluf Brondsted, Theodore Lyman (Ali Pasha the way I met him: the testimonies of two travelers), I. Vingopoulou and P. Michaelaris, eds. (Ioannina: Isnafi, 2006), 7–24.

¹⁴¹ Alexander Schläfli. "Εντυπώσεις ταξιδιού στην Ήπειρο κατά το έτος 1858 (Impressions from a trip in Epirus, 1858)." *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο* (Epirotan Diary), translated by Georgios Petsalis (1981): 155-156. Schläfli describes the filthy conditions and poor infrastructure at the roadstead, as well as the influence and intervene of the British.

¹⁴² "Εκ Κέρκυρας. Ἡ Σαγιαδά, τὰ σχολεῖά της," 2. The operation included boats that reached the coast from the ship as depicted in a carte-postale, a lithography by Purge company. From the personal archive of M. Pasiakos, presented to the author.

However, despite the bustling activities, the infrastructure of the outpost remained inadequate, leading to reactions from local merchants who were keen on upgrading their port for greater economic benefits. In 1862, a letter to the Ministry of Commerce and the Governor of Yannina outlined a petition advocating for the necessity of a new "macadamized road" from Sagiada port to Yannina. The locals acknowledged the tremendous benefits such roads had brought to other important parts of Rumelia and urged the state to provide building materials and funds. They expressed their willingness to contribute labor, with expenses for construction craftsmen covered by the treasury of the Yannina governorate. The letter also proposed sending an engineer to assess the feasibility of such a road and emphasized the potential for establishing a proper road network with multiple branches in Yanina.¹⁴³ The locals continued their advocacy through the local press, highlighting complaints about the outpost's condition and the detrimental impact on local entrepreneurship. The newspaper *Ιωάννινα* (Ioannina) and *Φωνή της Ηπείρου* (Foni tis Ipirou/ Epirus' Voice) published in Yannina and Athens provide very interesting insites on the various voices from the residents of the settlement of Sagiada.

Sagiada's administrative reliance on its broader districts becomes evident in the aftermath of the significant earthquake that struck the settlement during February 1872. The earthquake caused extensive damage, with 90 out of 100 buildings collapsing in the settlement of Sagiada and damages amounting to 1,000,000 *kuruş*. Nearby settlements, such as Liopsi, also suffered, with 106 houses and a mosque collapsing. However, the primary concern for the authorities was focused on Sagiada, as indicated in an official telegraph to the Prime Ministry (Grand Vizier).¹⁴⁴ The outpost's authorities promptly initiated a response, sending letters and telegrams to superiors to secure healthcare, temporary housing, and food for the affected locals.¹⁴⁵

A detailed newspaper article published one week after the incident sheds light on

¹⁴³ MKT. MHM./ 142 – 59/ H-5 Ra. 1279 (31.08.1862), 1.

¹⁴⁴ The following telegram is illustrative of the situation: "Telegraph to the Prime Ministry: Earthquake in Sagiada: Occurred at 4 o'clock in the night. 90 out of 100 houses collapsed. 33 people under the debris, 3 died. The quarantine house and customs building of the Sagiada port building also demolished. [...] Villages that contained a total of 300 houses also got affected, with 40-50 houses collapsing. People left homeless have to wait outside. These poor people are awaiting the mercy of the sultan. Temporary barracks will be built using timber, but until their construction, the army stationed in Preveze shall send tents, a quarantine doctor, and a surgeon, using one of the custom's available ships. The state shall send provisioning, mainly flour and wheat and barley."

¹⁴⁵ Newspaper *Ιωάννινα* (Ioannina) Γ-137, Monday, 07/02/1872.

the subsequent actions. The governor (*vali*) of the *vilayet*, likely Safvet Pasha, expressed initial frustration with the authorities in the *kaza* of Filat for the delayed report. He promptly instructed the governor of Preveza, probably Rasit Pasha/Bey, to expedite the delivery of essential commodities via sea using the steamboat that transported salt.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, doctors and a surgeon were to be sent. Simultaneously, on behalf of the *vali*, Ali Bey, along with the police commander from Filat, Ibrahim Bey, the surgeon K. Apostolakis from Filat, and two or three members from the municipal council in Filat, would visit the earthquake-stricken area. Ismail Bey, the *kaymakam*/governor of the *kaza* of Filat, was unable to participate due to his hospitalization.¹⁴⁷

Sagiada captured the attention of the authorities, reflecting its importance within the Empire. Notably, the governor's decision to seek help from Preveza rather than Gjirokastre/Argyrokastro is intriguing possibly influenced by the existing sea connection compared to the challenging road infrastructure between Sagiada and Gjirokastre.

Following the earthquake, the local merchants occasioned by the disasters of their properties, found once again the opportunity to mention the need for new infrastructure.¹⁴⁸ However, the 19th-century *fin-de-siècle* momentum for the development of Sagiada's outpost through infrastructural projects was derailed. Igoumenitsa, serving as the capital of the new *sancak* of Reşadiye, became the focal point for larger infrastructural endeavors. Igoumenitsa that period was not any developed outpost, rather the opposite. However, as Kokolakis suggests, the upgrading of this location was a political decision, laying in the aspirations of the neo-Turk Mustafa Zihni Pasha and the German commander in Turkey, Goltz Pasha who saw the outpost of Preveza as an insecure plot in case of an attack by the Kingdom of Greece.¹⁴⁹ In 1910, started the construction of a new road connecting Ioannina to Igoumenitsa; the same year the administrative authorities started their establishment there.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ A.} MKT.UM. / 1159 – 97/ H-6-Z-1287 (1872); 10 Z. 1288 (20.02.1872) 2-01; (no date).

For the names of the administrators see M. Kokolakis, *To ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 419.

¹⁴⁷ Newspaper *Ιωάννινα*.

¹⁴⁸ ŞD. / 2087 – 51/ H-18-01-1293 (1876).

¹⁴⁹ M. Kokolakis, *To ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 161.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 162.

The anticipated development didn't materialize until 1925 when George Troubatas, a resident of Sagiada, took charge of public works. During this period, various infrastructural projects were initiated, interconnecting different areas within Thesprotia. In 1936, a new road was constructed, and Troubatas from Sagiada played a crucial role, highlighting the perseverance of the locals who consistently pushed the boundaries of development.¹⁵¹ This road marked a significant connection between the coastal and hinterland regions, albeit under entirely different circumstances.

2.3 *Sagiadinoi*-the locals (Figure 3.26-3.28)

The population in Sagiada was Greek speaking. Kokolakis, when describing the distribution of the settlement based on the spoken language of its residents, depicts the Greek-speaking settlements as “dispersed islands” in contrast to other areas in the region.¹⁵² Before the 19th century, there is very limited information about the population of Sagiada; the register of the 1430 describes 20 houses, the tax registrars from the 16th century (1551) provide no data regarding the settlement, explained by the exemption of taxes due to employment in the salines, while the next available data are from the tax registrar of the 17th century.¹⁵³ The 17th century marked a period of demographic and intellectual flourishing for the region, with Sagiada recording 245 residents in 1613. Unfortunately, there is no direct or indirect information about the settlement for the subsequent period, except for the fact that the local population was significantly reduced in the early 19th century due to a plague outbreak. In 1856, the settlement had 60 houses. Subsequently, the population grew, as evidenced by earthquake reports in 1872 recording the collapse of 100 houses. By 1895, Sagiada had expanded to 141 houses with 593 residents.¹⁵⁴ The population of Sagiada continued to grow, reaching 894 residents in the first population census after 1913.¹⁵⁵ However, a decline was observed in the 1918 census, with the community having 656 residents. By the census of 1940, the population further decreased to 486 residents (real

¹⁵¹ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα. Η ιστορική της πορεία, γραπτές μαρτυρίες και αφηγήσεις* (Sagiada. Its history, written testimonies and narratives) (Athens: Dodoni, 2009), 161.

¹⁵² M. Kokolakis, *Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 52.

¹⁵³ E. Balta, “Ethnic and Religious Composition,” 377-378.

¹⁵⁴ M. Kokolakis, *Η Τουρκική στατιστική της Ηπείρου στο Σαλναμέ του 1895 (Salname 1895)*,” 270-271.

¹⁵⁵ The Ministry of National Economy, *Απαρίθμησης των κατοίκων των νέων επαρχιών της Ελλάδος του έτους 1913* (Enumeration of the residents of the new regions of Greece in the year 1913), National typography, Athens 1915, 74.

population).¹⁵⁶

Similar to the limited information about the demographics of Palia Sagiada in earlier periods, there are only a few indications of the activities of the locals. Mention has been made of their involvement in the salines during the 16th century, along with engagement in animal husbandry, as evident also in the tax register of the 17th century.¹⁵⁷ This era also witnessed a certain cultural flourishing, as seen in ecclesiastic artistic production, although the impact on the actual residents of the settlement remains unknown.

More detailed information about the residents and their activities emerges in the 19th century. The civil register of 1925 provides information about family members with a known date of birth, dating back to the mid-19th century. Examples of such families include Anastasiadis (Io. Anastasios b.1860), Korou (Koros N. Ilias b.1854), Tsogkas (Tsogkas N. Ioannis b.1852), and Maikas (Maikas An. Theodosios b.1858). Most families have their first known members from the 1870s, such as Feidis (Feidis P. Ioannis b.1871), Rentzelos (Rentzelos D. Christodoulos b.1874), Yiannopoulos (Yiannopoulos I. Christos b.1871), and Skandaletos (Sakandaletos Ath. Yerasimos b.1877).¹⁵⁸ Given the prevailing patriarchal social family structure in the region, the civil registrar also includes information about the names of the family's male individuals, noting the initials of the father for each record.¹⁵⁹ These families from the old settlement still have descendants with the same family name, now residing in the new settlement of Sagiada after returning from Corfu. However, a few of them did not return or did not leave male ancestors to preserve the family name, as seen in the case of the Yiannopoulos and Skandaletos families, resulting in the disappearance of the family name.

The residents of Sagiada engaged in a variety of occupations, including trade, agriculture, pastoral activities, working in the salines, and participating in building projects. Families like Mandos and Troubatas undertook larger infrastructural projects,

¹⁵⁶ *Πληθυσμός Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 15-16 Μαΐου 1928* (Population of Greece according to the recording of the 15th-16th of May 1928), National typography, Athens 1929, 25; *Πληθυσμός Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 16 Οκτωβρίου 1940* (Population of Greece according to the recording of the 16th of October 1940), National typography, Athens 1946, 27.

¹⁵⁷ E. Balta, "Ethnic and Religious Composition," 380.

¹⁵⁸ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 271-282; summer 2022 ethnographic project in Sagiada, "Narrating our Village through its Objects."

¹⁵⁹ V. Nitsiakos, *Παραδοσιακές κοινωνικές δομές* (Traditional social structures) (Ioannina: Isnafi, 2016), 83-155.

while others, such as the Tasis family, were involved in commerce and business collaborations with local or international partners. Notably, families like Damandis, Feidis, Yiannopoulos, and Kondos had shops in Konispoli and Filat/Filiates.

While some families maintained the same professions across generations, in some other cases there is a clear development in the character of the activities. The accumulated wealth from agriculture and pastoralism allowed the family's descendants to explore other business opportunities. The Tsogkas family, for example, transitioned from extensive agricultural holdings to active involvement in local politics. Grigoris Tsogkas (b.1886), a younger family member, even became a member of the Greek parliament in 1913, under the party of El. Venizelos.

Various objects from the households of Palia Sagiada collected through the ethnographic workshop in Sagiada in 2022 attest the above activities, related either to the intra-household labor or other economic undertakings.¹⁶⁰ Illustrative examples that show the involvement of the residents of Palia Sagiada to commerce and the relationship with the roadstead are steelyards, scales and weights and measures both following the Ottoman cubit and the French meter; or salt mills show the labor in the salt pits; bow saws and bucksaws for carpentry and boat repairing; special tools for professional tailoring; while common tools such as shovels, rakes, and spades point to gardening and other agricultural activities in the local gardens or groves. The list of objects related to the household sustenance includes a broad range of cooking utensils and home production equipment such as trays, kettles, pots, basins, and small olive oil mills. Other portable furniture such as baby cradles, lower, eating tables (*sofra*), tapestry (*kilim*), portable religious icons, and other cult objects, also show aspects of the interior of the houses and the way the users were addressing their daily needs.

Additionally, luxurious objects like silver cutlery, coffee, and dessert service coming from the richest households, like Tsogkas, Yiannopoulos, Skandaletos, and Troubatas, and they were mainly imported from abroad. These rich families of Palia Sagiada were networked through intermarriages and kinship ties. As a demonstration of their close relationships, female members of these households exchanged gifts such as crochet-laced towels.¹⁶¹ These handcrafts were associated with beautifying the home,¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 3: Historiography and methodology and Appendix B. Also: Sandra Dudley, Amy Jane Barnes, Jennifer Binnie, Julia Petrov, and Jennifer Walklate, eds. *Narrating objects, collecting stories*. London New York: Routledge, 2012; Keith Jacobs, and Michelle Gabriel. "Introduction: homes, objects and things," *Housing, Theory and Society* 30, no. 3 (2013): 213-218.

¹⁶¹ Yunxiang Yan, "The gift and gift economy," in *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology, Second*

reflecting a sense of self-expression and the division of labor between the ladies of the household and their assistants, maids, or water carriers who primarily worked in the cooking area outside the house.

In middle-class households, common objects like portable sewing machines such as the Singer model or cabinet machines indicated a certain adoption of a modern way of living by the middle classes of the settlement, showcasing their alignment with contemporary lifestyles.¹⁶³

Lastly, special items, such as a late 19th-century portrait of Georgios Troubatas (b. before 1858 when his son Petros was born), and modern clothing, dresses, and costumes from Corfu worn by affluent individuals since the mid-19th century, reflect the confidence, activity, and adaptability of residents who circulated, ventured, and embraced new manners and material culture.

Both secondary sources and some primary material, highlights Sagiada's frontier location as a site marked by continuous struggles for control over its wealth sources, particularly the outpost and the salines. From the late 14th century onward, various powers, including the Venetians, Albanian clans, Byzantine Despots, and Ottomans, competed for dominance along the coast. Despite the Ottoman establishment in the region from 1419 onwards, the administration remained consistently fragile.

Throughout its Ottoman history, agreements made in the aftermath of significant political events failed to bring order to the area, as violations persisted, not only from major stakeholders like the French, British, Austrians, and other Italians in the 17th century but primarily from locals manipulating conditions to advance their interests in the outpost and salines, drawing both international and domestic attention. Venetian activity and the establishment of the French consulate in Arta, during the 18th century, reflect the ongoing interest in the outpost. Following Ali Pasha Tepedenli's control of

Edition (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012).

¹⁶² Devora Neumark, "Drawn to beauty: The practice of house-beautification as homemaking amongst the forcibly displaced," *Housing, Theory and Society* 30, no. 3 (2013): 237-261; Alice T Friedman, *Women and the making of the modern house: A social and architectural history* (Yale University Press, 2006).

¹⁶³ The cabinet sewing machine was introduced in the American market in the 1850s, and soon it became very popular as it was practical, and it was becoming "invisible" within the room. The portable Singer sewing machine in Palia Sagiada, apart from being an imported product in rural households, falls into the above discussion regarding the gradual disappearance of sewing machines within households during the late 19th century as a reflection of a modern way of living. Household and modernity. Marguerite Connolly, "The Disappearance of the Domestic Sewing Machine, 1890-1925," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34, no. 1 (1999): 31-48.

the region, subsequent changes occurred as Epirus gradually underwent transformations within the new administrative frameworks introduced by the Tanzimat reforms, initiated after his seizure by the Sublime Porte.

During this period and with the rights granted to various communities for representation, Sagiada locals emerged in various claims, seeking to promote their businesses with Corfu, neighboring regions, and foreign entities such as the French, Italians, and Austrians. The earthquake of 1872, which devastated the outpost and the settlement of Sagiada, highlighted the significance of the area to the authorities. In this late Ottoman milieu, Sagiada locals circulated, introducing new material culture to their settlement, and negotiating with authorities for their space.

Acknowledging the perspective that the decision to establish and develop infrastructure for a new port in Igoumenitsa was primarily a top-down initiative, the residents of Sagiada had to come to terms with the fact that they had lost the opportunity for the development of their own outpost. The dramatic events of the first half of the 20th century resulted in the pillaging of the settlement, and its gradual abandonment. Later, the desertion of the salines and the creation of the new settlement in the 1950s created a totally different viewpoint of the area.

Chapter 3

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Scholarship on Palia Sagiada

Local researchers have studied Palia Sagiada, with a notable contribution from M. Pasiakos (-2023), a dedicated self-taught historian and founder of the Center of Historical Studies of Thesprotia (K.I.ME.ΘΕ). His roots in Palia Sagiada motivated him to preserve and publish both tangible and intangible aspects of the settlement. Pasiakos, in his role, collected oral traditions through recordings, published on the local linguistic idiom, and shared his findings through online platforms. The preserved material includes documents, photographs, tools, household items, and religious icons.¹⁶⁴ Collaborating with G. Tsogkas, Pasiakos contributed to the publication 'Η Σαγιάδα, προφορικές και γραπτές μαρτυρίες' (I Sagiada, proforikes ke graptas martyries/ Sagiada. Its history, written testimonies and narratives) a collection focusing on Palia Sagiada, offering insights into the deserted settlement and its connection to the present-day Sagiada community.

Moreover, while Palia Sagiada has been part of broader historical research projects on Thesprotia or Epirus, this material is often limited to brief mentions or footnotes. Yet recently, there has been growing interest, especially among architecture students in the architectural potential of the settlement. This interest aligns with the emerging fascination with deserted places in Greece, exploring post-abandonment realities, contested history, heritage preservation, and building conservation.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ M. Pasiakos, *Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα στις Σαγιάδες* (The linguistic idiom in Sagiades). Sagiada: Πολιτιστικός Σύλλογος Σαγιάδας, 2019; La Bastia blog; Boissonas, Fred. *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia). Translated by Ourania Palli. Edited by Michalis Pasiakos. Organization of Municipalities of Thesprotia, 2004.

¹⁶⁵ For example, Ms. Mary Satherland came in contact with the author for including material regarding Palia Sagiada in her undergraduate project in the school of Architecture NTU Athens during 2022. Also, Mr. Theodoris Mavroeidis, was interested in working on the topic of restoration proposals of the buildings in Palia Sagiada within the frame of his M.Sc. studies in the Conservation and Restoration program by the NTU Athens, during 2021-22.

3.2. Historical studies on Thesprotia

3.2.1 Travelogues and early scholarship

The earliest studies of various agendas are attributed to the testimonies of the travelers who crossed Epirus. Among them, Chr. Buondelmonti (c. 1385 – c. 1430) stands out, having depicted the coast of Epirus, including Corfu, in a map created in 1420. However, most information come from later periods with Evliya Çelebi from the 17th century, also passed from the region of Sagiada and offers his insights. Taking into consideration Th. Siontis's work on travelers and travelogues from the 17th to the early 20th centuries in Thesprotia, here there is a brief glimpse into the individuals who journeyed through the region and left their testimonies.¹⁶⁶ These accounts are inherently colored by the personal agendas of each traveler, a characteristic widely discussed in the context of orientalist travelers in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century.¹⁶⁷

From the 19th century onward, an increasing number of travelers ventured through the region, benefiting from improved infrastructure and the safer travel conditions established by Ali Pasha Tepedenli. Notable testimonies include those of British military official W.M. Leake (1777-1860), the British poet G.G.N. Byron (1788-1824), and the British politician B. Hobhouse in 1809. Additionally, in 1814, the priest T.S. Hughes (1786-1817) accompanied the architect R. Cockerell (1788-1863). These travelers, primarily drawn by an interest in Ali Pasha Tepedenli or the exploration of oriental antiquities, expanded to include military officials and engineers invited by Ali Pasha. Among them were Guillaume de Vaudoncourt (1772-1845) and the converted-to-Islam French engineer Ibrahim Manzour Efendi (Samson Cerfberr, 1778-1826).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Theodoros K. Siontis, "Ο περιηγητισμός στη Θεσπρωτία (17^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας)," 621-629.

¹⁶⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *About antiquities: politics of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire* (University of Texas Press, 2016); Kostis Kourelis, "Early travelers in Greece and the invention of medieval architectural history," *Architecture and tourism: perception, performance, and place* (2004): 37-52; Marianna Charitonidou, "Travel to Greece and Polychromy in the 19th Century: Mutations of Ideals of Beauty and Greek Antiquities," *Heritage* 5, no. 2 (2022): 1050-1065; Benjamin Anderson, "'An alternative discourse': local interpreters of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 40, no. 4 (2015): 450-460; Doris Gruber, and Arno Strohmeier, *On the Way to the (Un) Known?: The Ottoman Empire in Travelogues (c. 1450-1900)* (De Gruyter, 2022); Filiz Turhan, *The Other Empire: British Romantic Writings about the Ottoman Empire* (Routledge, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ W. M. Leake, *Travels in northern Greece* (London: 1835); J. Hobhouse-Broughton, *A Journey Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, During the Years 1809 and 1810*, Vol. 1 (M. Carey, 1817); Thomas S. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*. 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1820); Samuel Pepys Cockerell, *Travels in southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817* (The Journal of C. R. Cockerell, London, 1903); Ibrahim Manzour Efendi, *Mémoires sur la Grèce et l'Albanie pendant le gouvernement d'Ali Pacha* (Paris: 1827); Frédéric Guillaume Vaudoncourt, *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands: Considered in a Commercial, Political*

Specifically, numerous travelers traversed the kaza of Filat, often utilizing the road connecting Sagiada to Yannina. Among them, British philologist Henry Holland (1788-1873) explored the area in 1812-1813. French General Consul in Ioannina F.C.H.L. Pouqueville (1770-1838) documented his travels during 1814-1816. In 1819, American politician E. Everett (1794-1865) and Th. Lyman (1792-1849) visited, followed by Alexander Schläfli (1831-1863) in 1858. Artist E. Lear (1812-1888) also portrayed natural landscapes, monuments, and settlement aspects during this period.¹⁶⁹

Additionally, throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, local travelers and intellectuals from Epirus pursued individual agendas, exploring Greek culture, linguistic nuances, and ethnographic interests. A. Psalidas (1767-1829), P. Aravantinos (1811-1870), I. Lambridis (1839-1891) and later K.D. Mertzios (1886-1971) contributed not only through books but also through articles in significant journals established in Ioannina during the early 20th century, namely *Ηπειρωτική Εστία* (Epirotiki Estia) and *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* (Epirotika Chronika).¹⁷⁰

The photographic album created by Swiss photographer Fred Boissonas stands also as a significant contribution. In 1913, he received a grant from the Greek Kingdom to document newly acquired areas to the north, including Epirus and specific regions in present-day Thesprotia, such as Filiates and Paramythia. His album, titled 'L' Épire berceau des Grècs' as part of the series 'L' image de la Grèce,' provides valuable

and Military, Point of View; in which Their Advantages of Position are Described as Well as Their Relations with the Greek Continent, Including the Life and Character of Ali Pacha, the Present Ruler of Greece. Together with a Comparative Display of the Ancient and Modern Geography of the Epirus, Thessaly, Morea, Part of Macedonia (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816).

Moreover see: Dr E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l' Orient, première partie: Grèce et Turquie d'Europe* (1873); J. Hawkins, "On the Site of Dodona," in (ed.) Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa: Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land*. No. 31170 (D. Huntington, 1814), 473-488; E. Ziebarth, "Kyriakos from Ancona to Epirus" (Κυριακός ο εξ' Αγκώνος εν Ηπείρῳ), *Epirotic Chronicles* (Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά), Issue 1, 110-119; William Plomer, *The Diamond of Jannina; Ali Pasha, 1741-1822* (Taplinger Publishing Company, 1936); Christopher Wordsworth, *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical* (London: William S, 1839); Nicholas Geoffrey Lemprière Hammond, *The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Clarendon Press, 1967).

¹⁶⁹ Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, Etc. During the Years 1812 and 1813* (London: Longman, 1815); F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*. Vol. 2 (Firmin Didot, père et fils, 1827); Theodore Lyman, *Visit in Giannena and Ali Pasha* (Επίσκεψη στα Γιάννενα και στον Αλή Πασά). Diary fragment. Introduction, translation, and comments by Th. D. Kosmas (Ioannina: 2015).

¹⁷⁰ Th. Siontis, "Ο περιηγητισμός στη Θεσπρωτία," 145; Panagiotis Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία της Ηπείρου* (Chronographia tes Epeirou (etc.)). Vol. 1. (Vlastos, 1856); Sp. Vlachos, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* (Epirotika Chronika) (1926); Dimosthenis Kokkinos, *Ηπειρωτική Εστία: μηνιαία επιθεώρησις εν Ιωαννίνους* (Epirotiki Estia) (1952).

insights into the material culture and daily life during that period.¹⁷¹ Later, during the 1930s, Spyros Meletzis visited Thesprotia, capturing with his camera aspects of daily life and local celebrations.

Alongside photographic visuals, ethnographic works and compilations of historical information provide significant perspectives on local events and their broader impact on society and the economy. Topics quite often developing in these books are related to the local families and their activities, institutions such as the schools and the community representation, customs, celebrations, songs, clothing, and stories narrating events or localized popular fairytales. They describe the vibrant communities from the end of the 19th century until the mid-20th century, with circulating individuals conducting interlocal business, emerging within their neighborhood due to their wealth, material and intellectual culture bringing from abroad, contributing to the local politics and the community's wellbeing through donations and various charities.

Unfortunately, these works in Greek, such as those by P. Mitsis and G. Voutsis on Foiniki, Y. Sarras for Kastri and Thesprotia in general, and G. Skagias and I. Pegkas on Plesivitsa, are not widely published and are limited to a few copies in local libraries. Despite occasional localisms or nationalistic nuances, their consideration in broader systematic studies can prove essential.¹⁷²

3.2.2 Recent historical studies

The gradual development of Greek Ottoman studies in recent decades has resulted to the development of a systematic scholarship on historical phenomena in Ottoman Thesprotia, covering demographics, communities, economy, and administration.¹⁷³

Notable among these studies is M. Kokolakis's meticulous work on late Ottoman Epirus, Vaso Psimouli's research on Souli and Souliotes, and E. Balta's articles, which focus on the socio-political and economic landscape of Thesprotia. Particularly Kokolakis and Balta base their observations and interpretations on travelers' accounts, secondary scholarship, and, crucially, archival sources, including diplomatic and state

¹⁷¹ Fred Boissonas, *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia).

¹⁷² Some noteworthy collections/works: Panagiotis Mitsis, *Η Ζωή και τα Σχολεία στη Θεσπρωτία τα Χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας. Ιστορική Αναδρομή* (Life and Schools in Thesprotia during Tourkokratia. Historical Overview) (Folklore Museum of Foiniki, 2006); G. Voutsis, *Οι οικογένειες του Φοινικιού* (The families of Foiniki); G. Skagias, *Αφηγηματική ιστορία Πλεσιβίτσας – Ηπείρου* (A narrative about Plesivitsa of Epirus) (Athens, 1979).

¹⁷³ Evangelia Balta, "Turkish Archival Material in Greek Historiography," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, no. 15 (2006): 772.

documents (e.g., Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens (AYE)), press materials (e.g., Neologos-Istanbul, Ioannina-Ioannina, Agon-Athens), Ottoman yearbooks (Salname-i Vilayet-i Yanya from 1872-1904), and documents and registers (e.g., Tapu Tahrir (TT), Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD)) from the Ottoman State Archive in Istanbul. Making use of these sources, they investigate demographic trends in rural areas, the interplay between geopolitics, local and state policies, economic activities, and the coexistence of various ethno-religious groups within local settlements, primarily focusing on the late Ottoman period.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, examining the dynamics between these groups, especially post the region's integration into the Greek Kingdom leading to separatist tendencies and events during WWII, E. Manta provides a comprehensive and multi-lens study.¹⁷⁵

In the context of Greek Ottoman Studies, G. Evangelou focuses on the ecclesiastical institution's role as the leader of the Orthodox Christian subjects in Thesprotia. She offers insights into the relationships between the Church and its leaders with local Ottoman authorities, focusing on administrative and economic matters. Specifically, her examination centers on the Exarchate of Giromeri Monastery, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Christian Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul. This institution played a crucial role in organizing and overseeing the Christian communities within the villages of the district, known as kaza, of Filat/Filiates.¹⁷⁶

3.3 Studies on 18th-early 20th cent. house architecture in Thesprotia

While current historiography extensively uses archival documents to illustrate aspects of Ottoman Thesprotia, there is a notable neglect of the physical remains from that period. In other words, there is a lack of systematic architectural analysis and an approach to understanding the physical or built landscape of Ottoman Thesprotia.

The standing forts and castles serve as testimonies to military struggles for dominance over the space, while minarets and the ruins of some mosques speak of a now-vanished multicultural space. These structures have attracted academic attention and they have been the subject of study by both Greek and foreign scholars, such as

¹⁷⁴ M. Kokolakis, *Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο πασαλίκι*; Evangelia Balta, Mustafa Oğuz, and Filiz Yaşar, "Ethnic and Religious Composition of Ottoman Thesprotia in the 15th to 17th Centuries".

¹⁷⁵ Eleftheria Manta, *Muslim Albanians in Greece*.

¹⁷⁶ Giouli Evangelou, *Σταυροπήγια Και Εξαρχίες Σε Σχέση Αλληλεξάρτησης*.

recent works by Emily Neumeier¹⁷⁷ and Giorgos Smyris¹⁷⁸ on the fortifications and architectural patronage of Ali Paşa Tepedelenli, as well as the discussions by Machiel Kiel on Margariti and its remaining part of a mosque, and the earlier compilation by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi in 1982 listing Muslim monuments, mainly mosques and tombs (türbe) of Thesprotia based on the narratives of Evliya Çelebi.¹⁷⁹

In contrast to the few but noteworthy structures of Ottoman Thesprotia that have garnered attention from prominent scholars, information on local house architecture from that period is even more limited. The Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports (H.M.C.S.) has primarily conducted the recording of some examples within a restricted architectural framework.¹⁸⁰ Among the 63 listed monuments in Thesprotia nominated by the HMCS, cases related to the Ottoman period (excluding religious buildings) are limited to 7 houses and tower-houses, 2 sites, 4 schools, 1 administrative building, 1 oil-press, the interesting Lagkaris trail, described by 19th-century traveler Pouqueville, and 15 cases of structures related to water infrastructure (fountains, bridges, water-mills).

From the few mentions to the local house architecture, in his work on Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece, El. Sigalos explores domestic structures in various regions, including western Greece, with a focus on some tower-houses in Epirus.¹⁸¹ St.

¹⁷⁷ Emily Neumeier, "The Architectural Transformation of the Ottoman Provinces under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, 1788-1822" (University of Pennsylvania, 2016).

¹⁷⁸ G. Smyris, "The Venetian Coast by the End of Venetian Rule to the Development of the 'Paşalık' of Ioannina (1797-1822). Defensive and Offensive Formations."

¹⁷⁹ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi et al., *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri: Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982).

¹⁸⁰ The two regional offices of the HMCS are the Thesprotia Ephorate of Antiquities and the Service of Modern Monuments and Technical Works of Epirus, North Ionian and West Macedonia. The Thesprotia Ephorate of Antiquities in Igoumenitsa is responsible for the protection and promotion of the archaeological sites and single monuments of the region that are dated from the prehistoric period up to 1830, while the Service of Modern Monuments and Technical Works of Epirus, North Ionian and West Macedonia, in Ioannina is responsible for monuments dated after 1830s. After my respective application, the material that I acquired includes the available information regarding the recorded evidence from the Ottoman period of the region: Vrachonas abandoned village (1 report, nomination document by the HMCS-ΦΕΚ 752/B/27-9-1993); Castle of Margariti; Castle of Polyneri (or Koutsi)-mescit/mosque? (draft-architectural drawing/plan, the governmental paper of the nomination of the acropolis by the HMCS, 1961 report for repair works in the mosque); Castle of Kiafa-Souli; Castle of Paramythia (2 pages of historical documentation); Castle Tsourila-Kallithea-Souli (short information); Mosques in Katavothra (short description of the structures of the Ottoman period, architectural plan of 1 mosque-out of the 2 remained); Minaret in Margariti (short description and architectural drawing/plan); Kotsika village (short report); Liopsi village (short report in the frame of a petition towards the Municipality of Filiates for acquiring the cadastral maps of Liopsi and Kotsika); Dobrati (Dendra) abandoned village in Mazarakia (close to Margariti) (short description/5 houses); Askari (close to Margariti) abandoned village (short description/9 houses).

¹⁸¹ Such as Sisko's mansion and Hamko's tower, both located in Konitsa, prefecture of Yannina.

Mamaloukos, in his articles on the Architecture in Thesprotia from mid-18th to mid-20th Century and Housing in Lakka-Souli, studies residences and residential compounds to the southern and central regions of Thesprotia; although he does not include examples from that region on the border (area of Filiates), he acknowledges the architectural potential of Palia Sagiada among other unstudied settlements. The case-studies that Mamaloukos points out have sophisticated architectural plans, incorporating military features like rifle loopholes (Katavothra-Ligorati, Margariti).¹⁸² L. Politi highlights prominent households in the settlements of Souli, particularly those belonging to notorious clan leaders, and also focuses on Lakka Souli. Lastly, Konstantinos Papaioannou, in his meticulous research as part of the N.T.U.A. project about The Greek Traditional House, mentions examples from the settlements of Plataria and Syvota, characterized by "tower, prismatic form houses with embrasures."

Information about the physical components and functions of settlements in the region remains notably limited as well. However, there are significant interdisciplinary efforts indicating the potential for studying Thesprotia's settlements. A noteworthy landscape perspective research initiative, initiated in 2003 by the Finnish Institute at Athens, primarily focuses on ancient settlements but underscores the importance of Thesprotia's landscape in the region's development. The associated monograph collection includes studies suggesting that the continuity of settlement patterns is linked to the natural landscape, its stability, or changes over time.¹⁸³ Furthermore, the Metsovion Interdisciplinary Research Center (M.I.R.C.) has engaged in the study of Thesprotia's settlements. Their perspective emphasizes the safeguarding and "integrated development" of the mountainous environment.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Stavros Mamaloukos, "Architecture in Thesprotia from Mid-18th to Mid-20th Century," in *Θεσπρωτία 1* (Thesprotia 1), ed. Ioannis P. Houliaras and Georgia Th. Pliakou (Ioannina: Ministry of Culture and Sports-Ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia, 2019), 660; Stavros Mamaloukos, "Η Κατοικία Στη Λάκκα Σουλίου Από Τον 18ο Ως Τα Μέσα Του 20ού Αιώνα (The Residence in Lakka Souli from 18th-Mid 20th Cent)," in *Scientific Symposium Lakka Souli*, ed. Stavros Mamaloukos, Georgios Riginos, and Michael Stork (Thesprotiko-Athens: Περιβαλλοντικός-Πολιτιστικός Σύλλογος-Municipality of Thesprotikon, 2013).

¹⁸³ B Forsén et al., "Region Transformed by Empire " 5 (2021): 1–6. (Björn Forsén (Ed.), *Thesprotia Expedition. I- Towards a Regional History*, (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 15) 2009); B. Forsén and E. Tikkala (eds.), *Thesprotia Expedition. II. Environment and Settlement Patterns. Helsinki* (2011).

¹⁸⁴ The research projects undertaken by the M.I.R.C. are published through interdisciplinary conferences. http://mountains.ntua.gr/en/articles_publications

3.4 The study of rural settlements in Greece

Despite their particular focuses, these recent interdisciplinary studies on Thesprotia's settlements align with the latest developments in settlement studies and house architecture in Greece. A notable contribution in this regard is found in the publication "Deserted Villages: Perspectives from the Eastern Mediterranean" by Brenningmeyer, Kourelis, and Katsaros. While this work thoroughly covers the historiography on deserted villages in the Eastern Mediterranean, a short summary will contribute here to understanding the diverse challenges and questions addressed by each approach.

Past studies often provided one-sided perspectives when it came to understanding the built space of rural settlements. However, contemporary approaches advocate for interdisciplinary studies to highlight more complex cultural phenomena. If we categorize these approaches, we can identify four shifts. The first perspective emerged in the 1920s, marked by a more systematic interest in the village and its houses influenced by the British Arts and Crafts movement and the vernacular revival. This period followed 19th-century attitudes cultivated by Western travelers and archaeological campaigns.¹⁸⁵ Subsequently, the study of rural houses became a source of inspiration for modernist architects not only in Greece (e.g., Pikionis, Konstantinidis) but also in other Balkan countries (e.g., Milan Zloković in Yugoslavia) and Turkey (Hakkı Sedat Eldem).¹⁸⁶ A third, crucial period of studies on settlements in Greece occurred under the influence of the Annales School when significant Greek scholars received their academic education in France under F. Braudel.¹⁸⁷ Up until the 60s-70s,

¹⁸⁵ In the Balkan context, the turn towards the countryside was very much related, on the one hand, to the Balkan Wars that resulted in the integration of new lands to the Greek Kingdom and on the other hand, a few years later, in 1922, to the traumatic result of the Minor Asia campaign. The definite withdraw from any irredentist ideas led to new coiling around the ideological context of Hellenism/Greekness, which was explored through the vernacular architecture. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, national appropriations and "nationalizations" of the vernacular took place in the other Balkan states and Turkey. For more see Tchavdar Marinov, *The "Balkan House": Interpretations and Symbolic Appropriations of the Ottoman-Era Vernacular Architecture in the Balkans*, *Balkan Studies Library*, vol. 18, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004337824_009.

¹⁸⁶ The rural house participated in the modernist discourse both globally and nationally during the 30's (Le Corbusier, S. Giedion/CIAM IV, Rudofsky and his dissertation for the houses of Santorini). Rural house architecture became a source of inspiration and gave a local tone to the national expressions of the modern movement architects, leading to the institutionalized study of the matter as these architects were leading professors in the schools of architecture, e.g. Dimitris Pikonis in the National Technical University of Athens and Sedat Hakkı Eldem in the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul.

¹⁸⁷ Todd Brenningmeyer, Kostis Kourelis, and Miltiadis Katsaros, "Drones and Stones: Mapping Deserted Villages in Lidoriki, Greece," in *Deserted Villages: Perspectives from the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Rebecca M. Seifried and Deborah E. Brown Stewar (North Dakota: The Digital Press at the University of North Dakota, 2015), 341.

villages were considered ahistorical assemblages, primarily interesting to scholars for their morphological and typological values, often attributed as national heritage.¹⁸⁸

The influence of the Annales School during the 60s, marked by social and economic perspectives in the Greek countryside, was followed by Anglo-American archaeological research in the 70s. This research combined anthropological perspectives and contributed to the development of Greek Ottoman studies/archaeology after the 90s. These developments led to explorations of the Greek rural world that transcend simple historical, archaeological, or architectural research. Such perspectives offer an understanding of rural villages as complex, multilayered material entities.

A notable contributor to this spirit was the architect and archaeologist N. Moutsopoulos (1927-2019). He engaged in a dialogue with Turkish scholars, and despite certain doctrines, he acknowledged the stylistic interactions in the house architecture of northern Greece with that of Ottoman Istanbul.¹⁸⁹ The subsequent generation, more receptive to recognizing the impact of the Ottoman milieu on architectural compositions (e.g., Y. Kizis, D. Filippidis, etc.), led a project resulting in the seminal collection by Melissa Publications. This collection includes architectural monographs from various regions in Greece and features a volume on house architecture in the Ottoman Balkans titled "*Βαλκανική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική*" (Balkaniki Paradosiaki Architektoniki), bringing together the works of Greek, Balkan, and Turkish scholars.¹⁹⁰ However, despite the significant number of late-Ottoman buildings still standing in Thesprotia, as demonstrated earlier, the vast majority of them are not covered in this comprehensive scholarship.

¹⁸⁸ It is characteristic that the mansions-opulent houses developed in the late-Ottoman world were identified as "national" developments for each state that followed the dissolution of the Ottoman empire. Maurice Cerasi in "The formation of Ottoman house types: a comparative study in interaction with neighboring cultures" and Tchavdar Marinov, "The "Balkan House", discuss the "Ottoman" or the "Balkan house" very thoroughly, bringing together the prominent scholarship of each Balkan country and Turkey.

¹⁸⁹ Among his works, see, for instance, Nikolaos Moutsopoulos, *Η λαϊκή αρχιτεκτονική της Βέροιας* (The folk architecture of Veroia) (1967); *Τα αρχοντικά της Μακεδονίας 15ος-19ος αιώνας* (The mansions of Macedonia) (Paratiritis, 1993); T. Marinov, *The "Balkan House": Interpretations and Symbolic Appropriations of the Ottoman-Era Vernacular Architecture in the Balkans*, 533.

¹⁹⁰ Yannis Kizis, "«Επίσημη» και «Παραδοσιακή» Αρχιτεκτονική: Η επιρροή του κέντρου στην επαρχία της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας ("Official" and "Traditional" Architecture: The influence of the center to the provinces of the Ottoman Empire). Dimitris Filippidis (Ed.), *Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική* (Greek Traditional Architecture) 6 (Athens: Melissa Publications, 1995), 269-290; Yannis Kizis, *Πηλιορείτικη Οικοδομία* (Building Art on Mount Pelio) (Athens: PIOP (Piraeus Bank Group), 1995).

3.5 Ottoman archaeology and interdisciplinary studies

Ottoman studies in Greece have evolved into a distinct field over the past decades, making significant contributions, particularly in the realm of history, as exemplified by studies on Thesprotia with Kokolakis, Balta, and Evangelou. An insightful discussion by M. Sariyannis, E. Gara, and Ph. Kotzageorgis highlights this transformation in the nature of studies in Greece. The shift is observed from the substantial influence of the Annales School to more interdisciplinary works. Moreover, the discussion emphasizes the crucial role played by two generations of significant Greek scholars who have contributed to the institutionalization of Ottoman studies. These scholars, whether educated abroad or in Greece, have provided essential perspectives for reimagining the function of Greek rural and urban spaces during the Ottoman period.¹⁹¹ Among the scholars engaged in international collaborations, key figures include M. Anastassiadou, A. Anastasopoulos, Kolovos, A. Liakos, V. Kechriotis, E. Kolovos, S. Laiou, and D. Karydis. Notably, D. Karydis brings a unique focus to the physical components of urban settings, distinguishing his approach within this scholarly landscape.¹⁹²

Academic engagements, particularly between Greek and Turkish scholars across various disciplines, have yielded numerous significant publications and conferences. Examples include the Halcyon Days of Crete Symposia publications and initiatives by the French School of Athens and Gennadius Library.¹⁹³ Examples include the Halcyon Days of Crete Symposia publications and initiatives by the French School of Athens and Gennadius Library. While architecture has not yet assumed a central role in these endeavors, historical perspectives on themes such as elites and patronage find expression in architectural studies. Noteworthy works in this regard include those of F. Yenisehirlioglu, who underscores the strong social aspect and individual initiative related to house building, architectural styles, and tastes. Another notable project is by

¹⁹¹ Marinos Sariyannis, Eleni Gara and Phokion Kotzageorgis. "Ottoman studies in Greece: a reflective gaze." *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique moderne et contemporain* 5 (2021).

¹⁹² Elias Kolovos and Athanasios Vionis, "Ottoman Archaeology in Greece: A New Research Field", *Archaeological Reports* 65, 2019, 145–156.

¹⁹³ İbrahim Alper Arısoy et al., "Yunanistan'da Osmanlı tarihi literatürü üzerine bir değerlendirme", *Ankara Anadolu ve Rumeli Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (2020): 5–55; Ioannis Theocharides, Theoharis Stavrides, "The Course of Ottoman Studies in Greece (An Overview)," in Yusuf Halaçoğlu, Halil İnalcık (eds.), *The Turks* 4 (Ankara, Yeni Türkiye 2002), 714–719; Emilia Themopoulou, "Aspects des villes en transition dans l'Empire ottoman : la gestion et l'organisation de l'espace publique", in *Actes du colloque de l'Association internationale d'études du Sud-Est européen : l'homme et son environnement dans le Sud-Est européen* (24-26 septembre 2009, Paris) (Paris, Belon, 2012): 212–220.

Ali Yagcioglou and Anastasopoulos. These efforts contribute to fostering cross-cultural dialogue in the Ottoman Greek studies and understanding, transcending disciplinary boundaries.¹⁹⁴

Simultaneously, there has been notable progress in the acknowledgment and appreciation of Ottoman monuments in Greece. This recognition extends beyond individual researchers and academies to include state institutions, notably the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports (H.M.C.S.). State-led excavations and increased funding for the restoration and preservation of structures like mosques, baths/hamams, and military buildings signify a positive shift.¹⁹⁵ The participation of numerous archaeologists from peripheral authorities, represented by the H.M.C.S., in the conference honoring Machiel Kiel, ‘Ottoman Architecture in Greece Revised.’ in November 2022 was particularly impressive. Ongoing archaeological projects and excavations on Ottoman monuments in Greece, coupled with academic research, underscore a clear intention to highlight aspects of the Ottoman past within the context of cultural heritage and heritage diplomacy.

Nevertheless, many Greeks still find it difficult to comprehend such endeavors. The established notion of *Tourkokratia* (Turkish rule) contrasts sharply with the ingrained 19th-century Greek national imaginary. *Tourkokratia* is perceived as a "dark chapter" in Greek history, a period when the Greek Orthodox element, suppressed and seeking independence, lived separately from Muslims.¹⁹⁶ Here emerges the topic of “traditional” that primarily assigns a local character to more complex cultural products, such as the eclectic 19th century architecture in the Ottoman world. Although very much related to the particular geographies, “traditional” architecture is a result of personal tastes of individuals intellectually cultivated within the large Ottoman urban centers or in Europe, and modern notions in private and public building activities expressed through official Ottoman State regulations.

¹⁹⁴ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, “Architectural Patronage of Ayan Families in Anatolia,” in *Provincial elites in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete V: a symposium held in Rethymnon 10-12 January 2003*, edited by Antonis Anastasopoulos (Crete University Press, 2005), 321-341.

¹⁹⁵ “*The Ottoman Monuments in Greece Revisited. A Tribute to Machiel Kiel*,” Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Online International Conference (4-6 November 2022).

¹⁹⁶ For example, there were many reactions during the conference for Ali Pasha Tepedenli in Ioannina in 20/06/2021, to the extent the conference was interrupted. Among the speakers were representatives of several important Greek institutions, such as Gennadius Library, Institute of Historical Studies of the Hellenic Research Institute, from the University of Ioannina and from the Municipal authorities, the major Moisis Elisaf.

Inevitably, there is void in understanding how the rural world in Greece functioned within the Ottoman context, which fundamentally shaped many of its functions. E. Gara also points to this vacant, expressing optimism that progress in Ottoman-Greek studies will continue providing new insights into Greek Orthodox populations, their daily life, broader culture, interactions with Muslim populations, and other social groups, as well as architecture and material culture within the Ottoman milieu.¹⁹⁷

Lastly, architectural or archaeological research of material culture from the Ottoman period, often referred to as "Ottoman archaeology," can continue developing as an interdisciplinary field in Greece. S. Faroqui emphasizes that the use of sources by local scholars, overcoming nationalistic preoccupations, can highlight "Greek peculiarities" within the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁸ Through fieldwork, combining Greek and Turkish/Ottoman sources, along with local ethnographic material, Ottoman archaeology in Greece can significantly contribute to better conceptualizing the Greek "traditional" rural world. To this direction, the work of Ph. Moudopoulos-Athanasiou in the region of Zagori, Epirus, adopts a landscape focus and ethnographic methods in archaeological research to highlight cultural phenomena in the region during the Ottoman period that leave their marks until today.¹⁹⁹

Undoubtedly, the study of the abandoned settlement Palia Sagiada, inhabited since at least the late 14th century with material remains dating back to the late 18th century, falls within the developing field of Ottoman archaeology in Greece. Emphasizing the Ottoman historical perspective of the abandoned settlement brings macro-scale cultural phenomena to the micro-scale of the study. The unique cultural milieu gave meaning to materials and provided the setting where various agents could intervene, creating specific cultural products such as architecture and urban space. Conversely, a discussion initiated by a small example, Palia Sagiada in Epirus, offers a local perspective on the functioning of an Ottoman Greek province.

3.6 Approaches on house architecture

As a significant portion of the material in Palia Sagiada pertains to houses, it is crucial

¹⁹⁷ Marinos Sariyannis, Eleni Gara, and Phokion Kotzageorgis. "Ottoman studies in Greece: a reflective gaze," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique moderne et contemporain* 5 (2021), 15.

¹⁹⁸ Suraiya Faroqi, *Artisans of empire: crafts and craftspeople under the Ottomans* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009), 46.

¹⁹⁹ Ph. Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, *The early modern Zagori of northwest Greece* (Sidestone:2022).

to outline how this dissertation approaches the study of this matter. Numerous studies across disciplines such as architecture, archaeology, history, and social anthropology have explored various perspectives on houses and households. S. Preston Blier summarizes the main endeavors and approaches, while Sh. Steadman's work, "Archaeology of Domestic Architecture and the Human Use of Space," provides an overview of the development of different approaches, their intersections, and deviations, incorporating rich theoretical perspectives.²⁰⁰

Inevitably the question arises: how does one document and analyze house architecture? The term-methodological tool that comes to the mind, "spatial analysis," encompasses various interpretations, including material documentation, the study of forms and typologies, discussions on architectural history, and changes in architectural types.²⁰¹ As such, the study of space can be an endless topic with profound theoretical extensions. A critical perspective on spatial analysis, emphasizing surviving typologies over different periods, leads to discussions on the famous theory of "habitus" developed by P. Bourdieu (1977) and later A. Giddens' structuration (1984) based on the "habitus." According to this perspective, the built space is constructed by its users based on behaviors passed from one generation to another, learned within a specific culture.²⁰²

While these ideas were criticized for suggesting a predictable nature in the built environment, further theoretical developments proposed the agency theory as a catalyst for achieving uniqueness in architectural production. In this view, agents assert their preferences and become decision-makers in shaping space. Giddens, particularly in his later work, associates conscious decision-making and potential change with self-identity and modernity, referring to this attitude as "reflexivity."²⁰³

The agency theory provides insights into the architectural plurality within an urban setting, complementing the idea of "habitus," where established motives, materials, and techniques maintain a strong presence as continuities in building activities. While "habitus" suggests enduring cultural elements, the social factor embodied in architecture

²⁰⁰ Suzanne Preston Blier, "Vernacular architecture," in *Handbook of material culture* (2006): 230-253; Steadman, Sharon R. *Archaeology of domestic architecture and the human use of space* (Routledge, 2016).

²⁰¹ Sh. Steadman, *Archaeology of domestic architecture*, 50-51.

²⁰² Pierre Bourdieu, "Habitus," in *Habitus: A sense of place* (Routledge, 2017), 59-66; Jean Hillier, and Emma Rooksby, "Habitus: A sense of place," (2005); S. Steadman, *Archaeology of domestic architecture*, 51.

²⁰³ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age* (Stanford university press, 1991).

remains a common thread. Embarking from H. Lefebvre's "The Production of Space," T. Ingold's "Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture," and works like S. Robinson's "Architecture is a Verb," the emerging scholarship signifies a shift in approach, viewing architecture and urban planning as activities involving makers or actors. Therefore, understanding the society inhabiting a historical built space necessitates focusing on the people—the inhabitants. Methods advanced by social anthropology can prove very insightful in this context.²⁰⁴

The study of the abandoned Palia Sagiada, as an Ottoman archaeology research project, aligns with such theoretical considerations. It delves into the examination of a settlement that flourished after its utter destruction in 1872, incorporating unique cases of architectural novelties from the late 19th century while displaying standardization through typical structural and typological elements found in the region. Thus, the architectural documentation, organization in groups and presentation of the material will highlight general, broader patterns, localities, and deviations as far as architectural and structural typologies. Additionally, the exploration of the owners' identities and their relationship with the settlements, as well as concepts of late Ottoman urbanity and modernity, opens avenues for ethnographic inquiry, incorporating oral histories and the contributions of local communities.²⁰⁵

3.7 Methodology on the study of Palia Sagiada

This study adopts an interdisciplinary approach with a central focus on the architectural documentation and spatial analysis of the Palia Sagiada settlement. The research involves concurrent efforts, including fieldwork for spatial analysis, bibliographic research for comparative examples, archival or historical research within official institutions and private archives, and the execution of a two-month heritage-ethnographic workshop in collaboration with the local community and authorities in the new settlement of Sagiada. These endeavors were not pursued in a linear sequence but rather as parallel activities, mutually enriching each other with new information and

²⁰⁴ Eric Hirsch and Charles Stewart, "Introduction: Ethnographies of historicity," *History and Anthropology* 16, no. 3 (2005): 261-274.

²⁰⁵ Yannis Hamilakis, "Archaeological ethnography: a multitemporal meeting ground for archaeology and anthropology." *Annual review of anthropology* 40, no. 1 (2011): 399-414; Yannis Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Turan Takaoğlu, "The living ottoman past: rethinking ethnoarchaeology in Turkey," in *Contesting Ethnoarchaeologies: Traditions, Theories, Prospects* (New York: Springer New York, 2013), 227-239.

insights.

Very critical for this study was my fully engaged personal experience of the area around the settlement of Palia Sagiada, the mountain, the outpost, the new settlement, and the salines/ present-day biotope. Re-discovering the trails that connected the various focal points, viewing the settlement and the coastal sources from different angles, as well as the multisensorial exploration of the landscape in relationship to the built environment, gradually allowed this research to mature within its environment and not from a theoretical perspective of an external observer.

3.7.1 Fieldwork/ architectural documentations

The fieldwork for this study encompassed architectural documentation in Palia Sagiada during the summers of 2019, 2020, and the winter-summer of 2021. Additionally, fieldwork was conducted in other areas of interest in Thesprotia, and educational trips took place in Albania during the summer of 2019, followed by educational trips in Turkey during the spring of 2022. Since Palia Sagiada had not been documented by any institution or private entity before this research, the fieldwork objectives aimed at documenting the settlement at various scales. The outcome mainly is articulated and discussed mainly in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

The three scales of research included:

- Topographic Scale: Covering the entire settlement area of 13.5 hectares.
- Neighborhood Scale: Documenting residential areas, accessible in total 54 housing groups, each comprising a courtyard and additional secondary spaces within their premises.
- Detailed Scale: Examining specific examples of private and public spaces in greater detail.

A. Setting the topographic map:

- Research walks for a first orientation and definition of the topography and its peculiarities, the structures, and the possible estimated challenges for the working process.
- Definition of the trails and their condition.
- Codification of the structures through numbering and naming with alphabet letters

- Definition of their coordinates through GPS, when feasible and their approximate geo-location on the orthophotographs of the Hellenic Cadastral.

B. Defining the public from the private spaces:

- Definition of the house complex, the boundaries of its yard(s) and the accessibility from the street.
- Measurement of the basic sizes of each structure and outdoor areas.
- Delimitation of the outdoor, communal spaces of the house, to the main house(s), and the auxiliary spaces.
- Rough estimation of the surface coverage of the yards and their numbers for each complex.
- Documentation of the main public spaces such as the churches, threshing floors, the fountain.

C. Detailed documentation of houses:

- Numbers of floors/levels for each structure.
- Plan typologies and different architectural phases.
- Main structural elements.
- Decorative features if possible.
- Interrelation of the property to its (initial) owner, though the notarial acts and possible detection of other information on its material culture, though objects, photographs etc.

D. Conduction of drawings of various scales, organization of the material in tables:

The initial study of 54 housing groups resulted to the organization into a general table with house typologies. Subsequently, 16 examples of households were selected to highlight the diversity in spatial organization and architectural tastes. Tables with quantitative and qualitative data from each household accompany the floor plans for each case. Lastly, from the 16 examples, 5 case studies are further developed into representation drawings of the possible condition before their collapse.

Moreover, visits and general documentations, mainly photographic documentation and partially involving sketching and measuring, of other buildings of interest in the Thesprotia and neighboring Albania helped for comparative studies and for comprehending the whole potential of the local house architecture from the 18th to

early 20th centuries. The settlements included in this research are Smertos and Kotsonis' house; Kokkinia and Doupis; house, the still inhabited houses in Foiniki and the Thanos' house in Plaisio/ Plesivitsa; Kokkinolithari; the restored and turned into museums, the Ragon and Paramythia towers; the abandoned settlements of Liopsi, Kotsika, and Skefari neighboring to Palia Sagiada, the abandoned Vrachonas, Argyrotopos close to Igoumenitsa, some abandoned tower-like houses in Agios Vlasios; the central towns of Filiates, Paramythia, and Margariti, their market area and particular buildings either inhabited or abandoned (e.g the Vekkos and Mikroulis houses in Filiates).

Additionally, trips in the surrounding areas: inevitably Corfu, one of the main centers for commercial interactions of the merchants from Sagiada; the city of Yannina (Misios' house), the center of the broader administrative district throughout the Ottoman period; the settlements of Zagori and Konitsa in the district of Yiannina, famous for the travelling groups of stone master craftsmen (Hamko's tower house, Sisko's house); Konispol in Albania (Dineo Meri, Fatbardha, Sefhet Xaxhi), an important local center such as Filat/Filiates in a walking distance from Palia Sagiada, today in Albania; Gjirokastra (Babamento and Skendouli houses), and the still inhabited small rural settlements close to Gjirokastra, Dhoksat and Kestorat; and lastly, the town of Corfu with which the local merchants and residents from Sagiada had frequent interactions.

Lastly, trips in Western and Central Anatolia offered somehow a broader perspective of the house architecture of the late Ottoman period in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the transition from the Mediterranean coast to the dry, steppes environment of Central Anatolia (Aksaray, Göreme, and Güzelyurt). The aim was to evaluate how the landscape transition can be correlated to possible different architectural zones. More analytically, these itineraries included: visit and fieldwork in Kayaköy/Fethiye: the case of the coastal Fethiye (Makri) and Kayaköy (Levissi), its "twin settlement" in the mountains of Muğla region, also destroyed by an earthquake during the 19th century, brings in mind the case of Sagiada; the dipole between the coastal facilities and the mountainous settlement, as well as its 1872 destruction; Bodrum/Muğla regions; Aydın area (Cihanoğlu neo-gothic tower-house and mosque in Koçarlı, the Cihanoğlu estate/castle and mosque in Cincin); İzmir (Yeni and Eski Foça (tower-houses and their estates) as well as visit and fieldwork in Şirince; Bursa and the south of Marmara Sea (Tirilye). Of a great interest was also the trip in Antakya and the

visit of several of its courtyard houses; Mersin which developed during the late 19th century from a small outpost into an important port, still preserving some merchant houses with shops; Eskişehir and Kutahya; lastly, within the participation in the interdisciplinary BRIA research project on the landscape and rock-cut architecture of Medieval Thrace, supported by Koç University, it was included a village of Soğucak, an interesting case of a village that was abandoned and repopulated during the Population Exchange in 1923.²⁰⁶ Of notice are the rich houses with neoclassic features, the typical protruding upper floor rooms, and shops on the ground floor. Only few of such houses remain in Thesprotia, mainly in Giromeri.

3.7.2 Archival research

The examined archives include public and private institutions:

The Ottoman State Archive in Istanbul and the T.C. Başbakanlık Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara were the two main archival sources explored in Turkey. In the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü there was only one *vakıf* deed/document for a mosque built in Margaliç in 1278/1861; In the Ottoman State Archive there is information about the settlements in Thesprotia, but very scattered to the extent that in small settlements like Palia Sagiada there was no related document, rather information regarding the outpost and the salinas.

The General State Archives (Γενικά Αρχεία Κράτους) for Thesprotia located in Paramythia did not include information about Sagiada. Only some few property ownership documents from the middle 20th century in Palia Sagiada and the important civic registrar of the settlement still exist in the local office for community affairs in Sagiada. Moreover, some materials, from the ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia (Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports), mainly reports for nominated monuments by the ministry, an aerial photograph from 1969 by the Hellenic Military Geographic service, and general maps with the inherited plots in Plaia Sagiada, published by the Hellenic Cadestral, assisted to identifying the research that has been already conducted in the region by the official authorities.

Of great importance for this research were the personal archives belonging to locals:

²⁰⁶ BRIA, The landscape and rock-cut architecture of Medieval Thrace, last accessed 4 January, 2024. <https://bria.ku.edu.tr/about-us/about-bria/>

- The most valuable archive of Michalis Pasiakos: As the founder of the Center of Historical Studies of Thesprotia. His he had enthusiastically opened for my studies his collection of rare book and unpublished material.
- The archive of Vassilis Papageorgiou: researcher and co-author (together with Argyris Petronotis) of the book: *Craftsmen and Artisans of Konitsa*. Interesting discussions lead to correspondence with unpublished material regarding the extensive-almost ultimate activities of craftsmen from Konitsa in Thesprotia. Papageorgiou has donated a large number of documents related to Epirotan craftsmanship to the Museum of Epirotan craftsmen in Pysogianni, Konitsa. The Museum is still under construction, and it is going to operate as a research center as well, yet, important information had been kindly shared with me by V. Papageorgiou.
- Antonis Kotsonis: Inheritor of Kotsonis' house in Smertos. He has entrusted me with the 1930s transfer contract of the house, bestowed by the Muslim ağa Yasin Yasin Malko (s) to Kotsonis through a transfer contract type known as *eksonisi* (εξώνηση).
- Dimitris Goulas: Inheritor of Goulas' houses in Vlacho-machalas in Filiates involved with intermarriages with families from Sagiada. He has generously provided me his family archive which includes property purchase deeds, correspondence with the Ottoman authorities (in Greek and Ottoman), photographs etc.
- Family archives, inherited from the people living in Palia Sagiada to their descendants. Among them distinguish the collections of Dora Andonadou; Anastasiadis' family; Theodoros Tsogkas, and Irini Vougidis-Pappas' collections.
- The archive of Dimitris Kotsonis with material from Panagiotis Vekkos.
- Sotirios Mikroulis archive.

3.7.3 *An oral history project*

Approaching aspects of daily life in a deserted place where people are absent involves the study of memory, tangible heritage, and archives held by the local community. In the case of Palia Sagiada, an ethnography project emerged from the dissertation, titled "Palia Sagiada: Narrating our Village through its Objects." This collaborative initiative involved the author, the local community of Sagiada with more than 60 participants, the Municipality of Filiates, the Periphery of Epirus, and the Center of Historical Studies of Thesprotia (Figure 3.2-3.28).

The project aimed to collect objects, photographs, and other ethnographic material related to the deserted settlement and its spaces. It included ethnographic performances such as trips to Palia Sagiada with the community, interviews, group discussions, and concluded with an ethnographic installation in the actual village space, contributing to collaborative knowledge production.

The outcome of the project was twofold: it provided historical testimonies for understanding the use of the settlement's space, and it evolved into a heritage project discussing the intimate reciprocal relationship of objects and their owners. While the heritage aspect could be developed further as a separate project, the historical testimonies from the objects and their interrelationship with houses and owners became valuable sources for the Ph.D. research.

The ethnographic research in Palia Sagiada proved crucial for understanding the material culture, social dynamics, contentions, and daily behaviors within the settlement spaces. As families were interrelated to house complexes and neighborhoods, the ethnographic research helped classify households into groups related to family or domestic functions. Information from interviews, combined with 19th-century travelers' testimonies, contributed to the reconstruction of the intangible aspects of the settlement, including the use of public spaces.

The combination of ethnographic work and documentation has enriched Chapter 4 and mainly Chapter 5, providing historical information that enhances the understanding of the material culture and social dynamics within the rural settlement. Historical information used for this purpose becomes a catalyst for the development of subsequent chapters.

PART B

ARCHITECTURAL AND SOCIAL SPACES

IN PALIA SAGIADA



Chapter 4

PRIVATE SPACES: HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS

The private spaces in Palia Sagiada are the houses and households, with the analysis here, transitioning from the physical structures of houses to the broader notion of households and neighborhoods as social settings. In other words, this chapter classifies the houses in Palia Sagiada based on their architecture and as households, based on their social character.

Palia Sagiada is distinguished through the architectural diversity of its houses, characterized by sturdy, prismatic stone structures enveloped by complex, multi-layered courtyards serving diverse functions. The settlement preserves groups of households and residential neighborhoods as interconnected spatial units, inviting an approach that goes beyond individual houses to explore sets of households and neighborhoods reflecting complex social relationships.

The strong impression of a patchwork of stone structures that the houses in Palia Sagiada give, results from the sequential interventions after repeated destructions, reconstructions, and repairs. Although the knowledge of the chronological order of these different building phases is very limited, analyzing building materials, techniques, and house typologies can lead to observations regarding established practices, forms, and innovations.

An essential research limitation arises from post-abandonment processes, including arsons that led to the destruction of wooden components, plundering, and other mechanisms causing material loss. Therefore, many housing structures are dilapidated or severely damaged, with collapsed or partially collapsed interior rooms. Interpretations of the function of these spaces rely on architectural documentation capturing key structural and spatial details, such as room dimensions, orientations, fireplaces, niches, and window openings. Comparative studies with similar houses in the broader Epirus region, south Albania, Greece, and Western Anatolia/Turkey, along with insights from local residents, familiar with daily life in similar house types,

contribute to a more comprehensive understanding.²⁰⁷

The analysis underlines both standardization in materials, structures, and main housing types and the unique adaptability of house architecture within households. The transition from houses to households reveals autonomous, sustainable family units with established kinship relationships, showcasing a rich diversity in how house architecture integrates into the neighborhood environment and caters to the individual needs of each household.

4.1 Materials and techniques

The main structural materials for the houses were the limestone and timber. Limestone was used for the walls and pavements, while oak timber for the horizontal bearing structures (masonry striping, roofs, floors); the furnishings and finishes of the interior spaces were also made with other types of wood such as nut or cherry-wood. Both the stone and timber were provided by local natural sources. Limestone quarries in the eastern and southern outskirts of Palia Sagiada remain, still today (Figure 4.1); these include sections of rocks of various schistosity, demonstrating the sources of stones of different sizes used in different parts of the structure. In contrast to the settlements of a much higher altitude in the Pindus Range, the use of schist dark gray slabs was rare in the coastal region of Thesprotia, and such examples in Palia Sagiada seem to be individual cases (Figure 4.2). Moreover, the mortars and other façade-rendering materials were also limestone based, including sand from the coast for better plasticity and adhesion in the structure. Regarding the use of wood, although the immediate environment of the settlement is not very rich in oak forests, the surrounding mountainous areas were able to provide the necessary oak lumber.

Ceramics, such as clay roof tiles (double, barrel shape, 19/14 x 40 x 1.4cm) and tile blocks used for the finial of the buildings and the eaves of the roof, were imported from Corfu, and in later periods, also from Thessaloniki (Figure 4.3-4.5).²⁰⁸ Handmade iron

²⁰⁷ For example, regarding the local in the settlements of Foiniki, Plaisio, Giromeri the residents still use their houses from the 19th century. Similarly, some more complex housing forms, like tower houses are still in use in Konispol/ Konisponli, present-day Albania, such as the Fatbardha house (1835), Dineo Meri (an extension dated in 1925), Sefhet Xahxi (1883). The Mikroulis house in Filiates and the restored mansion as a Folklore museum in Margariti are also good examples, while the Kotsonis and Vekkos' houses in Smertos and Filiates respectively, although abandoned, until at least recently preserved a lot of information regarding their interior decoration.

²⁰⁸ Evdokia Leondiadou, "Ένα εργαστήριο αγγειοκατασκευής στην Κέρκυρα στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα (A pottery workshop in Corfu in the beginning of the 20th century)," *Peri Istorias* 7 (2020):159, <https://doi.org/10.12681/p.i.24777>

nails (*gyftokarfo-a/γυφτόκαρφα*) from the local workshops in Paramythia, were broadly used in binding together the timber parts of the structure or for anchoring the timber elements on the stone masonry (e.g., opening frames). Imported cast iron elements were used for balcony railings and, in some more elaborate structures, as tie rods or beam tractors that stripped the stone masonry walls (Figure 4.6). Lastly, in the 20th-century interventions, reinforced concrete is evident in the balconies, opening transoms/lintels and sills, finials, and as concrete zonings of the masonry that replaced the function of old timber lacing.

Stone structures in Palia Sagiada follow the timber-laced stone masonry system, a typical building method in the earthquake-prone area of the Eastern Mediterranean (Figure 4.7). Wood, a material with high plasticity and more able to absorb the earthquake shocks than brittle materials such as stone, is incorporated into the stone wall structure, preventing the total collapse of the wall in the case of an earthquake.²⁰⁹

While the depth of the foundations is invisible, it is clear that the direct seating of the building walls directly on the rock was a common practice. The ground floor was usually elevated with thicker walls, reduced on their exterior, which creates an escalating façade with zones (6 cm on the first and second steps, 2 cm on the third step) (Figure 4.8). The walls are combination of well-curved limestone and unprocessed stones, which are cemented together with limestone mortar. The stone masonry is implemented in layers, typically 68 cm thick on the ground floor, and 63 cm on the first floor. For buildings of more than two floors, the thickness of the walls on the ground floors ranges between 75 cm to 85 cm and the walls of the upper floors, from 68 cm to 53 cm.

The timber frames are fastened to the wall structure at intervals of almost every meter, and close to the crucial points of the openings (lintels and windowsills). Within the thickness of the wall, 2 or 3 rows of oak timber beams, with a rectangular profile of 5x5cm, are connected with beveled edges and iron nails at intervals of 50 cm with transverse timber bars of rectangular profiles of 5x5m. The timber parts of the masonry are covered with a limestone plaster layer to protect them from humidity. In less carefully implemented masonries, the construction did not follow the above organization, rather than the stones were put on the top of each other, without even the

²⁰⁹ Charalambos Mouzakis et al., “Seismic behaviour of timber-laced stone masonry buildings before and after interventions: shaking table tests on a two-storey masonry model,” *Bulletin of Earthquake Engineering* 16, no. 2 (2018): 803–29.

use of mortars. Such rough structures exist mainly in the courtyard or outdoor areas and they are known as '*xerolithia*' (ξερολιθιά).

Cast iron beam/tractors/rods fastening the masonry with decorated cast iron lockers (*tzinetia*-τζινέτια) was an advanced structuring method, being incorporated into the structures gradually during the 19th century, also found its application in the structures in Palia Sagiada where still remain some well preserved examples of masonry cast iron rods and lockers (Figure 4.9-4.10).²¹⁰ This technique appears as more common in its simpler version in the opening jambs, for connecting the timber frames of the windows and doors to the masonry.

As the horizontal bearing structures, the floors and roofs, do not remain, we can draw information indirectly, from holes and grooves in the masonry wall that were used for the connection and fastening of the horizontal structure with the vertical one. Beams of a rectangular profile of 15 x 15 cm seated on a wooden beam laid on the floor rabbet of the masonry and embedded in the wall at intervals of 45cm. In a rectangular-shaped space, the beams bridged the smaller opening. In the case of larger spaces, a rectangular pillar 45 x 45 cm (50 x 50 cm) of the subjacent floor, was used to support a central beam on which smaller 15 x 15 cm beams were laid (Figure 4.11). There is no indication of how the final wooden sheathing was nailed on the beams. It is possible that it could have either been done directly or via secondary crossbeams of smaller profile dimensions. The average height of such floors was quite low according to the present-day standards, around 2.00 m - 2.20 m. while in later houses the height of the floor reached the 2.80 m – 3.20 m.

In Palia Sagiada, while there are no extant/remaining examples of roofs, insights from historical photographs and local building techniques suggest the probable use of roof systems such as truss or post-and-lintel hip roofs, or cross-hip roofs. The specific choice would likely depend on the architectural layout and design of each building.

4.2 Spatial organization

The houses in Palia Sagiada exhibit various spatial arrangements within the settlement. They can be individually positioned, arranged in a row, or form closely-knit enclaves or groupings. Typically spanning two or three levels, the ground floor, referred to as '*katoi*'

²¹⁰ Yannis Kizis, *Πηλιορείτικη Οικοδομία* (Building Art on Mount Pelio) (Athens: PIOP (Piraeus Bank Group), 1995), 150-151.

(κατώι meaning lower/down space), and the upper floor(s), known as '*anoi*' (ανώι meaning upper space), the houses are adapted to the slope of the terrain. Due to the gradient, most houses are elevated, incorporating an additional half space as a *katoi*. The predominant orientation is towards the south or southwest, offering views of the Ionian Sea coast, the outpost, salines, and Corfu. Generally, the long side of the houses aligns vertically with the slope contours.

The houses in Palia Sagiada are characterized by expansive courtyards, known as '*avli*' (αυλή) in Greek or locally as '*onvoros*' (οβορός) (Figure 4.12-4.13). While the presence of courtyards is not exclusive to Sagiada, as other settlements in the nearby and broader region with late Ottoman period house architecture also incorporate courtyards (examples include Foiniki, Plaisio, and Giromeri), what sets Sagiada apart is the complexity of relationships within these courtyards.

The courtyards develop in various levels, have various sizes, forms, and functions. They adjust to the steep topography, and they are related to the house building in the following ways: the courtyard can surround the house building, or the house's sides can be part of the courtyard's walls. The premises of the courtyards have heights that range from low bench-like walls of 0.50 m to around 2.00 m from the level of the public space.

The premise walls incorporate at least two gates, one for each courtyard, of varying opulence. These provide access to the courtyard's multiple compartments or the different levels/terraces. The courtyard compartments include structures of auxiliary use such as simple, one-leveled enclosed spaces, stairs, the kitchen, installations such as furnaces and lavatories, benches, and small configurations for gardening, all built with stone. Most typically, the secondary enclosed spaces are on the backside of the yard/northern part, while the southern part towards the view is mainly an open space emphasizing the entrance from the street/trail. The house complexes in Sagiada did not include cisterns, as generally did not have one, the settlements close to streams or with water sources (Keramitsa, Kokkinolithari, Foiniki, Giromeri, Faneromeni etc.). In contrast to this, the houses in the settlements that did not have easy access to the water did have cisterns within the premises of their courtyards (e.g. Liopsi, Kotsika).

In the majority of the houses, the courtyard is space that belongs to the household, therefore its accessibility from the public space is controlled through the gates that open and close. However, in some cases, especially for the houses that are close to the market street, the access from the public space of the street is open, only indicated by arched

configurations. In these examples, the courtyard of the house participates also in the life of the street.²¹¹

Finally, the courtyard organization observed in Sagiada is reminiscent of some opulent mansions in larger regional centers such as Konispoli (Dineo Meri), Filiates/Filyat (Goulas' house), and Margariti.²¹² As these cases refer to a spatial organization in a smoother topography, the segmentation of their courtyards into compartments takes place more or less to the same level, in contrast to the courtyards in Palia Sagiada, which in several cases include terraces with important height difference.

4.3 Use of spaces

4.3.1 Anoi - Main living

The spatial organization of houses in Palia Sagiada follows a typical arrangement found in late Ottoman houses across the broader region of Thesprotia, south Albania, the Balkans, and Western Anatolia. The division of house spaces is characterized by two distinct units: the secondary spaces primarily located on the ground floor, referred to as 'katoi,' and the primary living areas for activities such as gathering, eating, and sleeping situated on the first floor or upper levels, the 'anoi.' This arrangement is reflective of a common architectural pattern prevalent in the late Ottoman period in the mentioned geographic areas.²¹³

²¹¹ For such an example see the Skandaleto extended house, 4.8.3 Household 6.

²¹² Despite the morphological or typological variety of the late Ottoman houses with courtyards not only in the region of Thesprotia, Epirus, and south Albania, but also in the other geographies of the Eastern Mediterranean. For some houses with courtyards in Epirus see Eleftherios, Sigalos, *Housing in medieval and post-medieval Greece* (2004); Konstantinos Papaioannou, *To Ellinikó Παραδοσιακό Σπίτι (The Greek Traditional House)* (National Technical University of Athens, 2003), 180-184; For south Albania: Pyrro Thomo, "Albania," in *Balkan Traditional Architecture* (Athens: Melissa Publications, 1993), 17-82; For several other examples in W. Anatolia: Yıldız Aksoy and Ayşen Akpınar, "Muğla evleri," *İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Dergisi* 3, no. 9 (2011): 129-149; Pınar Kısa Ovalı and Nilay Delibaş, "Yerel mimarinin sürdürülebilirliği kapsamında Kayaköy'ün çözümlemesi," (2016): 515-529; For a further discussion on courtyards in other regions of Anatolia: (1996); Gülçin Bozkurt and Hakan Altınçekiç, "Anadolu'da geleneksel konut ve avluların özellikleri ile tarihsel gelişiminin Safranbolu evleri örneğinde irdelenmesi," *Journal of the Faculty of Forestry Istanbul University* 63, no. 1 (2013): 69-91; Selvinaz Gülçin Bozkurt, "Antakya'nın Geleneksel Evlerinin Avlu Özellikleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Turkish Journal of Forest Science* 3, no. 1 (2019): 1-12; Yaşar Çelebi and Şemsettin Günaltay, "Bir grup eski Antakya evi," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* 67 (1982): 159-201.

²¹³ See the volumes of the collection *Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική* (Greek Traditional Architecture) and *Βαλκανική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική* (Balkan Traditional Architecture) by Melissa Publications including several essays from Balkan and Turkish scholars. Particularly, from the Turkish scholarship, the classical Sedat H. Eldem, *Türk evi plan tipleri* (1954); Günkut Akin, *Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'daki tarihsel ev tiplerinde anlam* (IT Ü., 1985); Ayda Arel, *Osmanlı konut geleneğinde tarihsel sorunlar*, No. 11 (Ege Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi, 1982); Doğan Kuban, *Türk ahşap konut mimarisi: 17.-19. Yüzyıllar* (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017); Doğan

The primary living unit in Palia Sagiada houses was the room, commonly known as '*ontas*' (οντάς), derived from the Ottoman/Turkish term '*oda*,' which means 'the room'. The specific orientation of the room determined its use. Located in the north, it had a more insular character and served primarily for seating and sleeping during the winter, receiving the local name *himoniatiko* (χειμωνιάτικο), meaning 'the winter room' in Greek. In other regions, this room might be referred to as '*spiti*' or '*mesa spiti*' (σπίτι or μέσα σπίτι, meaning the house or inside the house) or '*kouzina*' (κουζίνα, meaning the kitchen). Interestingly, in the houses of Epirus, including Palia Sagiada, actual cooking occurred in the courtyard, while the *himoniatiko* was utilized for heating food or preparing quick meals (Figure 4.14).

The room oriented towards the south had a more open layout, featuring more windows on its three sides. Commonly known as '*mousafir ontas*' (μουσαφίρ οντάς) derived from the Ottoman/Turkish term '*misafir oda*,' meaning the guest room, or *kalokairino* (καλοκαιρινό), translating to 'the summer (room)' in Greek, or simply '*ontas*.' This room was utilized for temporary stays, particularly during the summer months (Figure 4.15). In simpler houses, the distinction between the two rooms might not have been clear. However, in more luxurious residences, the *kalokairino* room assumed a more formal role, serving as an actual reception or sitting room. These design features are reminiscent of house architecture models developed in large Ottoman urban centers, with comparable examples in Ioannina/Yannina and Gjirokastrë.²¹⁴

The prevalent interior organization of fixed, semi-fixed, and portable elements in Palia Sagiada typically followed the standard room layout observed in the region. A fireplace positioned in the middle of the room's side was symmetrically framed by two small niches (Figure 4.16-4.17). When the fireplace was on the southern wall of the house facing the view, it would have two symmetrical windows on either side. The niches varied in size, with window-sized ones serving as cupboards, while smaller niches were used for storing small objects (Figure 4.18). In each house, one of the

Kuban, *Türk" Hayat" li Evi* (Mısırlı Matbaacılık, 1995); Nigan Bayazıt, "Safranbolu evlerinin plan tipolojisi ve kullanıcı ihtiyaçları hiyerarşisi," *Tasarım+ Kuram* 10, no. 17 (2014): 1-15.

²¹⁴ Caroline Jaeger-Klein, "The Traditional Tower Houses of Kosovo and Albania -Origin, Development and Influences" (2018); Caroline Jaeger-Klein, Arnisa Kryeziu, Elena Mamani, and Kaltrina Thaçi, "Traditional Residential Architecture in Albania and Kosovo – Mason-Carpenter Structures and Their Future Restoration," in *Structural Analysis of Historical Constructions 2 Structural and Damage Survey*, edited by D. Daniela and Michelangelo Laterza, 8 (2019):1127–37.

niches facing east was designated for religious icons and served as a space for prayer practices. Basins incorporated into the stone masonry were also a part of the room, although their presence in Palia Sagiada is relatively limited compared to other houses in the region, such as those in Liopsi, Konispoli, Foiniki, and others.

The interior organization of the rooms in Palia Sagiada typically followed an L or Π-shaped (U-shaped) layout around the fireplace. Along the walls of the room, there were mattresses, highlighted floors referred to as '*mpasia*' (μπάσια), and low furniture known as '*divani*' or '*minderi*' (*divan*, *minder*, *sedir*). These pieces of furniture were used for various activities such as sitting, sleeping, eating around the '*sofras*' (σοφράς from the Ottoman/Turkish '*sofra*'), which is a roundel or lower table, and for reading or general gatherings.²¹⁵

The *mousandra* (μουσάντρα from the Ottoman/Turkish '*musandıra*'), a large timber cupboard, was utilized for storage and often served to divide the room into two parts: the main room and a lobby-type space. This feature was more common in opulent houses found in Gjirokastrë and Yannina; however, it is found in only a few instances in the region of Thesprotia, such as in Lakka-Souli.²¹⁶ Therefore, whether the *mousandra* was part of the interior decoration of the houses in Palia Sagiada cannot be suggested with certainty.

Similarly, for the ceilings and other finishes, only suggestions could be made about the possible variations met in the area: the ceilings could have had a simple organization of horizontal timber zones surrounded by a cornice, they could be organized in rectangular or rhombus shapes (*baklavadoto*/ μπακλαβαδωτό), or in the most opulent cases, inscribed in a rectangular frame, there were various impressive polygonal and

²¹⁵ These normally reached the height of the window apron (around 40 cm) or they were just very low (5 cm), almost at the same height with the fireplace base. The former organization was common for the best-curved rooms with more light, the *kalokairino* or the reception, while the latter was common in the *himoniatiko* room where the family members were almost sitting or laying on the floor. For a general description of the *sedir* see Doğan Kuban, *Türk ahşap konut mimarisi*, 115-117.

²¹⁶ S. Mamaloukos discusses about *mousandra* in the largest mansions in Lakka Souli. It was a special timber structure that included a stair and an attic within its depth from where the female members of the household could attend the meetings taking place in the main sitting area. S. Mamaloukos, "Η κατοικία στη Λάκκα Σουλίου από τον 18ο ως τα μέσα του 20ού αιώνα (The residence in Lakka Souli from 18th-mid 20th cent)" (2013). Although such a gender-oriented use of the *mousandra* was usual, e.g. in the tower house of Gjirokastrë or the large mansions in Yannina, there is not such an indication for the houses in Thesprotia and south Albania, where this room element had a simple use as storage and room boundary. Lastly, the slight height difference between the lobby and the main sitting room was also a common feature and this was implemented most commonly with one or two steps within the *mousandra*. Süslü Nevel Sezen, "Musandırallı Evin Tanımına Dair Notlar," *Niğde Ömer Halisdemir Üniversitesi Mühendislik Bilimleri Dergisi* 4, no. 2 (2015): 112-118.

baroque motives (e.g. Thanos family house in Plaisio, Folklore Museum of Margariti). In the simplest houses, it is also possible that some rooms did not have a ceiling.

The circulation between *himoniatiko* and *kalokairino* rooms was direct from the one room to the other, while the entrance was taking place directly to the one room or the other. However, apart from these two basic rooms, the *himoniatiko* and *kalokairino*, in examples from later periods quite often there were extra spaces, such as smaller private rooms, known as '*kamari*' (κάμαρη), entrance lobbies, enclosed reception areas known as '*krevata*' (κρεββάτα), and possibly, sometimes corridors.

Particularly the *krevata* space refers to the known *hayat* of the houses that developed in the Ottoman Balkans and W. Anatolia. In the Greek areas, this space took names such as '*doxato*' (δοξάτο), '*krevata*' (κρεββάτα), or '*iliakos*' (ηλιακός), or '*sofas*' (σοφάς). There is an extensive bibliography on this house's multifunctional feature used for circulation, seating, and/or reception, gradually from a semi-open area became a closed space. In Palia Sagiada exists only the enclosed version of this spatial element. Lastly, regarding the corridors, for the houses in Palia Sagiada, only suggestions could be made, as there is only very limited information about their application in the local houses. However, observations regarding typological resemblances to the house architecture in Corfu could lead to such ideas.²¹⁷

4.3.2 Outdoor stairs

To the rooms directly or through a reception area lead the outdoor stair (Figure 4.20-4.23). The landing of the stair was of restricted dimensions and either it was part of the stair or it was a timber balcony/protrusion from the building of the house. In any case, it was covered by a timber canopy. This covered entrance space in the region is known as '*lotza*' (λότζα) and it was mainly assisting the circulation in and out the house rather it had a more organic part in the daily activities, like the '*krevata*'-'*hayat*' did before its enclosed version.

The semi-outdoor, most often vaulted or arched area underneath the landing of the stair though, had indeed a secondary use as storage. Often, it includes a niche, known as

²¹⁷ A. Agoropoulou-Birbili, "Η αρχιτεκτονική της πόλεως της Κέρκυρας κατά την περίοδο της Ενετοκρατίας (The architecture of the Town of Corfu during the Venetian period)" (PhD diss., National Technical University of Athens (NTUA), School of Architecture, 1976); A. Agoropoulou-Birbili, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Aegean, Kerkyra*, Melissa; Maria Vlasrou, "Αστικές κηλίδες: μέτρηση της οικιστικής ανάπτυξης: το παράδειγμα της πόλης της Κέρκυρας (Urban dots: counting ekistics development: the case study of the Town of Corfu)" (Thesis, Aegean University, Geography Department 2013), 53-54.

‘*varelopithoma*’ (βαρελοπίθωμα) or simply ‘*bolitsa*’ (μπολίτσα) used for keeping the barrels or pots with drinkable water (Figure 4.19). This space also functioned as the lobby before entering the ground floor spaces and it offered a more convenient use of the water for drinking and housework.

4.3.3 *Katoi – storage and secondary spaces*

The ground floor – *katoi* mainly was used for animal keeping, including whole flocks of sheep, goats, or cows; or just the keeping of one or two of those, essential for providing the milk, meat, and wool; or horses that assisted the activities of the household. Some ground floor areas or semi-underground spaces did not include any openings at all and they were the coolest spaces for storing darkest and coolest parts of the house, the family stored the edible and drinkable goods (cheese/wine/water etc.) for their better preservation. These spaces were covered with barrel vaults, and they were known as ‘*bimtsa*’ (μπίμτσα) or ‘*koumbes*’ (κουμπές) from the Ottoman/Turkish ‘*kubbe*’ meaning a ‘dome’. Moreover, some underground spaces accessed from the house’s upper levels through a trapdoor, were called ‘*ambari*’ (αμπάρι) and they served also for food storage.

In some opulent houses, the ground floor spaces were used for living too, as they include quite large windows and fireplaces. However, these areas probably referred to the stay or daily activities of the household’s assistants and not of the family.

Lastly, in Palia Sagiada existed shops and workshops, these businesses were located also in the ground level for direct accessibility from the street or the trail.

4.3.4 *Courtyard – avli*

The courtyard was the space that concentrated and organized the house’s additional needs in storing, as well as cooking, and hygiene/lavatories (Figure 4.14-4.30). Although often mentioned as “secondary uses” these activities were integral to the daily life of the household and they included the already mentioned, functions of cooking, storing, and personal hygiene, but also public areas for social/family gatherings, and secluded areas for animal/cattle passages or semi-outdoor roundups. In cases where the primary occupation of the household owner was animal husbandry or involved the storage of commercial products, the need for storage spaces could surpass that of the main living quarters.

The courtyard uses were divided into separate units in contact with each other or isolated from each other without in-between accessibility or visual contact. Usually, the

courtyard area in front of the staircase leading to the house's main entrance on the upper floor functioned as a reception and was an open, broad space. In this part of the yard, sometimes there were one-level smaller structures that were used as secondary residences for older family members and/or their assistants, either they were used as smaller storage rooms. Lavatories or outdoor baths were located at the southern part of the courtyard towards the slope, and often they are parts of this reception area as also being close to the house's entrance.²¹⁸

The family members and their guests were the main users of the reception area. During celebrations, it was meant for outdoor gatherings. According to oral testimonies and similar practices that continue until today in the region, during the first half of the 20th century, at these celebrations, the male members of the family and their male guests used to gather around tables set in that central courtyard part; they were grilling, eating, drinking, and dancing at times when spirits were high, as traditional folk music was an integral part of the celebration. The women's role was restricted to serving, and their gathering was indoors. When not a special occasion, this open area was also used for drying fruits and vegetables such as figs, peppers, and tomatoes.

A second courtyard was on the north of the house. This space was directly associated with daily activities, such as cooking and related needs (small storages, gardening, etc.). The furnace for cooking could be an outdoor structure covered with a canopy or part of a small courtyard building. In the first case, the preparation of the meal was taking place in a semi-outdoor space close to the furnace or in an adjacent small building.²¹⁹ In the second case, the furnace was part of a kitchen that had two or three separate rooms, with one of them including the furnace. The kitchen had various dimensions and various access points depending on the household: it could have been accessed directly from the main house and the courtyard, only from the courtyard, or

²¹⁸ Although in the emerging 19th century modern housing, the household's lavatories and cooking were incorporated into the body of the house, creating inevitable daily interactions between the masters/house owners and the assistants, these functions were separated in the houses of Palia Sagiada, apart from an individual case in the Pazara neighborhood (Tasis house – Household 4) which could possibly have been an exception, including a lavatory within the main house body. Nevertheless, both the incorporation of the lavatory and the kitchen within the house is not an unknown practice in late 19th century houses of the region. Several examples of tower houses and mansions e.g. in Liopsi (saray Dino), in Konispol, Kotsika, in Smertosand in Margariti had interior lavatories, notably in a tower-form protrusion from the main body of the house. Respectively, the Vekkos house in Filiates had its furnace on the ground floor of the house. As a condition in-between, the kitchen area in some houses in Palia Sagiada was attached and accessed from the house, as if being an actual part of the house.

²¹⁹ The furnace and the cooking is an outdoor activity already during the byzantine period. E. Sigalos, "Housing in medieval and post-medieval Greece" (2004). Ataliatis courtyard house in Istanbul; Dimitra Papanikola-Bakirtzi ed. *Everyday life in Byzantium* (Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2002).

from the main house through a small corridor.

As evident, cooking was typically carried out separately from the main house. In contrast to this, and as already mentioned, warming up the food was an activity allowed within the house, as it did not create the actual cooking's untidiness or odors. And that should have been an important consideration, especially when, on special occasions, celebrations, or simple visits, particular house spaces functioned as reception areas.

A third courtyard was connected directly to the trails through separate gates; these were also isolated areas mainly used for animal keeping or, in the case of flocks/cattle that could not be accommodated in the house's ground floor spaces. Possibly unique for the houses there, and in contrast to the other houses with courtyards in other local settlements, this pathway was a well-defined space that directed the animals' movement from the trail to the house's ground floor area, without allowing any involvement in the other courtyard spaces. This provision created better hygiene conditions in the areas used for food preparation and the social gatherings or the family's daily circulation.

This sense of sanitation and maintaining proper hygiene was a daily concern, encompassing not only cooking activities in relation to gathering and sleeping areas but also involving appropriate water management for drinking, personal hygiene, cleaning indoor and outdoor spaces, and gardening. Clean water from the settlement's fountain was used for drinking and cooking. Special provisions, such as channels or water collectors, were made for storing and distributing water in various areas of the house. It is noteworthy that cisterns were not commonly used; instead, water was collected in large ceramic vessels placed in different areas of the house and courtyard. This approach facilitated the availability of water throughout the household for various needs.

4.4 House typologies (Table 7)

The house types in Palia Sagiada display a wide variety of models, often reflecting the militaristic architecture of tower houses, typical in other neighboring settlements. These categories fall into the descriptions and common categories that appear in the rural space of the Epirus region and South Albania, as well as in other parts of Greece and the Balkans/Western Anatolia.²²⁰ At the same time, they also go beyond general patterns; novelties in the use of space, several architectural references from the Ionian Islands,

²²⁰ K. Papaioannou, *Το ελληνικό παραδοσιακό σπίτι* (The Greek traditional house), 52-70.

and examples that recall the urban architecture of the large centers of the Ottoman Empire find their expression in the house architecture of the settlement.

In this research, the grouping into categories results from the analysis of the floor plan of the upper levels, which are fully developed and cover a broader surface, in contrast to the ground floors, which are often retracted due to the topography gradient. Additionally, the use of space is a determinant for discussing the house typologies based on the upper levels' floor plan and the organization of their rooms.

A significant limitation is the utter absence of the separating timber walls of the interiors, known as '*tsatmas*' (τσατμάς) or '*bagdati*' (μπαγδα(ν)τί), that would allow further partition of the typologies based on the actual number of rooms. This timber wall normally was a timber frame, covered on both sides by thin wooden stripes, rendered with a lime mortar. While there has been an attempt here to propose a possible room division in several buildings, this is a challenging task, especially in more complex examples. Nevertheless, in most cases, the relative location of different elements, such as secondary masonry walls of the ground floor and openings, the commonality of the types in the broader region, and the general dimensions of the spaces can lead to suggestions.

Finally, the house types in Palia Sagiada can be boiled down into the two following broad categories and their rich alterations: the typical enclosed, oblong or rectangular-shaped, two-level buildings, known as '*anogokatogo makrinari*' (ανωγοκάτωγο μακρινάρι), and the houses with *krevata/ hayat*. One-level buildings had mainly a secondary use, and if these were used as houses, they were already parts of a household as courtyard structures. Lastly, the rich/opulent houses known as '*archondika*' (αρχοντικά), did not always define a separate category, as these could be houses of the previous types, yet in larger dimensions or as parts of larger housing complexes, or they could be unique expressions of another architectural style inspired by 19th-century eclecticism.

4.4.1 *Anogokatogo makrinari*

The most frequent house type in Palia Sagiada is the elevated, two-storey structure, 'sides' analogy 1:2, that takes advantage of the gradient of the topography, often being sited vertically to the contours having an elevated base that provides the house an extra, small space below the ground level. These two main levels, corresponding to the *anoi* and *katoi* discussed above, compose the widespread *anogokatogo makrinari*

(ανωγκάτωγο μακρινάρι, meaning actually an oblong-shaped house with *anoi* and *katoi*), unknown since when established in the broader Eastern Mediterranean, yet spread in several parts of Greece, especially Epirus and Peloponese.²²¹

The general use of spaces in this house type follows the typical arrangement: ground floor/storage and animal keeping; upper floor/family's main living; and access to the first floor by an exterior stone-built stair.

As the number of rooms - *oda* and their relationship has been used as the determining factor for categorization, here the analysis of the *anogokatogo* type follows a similar logic.²²² Alterations in the organization or relative autonomy of the spaces, or the addition of extra rooms in various positions in connection with the main house type, determine the following sub-types prevailing in Palia Sagiada: a. One room house; b. Two-room house; c. The twin house or *aderfomoirio* (αδερφομοίριο) (Drawing 14-16; Figure 4.31); d. Two room houses with a lobby; e. L-shaped alterations.

The two-room type in Palia Sagiada corresponds to the 'anogokatogo makrinari' structure with a specific division of the upper floor into two distinct rooms: the *kalokairino* (summer) to the south and *himoniatiko* (winter) rooms to the north. This type is a common architectural pattern in the wider region of Epirus and southern Greece, reflecting prevalent practices in residential construction. These houses exhibit variations in the sizes of the two rooms, with the *kalokairino* room often appearing more spacious and comfortable. Access to the upper floor is typically provided by an external stone-built stair, leading to one of the two rooms. The communication between the *kalokairino* and *himoniatiko* rooms likely involved a door in their shared wall, although the construction material of this wall—whether stone or timber—may vary. The ground floor of these houses can either mirror the two-room organization of the upper floor or consist of a single room. The versatility of the two-room type allows for adaptability to the specific needs and preferences of individual households within the broader framework of the *anogokatogo makrinari* architectural typology.

The *aderfomoirio* sub-group in Palia Sagiada represents a variation of the *anogokatogo makrinari* structure with two rooms on the upper floor, specifically designed to accommodate the families of two male members, often brothers or cousins. The term *aderfomoirio* itself denotes the practice of dividing the house to provide

²²¹ Kostis Kourelis, *Monuments of rural archaeology: Medieval settlements in the northwestern Peloponnese* (University of Pennsylvania, 2003):173-176.

²²² Ibid., 52-53.

separate living spaces for these related individuals. This sub-typology maintains a connection to the two-room type but introduces symmetrical organization and functional autonomy for each room.

In one version of the *aderfomoirio*, there is a distinct exterior entrance for each of the two rooms on the upper floor. This arrangement enhances the autonomy of the rooms, making them suitable for use as separate residences. The symmetry is evident in the placement of interior elements such as fireplaces, cupboards, and niches, contributing to a clear division between the two living spaces. Another version of the *aderfomoirio* involves two "sliding house volumes"—rectangular or oblong-shaped buildings that touch only at the point of their shared entrance, which connects the interior spaces of both houses. Despite being separate entities, these houses maintain a visual link through their common entrance. This design ensures similar air and lighting conditions for both residences, as their facades feature ample openings oriented toward the south. This dual-house configuration adds an interesting architectural element to the overall landscape of Palia Sagiada.

The tripartite separation of the floor plan in some houses in Palia Sagiada suggests longer floor plans with analogies between their sides 1:2,5. The ground floor in these houses may feature two perpendicular secondary masonry walls or arches, dividing the space into three parts. This configuration hints at a possible three or four-room plan on the upper floor, with the *himoniatiko* and *kalokairino* rooms now having a small entrance lobby and/or *kamari*. The perpendicular elements of the ground floor likely serve as the supportive substructure for the upper-level walls.

The L-shaped house type involves adding an extra space (secondary branch) to the oblong-shaped main house (the main branch). These L-shaped houses may have had this configuration from their initial planning, or the addition could have been a later intervention. The two branches of the L-shape differ in dimensions and surface, with the addition typically smaller and its wide façade parallel to the topographic curves. The secondary branch may be located in a higher part of the topography, and the main entrance usually takes place at the main branch. All rooms, including those in the secondary branch, are internally interconnected. In some cases, there might be two separate entrances to the spaces of the two branches, along with an interior connection between them.

4.4.2 Houses with a *krevata* – *hayat*

The house with a *krevata* – *hayat* is a popular architectural element in northern and northwestern Greece developed during the Ottoman period, standing in contrast to the enclosed structures found in southern regions. Originally an open multifunctional space associated with the entrance to the main house, this element gradually evolved, closing off over the 19th century to become an integral part of the interior space.

While it may be tempting to view the lobby of the previous category as an enclosed *krevata* – *hayat* of very small dimensions, it is evident that this room has resulted from the development of the *himoniatiko* and *kalokairino* rooms. In contrast, the *hayati* had a more substantial relationship with the stair to the upper floor. In houses in Palia Sagiada, the *krevata* – *hayat* element is expressed in three ways: as a separate, enclosed whole entrance unit, usually added later to the main house; as an interior entrance space related to the interior vertical and horizontal house circulation; or as a broad stair landing in Π-shaped houses.

In Palia Sagiada, the simple version of a house with a *krevata* – *hayat* is characterized by a separate lobby space, enclosed right at the main entrance of the long side of the *anogokatogo makrinari*, both in its basic and L-shaped versions (Figure 4.32-4.34). It can also manifest as an extra room located in the narrow backside of the building, typically where the *himoniatiko* room is found. The interpretation of the latter model, where the entrance occurs from the narrow side, can be challenging when there is insufficient material to understand the whole circulation within the house. In such cases, the most logical suggestion is the consecutive transition from one room to the other through the *mousandra* – *musandira* or a simple timber frame wall. It's worth noting that the oblong-shaped house with the backside lobby is also used in types of houses that housed a shop in their ground floor.

A clearer expression of the house with a *krevata*' – *hayat* in Palia Sagiada appears in its most developed version. Although limited in number, examples from Palia Sagiada point to houses with an enclosed *krevata* – *hayat* and an L-shaped room organization around it, all accessed by the central space. The layout of these spaces, together with the enclosed *krevata* – *hayat*, forms a unified, clear, almost rectangular plan shape. Alternatively, the *krevata* – *hayat* is a central part of Π-shaped houses. This diversity in expressions adds richness and variety to the architectural heritage of Palia Sagiada.

4.4.3 Archondiko-a/mansions

The designation *archondiko* (αρχοντικό) house, the house of the lord – *archon/archondas* (ἀρχων/ἀρχοντας) in Greek, is still used today to demonstrate the rich houses without referring to a particular typology. In Palia Sagiada, as common in rural areas, the opulent houses can also result from the many additions and alterations of a typical house type, creating complex compounds with many rooms and installations, pointing to a more complex lifestyle. At the same time, these mixed types emerge from their surroundings, as they are significantly larger as wholes than their neighboring houses or they are connected to a public space. Moreover, these houses include qualities of urban architecture with the form of neoclassical features, such as symmetry in the façades, decorations, porticoes, and balconies, thus they deviate significantly from the common house types.

In Palia Sagiada the houses still remembered, as ‘*archondika*’ are located throughout the settlement and each time they dominate visually in their direct environment not always through their typology, or decoration but also through the plot selection, their association with other structures and the social role of the owner in the neighborhood. Therefore, the *archondika* in Palia Sagiada connoted apart from the material opulence, also the social salience of their owner.

4.5 House facades

Most façades of the houses in Palia Sagiada are simple and austere, following the general model of well-curved cornerstones around the openings, the corners and the elevated base of the building, and limestone mortars rendering the interior and exterior facades (Figure 4.36). The rendering/coating plaster had a 2.5-3 cm thickness, while in the interior spaces, was applied a colored final layer/render for grinding. This process is evident in the few remaining interior space mortars painted blue or red (Figure 4.37). No remaining evidence shows any elaborate painted decoration with cornices or any other decorative program. Interesting is the careless use of the blue color on the less visible parts of the house or the secondary yard buildings (Figure 4.38).²²³ Moreover, individual cases of houses preserve parts of the neoclassic decorations and coloring in their exterior façades yet, these are reduced to a few window cornices and pediments,

²²³ According to ethnographic interpretations, possible explanations are related to local superstitions. The blue color prevented the evil energy from harming the household.

and pseudo-pilasters in the corners (Figure 4.39). Examples from carved stone corbels supporting the balconies, roof, and short protrusions from the windows are more often (Figure 4.40). Lastly, the railings of the few remaining balconies were made with imported cast iron, combining linear and curved geometrical motives (Figure 4.41).

The façades employ a different degree of elaboration depending on their orientation: the main ones are on the descending part of the plot, having a south or southwest view towards the sea, and they include most of the window openings in a symmetrical organization around the central, vertical axis of the façade. The doors are on the eastern or western façade of the house. The façades towards the north rarely include openings, apart from secondary doors and windows for ventilation.

Apart from doors and windows, the openings of the houses in Palia Sagiada include skylights and, more rarely, machicolation-like basins incorporated in the masonry. In contrast to the houses of the neighboring villages, there are no raffle openings in the houses of Palia Sagiada. The timber frames, panels, and other timber elements of the openings do not remain, apart from exceptions;²²⁴ consequently, it is not possible to know their form, style, and possible decorations. Examining other late 19th-century examples from the region could suggest using glass in the windows and sheathing shutters and doors. In several examples, the openings were modified: blocked, transformed into doors, or vice-versa. Overall, the openings have different sizes and can be grouped into different categories according to their morphology and structure.

4.5.1 Windows

Windows appear mainly on the upper floors. Typically, there are two windows to the south, one towards the east and one towards the west. In more elaborate cases, there are more windows on the main façade, including a balcony door in the center and two windows in each western and eastern. On the ground floor of most houses, the openings are restricted to small windows or skylights. In some instances, the ground floor openings have similar dimensions to the openings of the upper floors, and they are on the same vertical axis.

The exterior façade of these windows is constructed by a monolithic lintel and a lowered or semicircle pressure relief arch, seated directly on window jambs made with well-carved limestones (Figure 4.42-4.43). In the case of a semicircle arch, there was

²²⁴ As far as the interior doors, only one door-frame and its panel remain, transferred by Antoniou family members in the family's new house in (new) Sagiada.

also a monolithic stone drum. The window opening's dimensions vary yet to keep a general proportion of 3:2 (height: length) or 2:1 (dimensions 0.60 m x 0.40 m 3:2 exterior, 1.05 m x 0.55 m or 1.10 m x 0.60 m interior, 0.30 m x 0.15 m, 0.90 m x 0.55 m).

Typically, the window opening is bigger in the interior wall, in many cases more than 50% of the surface of the opening on the exterior wall, allowing better light diffusion to the interior. The upper part of the window's interior is a barrel-vaulted or a quadrat sphere structure, while the apron is inclined (Figure 4.44-4.45). In the richest houses, the interior lintel of the openings is a lower arch, almost horizontal, referring to later building practices. Finally, several windows of the lower levels (ground floor or first floor in case of more than one upper floor) include a protruding slab/apron seating on little stone corbels. This feature was possibly used for cooling down warm cooked foods or for the house's beautification with pots with plants. (Figure 4.40). Lastly, most probably, the windows had shutters in two pieces opening towards the outside. Although there is one remaining in situ, this is quite typical in the region from the late Ottoman period.

4.5.2 Doors

The access to the ground and upper floor levels and the interior space circulation occurs through door openings on the stone masonry wall or the timber structures of the interior. The door structure on the masonry wall includes a monolithic lintel and a lowered or semi-pressure relief arch, which is seated directly on the doorjambs made with well-carved limestones. Sometimes, semicircle arches with well-carved limestone voussoirs and a semicircle drum form the lintel, or lower arches made with freestones (Figure 4.46-4.47). The exterior door openings have general dimensions of 1.70x0.80m (height x length). Lower doors were standard for the ground floor spaces, mainly used as storage.

Some houses have both their lintel and the door jambs composed of monolithic stones (Figure 4.48), a rare structure in the local houses of the late 19th century, yet, described in structures elsewhere in the region and attributed as an 18th-century feature.²²⁵

Moreover, above the main entrances, there is sometimes a shallow pressure relief

²²⁵ For example, in the houses of Vrachona, as described by G. Smyris in his report on behalf of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia.

niche over the lintel that used to feature a slab with the owner's name. In the post-earthquake additions or interventions in the main gate individual cases, a skylight replaced the pressure relief slab (Figure 4.49).

Doors or gates of different morphology and size are on the walls of the courtyards' premises, and they can be grouped into three categories: smaller gates with dimensions of 1.70x0.80m, with simple, arched lintels; common gates that refer to openings with double arches on imposts, directly on the masonry of the premise with general dimensions 2.20x1.60m (Figure 4.50-4.51); and the more monumental yard gate type with a double or triple-arched-on-impost opening inscribed in a rectangular, prismatic volume (Figure 4.51-4.53). The last type is an individual structure, a portal separated from the yard's premises, with dimensions distinguishing in height and depth. To the elaboration or monumentality of this gate model adds the shallow, pressure relief niche over the arched opening in some yard gates usually featured a slab with the owner's name, yet today, none of them is preserved. In any case of yard gate, one should consider the providence for a shelter with a roof structure covered with ceramic tiles, as seen in other similar courtyard entrances of the neighboring settlements.

The gates are oriented towards the trails or accessed by a plateau. A distinctive feature in the positioning of the gates is their juxtaposition on the same premise wall. These combined gates, twin gates, can be similar or of different typologies and sizes, leading to the various compartments of the courtyards (Figure 4.54-4.55). Moreover, one courtyard may have more than two gates, at times three or four, based on its size and number of compartments. Lastly, courtyard gates with the same typology and sizes can face one other belonging to neighboring houses and giving the impression of two mirroring courtyard façades.

4.5.3 Stone carving

The ongoing plundering, especially of the well-curved stones of the structures of Palia Sagiada for reuse in other contemporary constructions, has significantly altered the aesthetics of the façades that were decorated by artworks of stone sculpture. Nevertheless, the few remaining examples demonstrate a rich variety of themes: inscriptions, symbols, and shapes inspired by the natural world used in cornerstones, on the lintels, or the arched parts of the courtyard gates and the house entrances. Construction dates, one owner's inscription, a combination of religious and secular symbols, and merges of forms with anthropogenic and apotropaic characteristics are

parts of the established decorative agenda of the stone craftsmanship in Palia Sagiada. In particular, among the typical patterns used in the stone lintels of the houses' main entrance is the embossed cross with trefoil arms and an encircled daisy next to a date or a name (Figure 4.56). The remaining stone sculpture products are an apotropaic head surrounded by lions, dogs, and two-headed eagles in a courtyard gate (Figure 4.57) and two facing birds in a cornerstone (Figure 4.58). These are shallow reliefs or forms sculptured on the rock, viewed only from their three sides, such as the apotropaic heads. They are characterized by a frontal perspective, linearity, and geometrical uniformity to the extent of abstraction, demonstrating a symbol or pattern rather than the object itself.²²⁶

The interpretations of these symbols vary and appear equally fascinating. Some studies consider them as a result of the construction process: the protrusion used for the extraction of the stone from the quarry was modified later. However, the most popular suggestions attribute these symbols and their origins to ancient beliefs that go back to the Roman period.²²⁷ These stone sculptures in Palia Sagiada and their themes are distinctive of the decorative program exercise of the stone craftsmen, originated from the Epirus region (e.g., Konitsa and Zagori in Ioannina). Thus, they offer a ground for comparisons and research on the geographical range related to these traveling professionals' activities.

4.6 Household classification

In contrast to the previous categorization of housing buildings in Palia Sagiada based on their plan typology and structural characteristics, the classification of households into common, extended, and interconnected households relies on spatial relationships between the house building, courtyard, and neighboring housing compounds. Therefore, this classification views houses as testimonies for family relationships, as well as daily

²²⁶ Maria Tsoupi, *Ηπειρώτικα Λιθόγλυπτα. Τέχνη και Κοινωνία. Ανιχνεύοντας στο Ζαγόρι. (Epirotan Stone Engravings. Art and Society) (Ioannina: EFYRA, 2006)*; Maria Tsoupi-Remou, "Εκκλησιαστικά και κοσμικά λιθόγλυπτα στην Ήπειρο (τέλη 18ου-20ου αιώνα): συμβολή στην μορφολογική παρουσίαση-ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση της ηπειρωτικής λιθογλυπτικής τέχνης: το παράδειγμα του Ζαγοριού (Ecclesiastic and civic stone engravings in Epirus (end 18th-20th century))" (PhD diss., University of Ioannina, 2004).

²²⁷ Kizis in his research on the structures in Pelion, makes an extensive reference to such apotropaic symbols used in the houses not only in Pelion but in other parts of Greece. For example, see: H. Filliperri, and J. Trotureau, *Symboles et pratiques rituelles dans la maison paysanne traditionnelle*, Paris 1978. These are closely related to the activities of the stone craftsmen. In other parts of Greece, for example in Pelion, the folklore tradition attributes the apotropaic heads on stone, to the heads of the master craftsmen.

life of the local community. Each household in Palia Sagiada maintained its autonomous household economy, encompassing activities supporting its maintenance and subsistence, such as storing food, managing livestock, and cooking, already discussed. Therefore, the basic household unit included at least some storages and a furnace for bread.

An essential factor in this classification is how domestic groups, including simple or extended families, interacted within the household space. The established family and kinship relationships in Epirus region, organized into patrilinear corporate groups, influenced the classification. These groups named clusters of houses or small neighborhoods, after the surname of the patrilineage, representing extended or simple families.²²⁸ Such examples in Palia Sagiada are the neighborhoods: Tsogkeika after the Tsogkas family; Feideika after the Feidis family, Skanadeleteika after the Skandaletos family.

V. Nitsiakos, in his research on the "traditional" social structures in the Epirus region, elaborates the relationship between extended and simple families. According to his findings, the extended family emerges as an expansion of the simple family, consisting of two parents and their children who continue to reside with their parents after marriage. This arrangement is primarily driven by practical considerations such as property management. The model undergoes a transformation when the newly married couple decides to establish an independent household, transitioning into a simple family. However, most of the times, the couple's new residence was close to the husband's parents. It's also important to note, as emphasized by V. Nitsiakos, that this process is not a universal and homogeneous phenomenon. Instead, it is intricately connected to the diverse historical phases of the society in which it unfolds.²²⁹

Furthermore, a household constituted a domestic group, which was broader than the family and also encompassed household assistants and other families linked by affinity, rather than blood, marriage, or adoption bonds.²³⁰

In this research, it has not been possible to detect the changes that took place in the transformation of the family organization for each family and household in Sagiada;

²²⁸ In Mani, the towers of the patrilineages are another spatial expression of this family relationships. Other areas where has been recorded the patrilineage organization is in Thrace, with the type of the extended patriarchal family, such as the Slavic 'zadruga' and the Turkish 'aile'. Vasilis Nitsiakos, *Παραδοσιακές κοινωνικές δομές* (Traditional social structures), 91, 104.

²²⁹ Ibid., 89-90, 134-135, 140.

²³⁰ Ibid., 93, 104, 133.

however, the architectural space itself allows related observations.

According to the following classification, the households are characterized as ‘common’, ‘extended,’ and ‘interconnected.’ The main determinant for the first two categories is whether they did or did not include extensions that would clearly demonstrate spatially, the expansion of the family from a simple model to an extended family. The third category of the interconnected households refers to combinations of the other two, the common and the extended, in a way that create a residential cluster within the settlement.

4.7 Common households

The common households are autonomous units that appear to host only the family, either simple or extended, in only one house building, without later extensions, and a courtyard that encompasses the necessary auxiliary structures. The households in this category include the typical house types and courtyards with a simple organization in two or three parts without many outdoor functions. Therefore, this category can include houses such as the simple two-room, *anogokatogo*, or L-shaped alterations, and houses with an enclosed entrance lobby.

4.7.1 Household 1 (P.HC.A.05), and Household 2 (P.HC.A.07) (Tsamis and Yiatsis families)

(Figure 4.59-4.66) Two of the simplest household examples in Palia Sagiada are Household 1 (P.HC.A.05) and its neighboring Household 2 (P.HC.A.07), located in the northwest of the settlement, in the Pazara neighborhood. These households are associated, possibly, with the Tsamis and Yiatsis families, respectively, engaging in confined animal husbandry, agricultural activities, and local commerce. The first known member of the Tsamis family in Palia Sagiada was Petros Tsamis, born in 1869, the son of Christos Tsamis. By the mid-20th century, the family operated a bakery in the roadstead area of Sagiada. On the other hand, the Yiatsis family, involved in agricultural activities and livestock, had its first known member in Palia Sagiada, Yiatsis Georgios, born in 1872.

Both housing structures, in both Households 1&2, exhibit a single construction phase. While there is no exact dating available, their morphology and typology align with the standard features of dated examples in the region from the late 19th to early 20th centuries, predating the widespread use of reinforced concrete.

Household 1 (P.HC.A.05; Tsamis family): (Drawing 10-11) The Household 1 comprises an L-shaped *anogokatogo* structure surrounded by a courtyard, situated in Pazara, on a plot with a sharp northwest slope covering approximately 388 m². Access to the household is from a small plateau on its eastern side, branching off a few meters from the public trail.

The main house floor occupies a total area of 68 m² and is relatively poorly preserved, with some parts of the upper masonry walls having collapsed. Its construction follows typical building methods, and its northern side is situated on natural rocks, which form integral parts of the walls of the ground and upper floor spaces.

The L-shaped house has one branch parallel to the north-south direction and another parallel to the east-west direction. The *anoi* (upper floor) of the north-south branch features the typical two-room division, *himoniatiko* – *kalokairino*, A.1 & A.2, with windows on the eastern and southern sides. Unfortunately, fireplace infrastructures are no longer present. The *anoi* of the east-west branch, A.3, includes a fireplace surrounded by two niches and a furnace F. A window on its northern side, next to the furnace, likely served for ventilation. All upper-floor spaces are internally connected, providing autonomy as both branches are accessible by separate entrances, A.E.1 & A.E.2, from the landing of the external stone stairs ST.1. Beneath the stair landing, two doors lead to the *katoi* (lower floor) of the two branches, K.1 & K.2, presently filled with collapsed material. Lastly, the limited available information about the house's facades suggests a typical organization, with well-cut corner stones and the rest covered with lime mortars, more analytically described in the previous part on facades.

The courtyard of the household has an irregular shape that adapts to the topography. Besides the main gate on the east, E.1, there is a second, smaller gate on the west, E.2, leading to the countryside. The southern wall of the courtyard is relatively low (50cm high). Running almost parallel to this bench-like wall, a low 5-7cm configuration delineates an area for gardening. This open space, C.1, next to the main courtyard gate and the house's entrance offers an unobstructed view and has a more public character. In contrast, the northern part of the courtyard, C.2, is more secluded. It is a narrow space accessed from the western side of the house, defined by the house's walls and the high courtyard walls (2.5-3 m) adjacent to the trail on the north.

The presence of a furnace within the house is an interesting feature, as it is not common in houses in Palia Sagiada. Even in the wealthier compounds of the settlement,

the kitchen area was, at best, appended to the main house and was not an integral part of its interior. Very few examples of opulent houses in Thesprotia incorporate the kitchen into the main housing structure. Considering the simplicity of the rest of the house, the inclusion of the furnace within the body of the house might indicate a later, straightforward spatial adjustment rather than an intentional adoption of any housing innovations.

Household 2 (P.HC.A.07; Yiatsis family): (Drawing 12-13) The neighboring to Household 1, Household 2, also refers to a basic spatial organization. It comprises a house building with the simplest version of an *anogokatogo makrinari*, with plot and building sizes (366 m²/61 m²) similar to Household 1. The house features the typical two-room division on its upper floor, A.1 & A.2, internally connected, yet with separate exterior entrances, A.E.1 & A.E.2. The *himoniatiko* room A.2, likely served various housework functions and operated as an independent unit from the *kalokairino*, including separate entrances, E.2 & AE.2, toward the yard and the countryside.

The courtyard here follows a simple, two-level organization, southeast to north, C.1 & C.2, with two entrances, E.1 & E.3. In the courtyard C.1, a small, enclosed secondary space, S.1, is attached to the house's façade, while an outdoor furnace, F, and some benches feature the northwestern corner of the courtyard C.2.

Daily life in both Households 1&2, P.HC.A.05 and P.HC.A.07, likely followed the simple organization of their spaces. Circulation within the house was open, as the spaces were interconnected; however, there was also a certain degree of independence between the *kalokairino* and *himoniatiko* rooms, convenient for users conducting their daily housework and serving guests. The courtyard served basic outdoor activities for cooking, drying foods, and storing. Accessed from the public trail, the southern courtyard areas had a public character, used for gatherings with an unobstructed view. Other tasks, such as gardening and drying foods, also took place there. The northern courtyard areas, more restricted and isolated, were in direct contact with the countryside and the *himoniatiko* room, serving cooking and other housework.

Several houses in Palia Sagiada follow the above simple organization, employing though some adjustments or alterations. In some cases, small structures are part of their courtyard premises, such as the household P.HC.B.16, where an L-shaped *anogokatogo* with a courtyard, includes an exterior lavatory incorporated in the courtyard wall, as

well as a secondary building adjusted to the southern courtyard wall. Some other examples also display an apparent spatial and functional arrangement/compartmentalization of the courtyard, e.g., among the kitchen area, the cattle pathway, and the reception. For example, in the household L.HC.A.10 the courtyard has a separate area for the animal round-up. In contrast, the reception area stays an open, clear space for the circulation of the individuals in front of the house's main entrance. Similarly, the household P.HC.B.03 has a clear-cut tripartite courtyard division of a reception area, a cattle pathway, and an outdoor kitchen. Other households in this category are the P.HC.A.15, L.HC.A.09-10 and some cases of one-room, two-storey houses with a shop in their ground floor M.HC.B.09 and M.HC.B.13-14.²³¹

4.7.2 Household 3 (M.HC.C.13)

(Yiannopoulos family)

(Drawing 14-19) Certain households in Palia Sagiada form complexes that, while including a typical house building, exhibit more complicated outdoor space relationships. In other words, these are typical houses with more segmented courtyard spaces than the previous examples. The *aderfomoirio* house type is most illustrative of this common house-complex courtyard interplay. The Household 3 (M.HC.C.13) in Mesomahalas, provides a vivid example of an *aderfomoirio* house type with separated courtyard infrastructure for each of its two households.

This household belonged to the Yiannopoulos family, with one of the first known family members in Palia Sagiada being Ioannis Yiannopoulos, the father of Christos, born in 1871. The family's business ventures expanded into commercial activities in Konispol, Filiates/Filat, Venice, and Plovdiv, establishing connections through intermarriages and other kinship relationships with other middle-upper class families of Palia Sagiada, such as the Kondos, Rentzelos, and Skandaletos families. The exchange of embroidered handworks from Konstantinia Yiannopoulou-Kondou, the daughter of Christos Yiannopoulos, to her kin friend Ifigeneia Skandaletou, the daughter of Athanasios Skandaletos, illustrates the gift-exchanging practice between female members of the families, likely reinforcing kinship bonds.²³² Notably, the Yiannopoulos

²³¹ See Map 3 and Table 1.

²³² Other objects from Yiannopoulos family, such as golden crosses, china from Venice, and other housework embroidery or laced bed sheets, still remain in the possession and as a family dowry of Ms. Dora Rentzelou-Antonadou.

family name does not persist today, as they left no male descendants to transmit the Yiannopoulos name to subsequent generations.

The household comprises an *aderfomoirio* house surrounded by two courtyard units and is situated on a plot with relatively smooth topography at its northwest and northeast, becoming particularly steep to the south. The entire household covers an approximate area of 460 m², with the house building occupying 85 m².

The oblong-shaped house is symmetrically divided into two interconnected parts on its upper floor: a southern room with an interior space surface of 29 m², A.2, and a northern room of 27 m², A.1. Both rooms have a fireplace and a window on their eastern wall. Additionally, the southern room A.2 has two windows facing south and offering a view, while the northern one A.1 is notably darker with no other openings. Separate accesses AE.1 & AE.2 to the *anoi* are from two stone-built staircases sharing a joint landing.

A similar organization is found in the *katoi*, separated into two symmetrical, independent spaces K.1 & K.2. Access to the ground floor spaces is beneath the two staircases, shaping two vaulted lobbies with one niche each, *varelopithoma*, typical for water storage in large jars. Lastly, the facades adhere to typical norms and lack any particular decoration.

Although the two rooms of the *anoi* demonstrate a certain connection to each other, the courtyard areas are entirely separated as two autonomous outdoor units C.1 & C.2. Each unit has its own entrance gate E.1 & E.2 from the public trail, side by side. Additionally, each unit includes an outdoor furnace F.1 & F.2 and some lowered building structures S.1 & S.2 related to the furnaces. Attached to the western wall of the southern room, there is possibly one of the house's lavatory L.

The two courtyards, C.1 & C.2, are narrow outdoor spaces, primarily functional and not allowing much open area for gatherings. The opportunity for autonomy in the household's activities emphasizes the *aderfomoirio* concept, where the two families could manipulate their spaces to secure more or less privacy while dealing with their daily lives. Nevertheless, although equally segmented indoors and outdoors, the two households' spaces always allowed the users to cross boundaries and communicate/intervene in each other's space according to their wishes. This *aderfomoirio* household with the separated exterior spaces shows one spatial expression of the extended family.

Although based on the Yiannopoulos family's brief information, the family was of

middle or even higher income, this is not reflected in the main house building but possibly in the outdoor interventions. However, it is not known whether other family members would reside in the neighboring households, thus the Yiannopoulos family had indeed a broader area for the family's settlement.

Another household similar to this is the neighboring Koros house, M.HC.B.08. The main house of this household has exactly the same typology and dimensions as the Yiannopoulos house, yet located close to the main street, these houses included some single-level shops outside of the courtyards and almost aligning the street. The close proximity of these structures to the courtyard gate, demonstrates their association to the household. Lastly, the households P.HC.B.03 and L.HC.A.05 also refer to the *anogokatogo-aderfomoirio* house type, having their courtyard divided into various levels, including several extra courtyard spaces.²³³

4.8 Extended households

Extended households are those that evidently facilitated, at least at some point, an extended family, expressed as a spatial expansion of the housing into further units. These units did not constitute separate households functionally, as they were dependent on the initial core household, for example, they shared one furnace for bread. Moreover, in the extended household, it is possible that the domestic group also included other social groups than merely the family. These households belonged to well-to-do families of Palia Sagiada that had the opportunity and the means to afford new building projects. Examples of extended households in Palia Sagiada include the household of the Tasis family in Taseika, Household 4 (P.HC.A.13), the household of the Skendos family in Skendeika, Household 5 (P.HC.B.07), and the Skandaletos household in Skandaleteika. Household 6 (M.HC.B.05), which will be further explained.

4.8.1 Household 4 (P.HC.A.13)

(Tasis family)

(Drawing 20-24; Figure 4.67-4.78) The inscription on the main gate lintel Ξ Κ ΤΑΣΗΣ indicates the owner, most probably Xenophon (Ξενοφών) Konstantinou (father's name) Tasis, and 1891 as the construction date of the main house belonging to Household 3, P.HC.A.13, in Pazara. From the notarial acts from the present-day Hellenic cadaster, the

²³³ See Map 3 and Table 1.

building was inherited by its present-day owner, the Tasis family. The Tasis family's genealogical tree shows Konstantinos Tasis as the first known member of the family, who was the patron of the mansion. His son Xenophon was an educator, a candidate in the elections for the community representative, and the manager of the weekly operation of the Austrian Lloyd Steamboat between Corfu and Sagiada, also shown by official acts in the customs service in Sagiada's port and the local press.

The main house is a patchwork of structures, subsequent interventions. On 10/01/1872, one month before the earthquake, the brothers Konstantinos and Taflos Tasis, sons of Xenophon, signed an agreement with a master craftsman Lambros Mataras from Pyrsoyianni in northwest Epirus, for the extension of the house. Probably, the earthquake resulted in more extensive repairs and works, one of them being the house's branch that carries the date and Xenophon's name.

The household is located close to one of the gullies that cross the settlement of Palia Sagiada, and it includes a three-storey, asymmetrical Π-shaped (U-shape) house, an *archondiko*, standing in poor or medium condition, and a courtyard surrounding the household and incorporating the house's eastern side in its premises. Various structures within the courtyard include a kitchen and storage. The whole covers a surface of 545 m².

The Π-shaped house occupies an area of 152 m² and is a result of at least four architectural phases. In its last phase, at the time of its abandonment, the spaces were organized through an enclosed central space, *krevata – hayat*, H, and exterior stone stairs. There were two entrances in the house's main spaces. One entrance A.E.1 led to the second floor of the three-storey (2 floors + ground floor) compartment to the west, Building A, through an exterior stone stair ST.2&5 as typical; the second one M.E. is through the *krevata – hayat* which included also an interior stone stair ST.2 leading to the first floor of the elevated two-storey compartment to the east, Building B, and the second floor of the previous compartment to the west, Building A.

The two compartments have the type of the two-room *anogokatogo* with the dual division between a *kalokairino*, A.1 & A.2, and a *himoniatiko* room, A.2 & A.4. A stone stair ST.3 that leads from the ground floor of the *krevata – hayat* to the first floor of the western compartment was not functional in the house's last phase, as the door where it led was blocked at some point. Structural information helps to unfold the sequence of the interventions.

The initial core of the first phase, Building A, is a three-level, once-spaced house on

the southwest, covering a surface of 39 m². The *katoi*, ground floor K.1 is a vaulted *bimtsa* accessed from the southeast K.E.1. The access to the first floor K.2 was from an exterior stone stair on the same, southeast side ST.3, later becoming part of the *krevata* – *hayat*. The access to the second floor was from the ST.2&5 as described above. This branch follows the typical circulation through access from the exterior before expanded after the following intervention.

Later, in 1891 based on the inscription, a two-storey house (second phase) was erected. This was connected to the second floor of the previous part through an enclosed central space, the *krevata* – *hayat*. In total, the extension covered a surface of 79 m². A possible destruction that followed led to the completion of the collapsed masonry parts with a new structure (third phase) built with thinner walls and not well fastened to the previous masonry. The floor does not remain today; however, information from the masonry details points to heights that reached 3.20m, quite high for the typical standards.

As a last phase, to the old Building A, an addition (fourth phase) to the northern side transformed the one-room, three-level house, into a two-room alteration. The room A.2 in the upper floor was accessed through the room A.1 and the door A.E.2, while the ground floor K.3 was accessed from the door K.E.3 in the *krevata* – *hayat* space. Later, the door was blocked. The addition of the fourth face covers 28 m² and includes much larger openings than the typical ones, supported by zones of cement.

Although today the facades do not maintain their mortars, enforcing the impression of the sequential constructions, the house probably had a unified, long façade, with many windows on the foremost upper floor, nine in total. Cast iron elements, *tzinetia* and a cornice inscribing the house at the base of the upper floor level, complete somehow the possible reconstruction of the facades.

The outdoor configurations are also interesting. The house's courtyard has three different levels C.1, C.2, and C.3 and two access points from the street E.1 and E.2. The eastern part is dedicated to a reception area C.1, where is the main entrance to the house E.1. The western part includes a control point S.2, cellars S.1 and other storages, accessed by a separate entrance E.2, probably facilitating the economic activities of the household. Lastly, the backyard, to the north, was accessed also from the house; it included the kitchen S.4 area with a furnace F.1 and it referred to the daily activities of the household. Lastly, a small square SQ, a public space formed between the trail and the premises of the courtyard, was inviting social interactions, becoming a small, local

leisure point.

4.8.2 Household 5 (P.HC.B.07)

(Skendos family)

(Drawing 25-28; Figure 4.79-4.90) The extended Household 5, P.HC.B.07, in Skedeika, in the Pazara neighborhood, belonged to the Skendos family. The first known family member in Palia Sagiada was Dimitrios Skendos. His sons, Xenophon and Theodoros, were born in 1866 and 1878, respectively. About the family's activities, there is only the broad information that its members were involved with commercial activities, and they were running their business in Konispoli.

The household includes a three-storey, L-shaped *anogokatogo* with an entrance lobby, Building A, a courtyard that surrounds the house, including secondary spaces attached to its southern premises, as well as an isolated, elevated two single-space, also incorporated in the southeastern area of the whole, Building B. The household presents complex relationships among its spaces, including various construction/architectural phases. It covers a total surface of 430 m² and is a result of at least two or three architectural phases, which, in the case of this household, have a date of construction carved on the mortar of the façade: the L-shaped *anogokatogo* was built in 1865, and the entrance lobby in 1880.

The L-shaped house, Building A, covers a surface of 108 m². Its long branch has a north-south orientation and develops in three levels. The short branch, vertical to the long branch, has an east-west orientation and develops in two levels. The access to the first level of the long branch, the *katoi* K.1, was from a separated door K.E.1 at the west of the house. The entrance lobby LO to the east, covering 18 m² leads to the first floor of the L-shaped house K.3 & K.4, and to the sub-courtyard/internal courtyard C.3. There are remains of the stone stair ST.1 that led to the second floor of the house A.1, A.2 & A.3, as well as the lavatory L, a secondary space for staying S.1, and the access to the area of the other house C and the compartment of the kitchen S.2.

The one-spaced elevated two-storey Building B is not known in which phase it had been added to the whole. It is also possible that it preexisted the L-shaped house. It has small dimensions and covers a surface of 27 m². This part is in very poor condition, and there is very little information about its accessibility. It is located at a lower elevation than the rest of the house, and only its second level reaches the level of the courtyard and the kitchen. Therefore, the main living areas were accessed directly from the

backyard.

The facades are also imposing, as in the previous example of the Tasis' family household. The lower, elevated levels are austere, giving the impression of a tower, while the upper parts include more windows.

The courtyard has three levels C.1 C.2, C.3 that function separately and organize four units. Twin entrances E.1, E.2 on the west provided access, on the one hand, to the backyard to the north that also included semi-outdoor configurations connected to the main body of the house; on the other hand, to the main entrance to the house on the south ME. Of note is that this southern yard area is very restricted, therefore not available for gatherings. That was not the initial condition, though, as the open space in front of the stone stair to the *anoi* closed after the addition of the lobby and transferred the family life towards the interior, while the courtyard subtracted into an interior patio C.3. Lastly, the third gate E.3 provided access to the house C and the secondary courtyard spaces from the public trail on the east.

4.8.3 Household 6 (M.HC.B.05)

(*Skandaletos family*)

(Drawing 29-31; Figure 4.91-4.102) The Skandaletos family extended household in Skandaleteika, in Mesomahalas, right on the market-street, comprises a group of housing buildings with shops. The Skandaletos family was one of the most prominent families of Palia Sagiada by the end of the 19th century. The first known family member in Palia Sagiada was Athanasios Skandaletos. His sons, Yerasimos and Konstantinos Skandaletos, born in 1877 and 1881, respectively, were involved in various local and international activities such as flour and natural dyes commerce with Corfu, Trieste, Plovdiv, and Istanbul. They also administered the salines for a period, had tobacco factories in Athens, and a certain Giorgos Skandaletos moved and lived in Marseille. The family lost its wealth during WWII, leaving no male descendants.

Among the portable objects from the household still exist jewelry from Plovdiv, Istanbul, and Trieste, as recorded by Kleoniki Skandaletou, Yerasimos' wife. There are also embroidery handworks and a list with the dowry of Ifigeneia and Aikaterini, the two daughters of Yerasimos and Kleoniki. Additionally, there are items such as china, dinnerware, serving sets, vessels, and coal irons, as well as later possessions, including

a chest of drawers from the Austro-Hungarian palace in Corfu.²³⁴

Apart from the family members, in the household were working their assistants (e.g., from Pasiakos and Diamandis families), as well as the tenants of the shops on the market street.

The Skandaletos household in Palia Sagiada consists of several housing units that were dependent on the main family house. The property is situated in a relatively horizontal plot between the market street of Palia Sagiada and the steep slope to the south-southeast, covering an approximate area of 360 m². The complex includes the family's main house, an L-shaped, two-story stone masonry building with a reception lobby on its eastern side, resembling the houses with an enclosed *krevata* – *hayat*, known as an *archondiko* in local memory. Additionally, there is an extension towards the east consisting of two successive single-spaced, two-storey buildings facing the market street, courtyard structures, and another single-spaced *anogokatogo* on the southern part of the plot.

The main house, oriented towards the street on the north, covers an area of 117 m². The two ground-floor rooms facing the street were used as shops, rented to third parties by the Skandaletos family. The family utilized the remaining space on the ground floor and the upper floor. Various stone stairs were employed to address height differences resulting from topographical irregularities. The access to the main living spaces in the house was from the east, entering a lobby on the ground floor. It is likely that this lobby housed an interior stair leading to the first floor.

The access to the main living spaces of the house occurred from the east, leading to a ground floor lobby. It is likely that this lobby housed an interior staircase providing access to the first floor. The first-floor rooms and lobby had windows oriented towards the street to the north, the courtyard to the east, and the south/countryside, ensuring sufficient lighting and ventilation for each room. Remaining door jambs suggest that all the rooms were interconnected and accessible from the lobby.

The lobby played a pivotal role in the circulation within the house on both levels, as it provided access to all ground floor spaces, including the shops. Over time, the doors connecting the shops to the lobby were blocked, allowing the shops to operate

²³⁴ Objects from the Skandaletos household are inherited and possessed by Ms. Irene and Spyridoula Vougidi, daughters of Ifigeneia Skandaletou and Georgios Vougidis, from a well-known family of intellectuals/journalists operating in Filiates and Istanbul. Remarkably, Kleoniki Skandaletou, their grandmother, had listed her jewelry as she entrusted them for a while to her close friend and teacher Sofia Kaskari-Tasi, married to Lazaros Tasis (born in 1907) from the known Tasis house/ household in Pazara.

autonomously. Additionally, each ground floor room had separate doors to the outside, enabling independent access without interacting with the household's ground floor rooms or storages.

From the ground floor lobby, there was access to the southern backyard, which later transformed into an enclosed space, likely a kitchen. The eastern additions, currently in poor condition, consist of two single-spaced, two-storey buildings with shops or workshops on their ground floors, covering surfaces of 25 m² and 40 m², respectively. Additionally, a two-story house Building B, to the south of the complex shared a small outdoor space and the kitchen with the main house.

The remaining material suggests that, although the facades of the buildings in the Skandaletos household seemed to follow typical organization, the main house likely included more refined details. Although the main entrance door lambs and lintel do not remain, the wavy imprint of the removed stones suggest a novel pattern. Adding to this, the use of imported materials such as ceramic roof tiles from Thessaloniki, with a related imprint, found broken into pieces on the floor, supports the notion of a more elaborate design.

Concerning the spatial organization around the courtyard, the gap between the buildings formed an open, recessed arched gate or passage toward the household's courtyard and reception area from the public market street. This passage was constantly open, lacking infrastructure that would imply an actual door. In the northeastern corner of this central courtyard, there used to be the house's lavatory as a protruding volume from the yard premises, reaching a height of 1.80 meters from the courtyard level. A drainage system led rainwater collected from the house's roof to the outdoor lavatory. A secondary courtyard gate led to the countryside, and garden configurations completed the entire layout. Lastly, the southern boundary of the household also included an arched gate-type configuration.

The courtyard of the Skandaletos household served as a semi-public space, functioning as a continuous passage from the market street to the household's various spaces. The later additions, the kitchen space, interrupted the courtyard's unhindered continuity, creating distinct public and more exclusive areas.

A small outdoor plateau, serving as a belvedere, connected to the south of the Building B, operated as an outdoor space for the building. This added to the impression of a housing complex with boundaries to public space that alternate between sharply defined and loosened configurations. In essence, the courtyard of the Skandaletos

household functioned as a passage from market street life to household activities, serving as a space for interaction between household members, assistants, tenants, and users of the shops.

4.9 Neighborhoods of interconnected households

The third category of interconnected households refers to the intimate spatial association between simple or extended households that clearly demonstrates family or kinship relationships among the owners. These household clusters, or small neighborhoods, possibly represent the process of the creation, flourishing, and dismantling of the extended family into a simple family and vice versa. These interconnected households exhibit diverse spatial arrangements; being in close proximity to each other, they have overlapping communal spaces and lack clear boundaries. This interconnected household layout allows seamless movement between adjacent households, eliminating the need for public trails, as residents freely circulate among households within the extended family sub-neighborhood. This category includes some of the most prominent households of Palia Sagiada, such as the Tsogkas' family (Households 12-16/M.HC.A.01-04), as well as households belonging to families with less income, like the households of the Magkouras' family in the Magkoureika/Magkouratika sub-neighborhood (Households 7-9/L.HC.A.14-17-19).

4.9.1 Household 7 (L.HC.A.14), Household 8 (L.HC.A.17), and Household 9 (L.HC.A.19) *(Magkouratika sub-neighborhood)*

(Drawing 36; Figure 4.103-4.115) The group of households known as "Mangkouratika" likely belonged to the Mangkouras family, representing a middle-class family mainly involved in animal husbandry and some commercial activities. Comprising three consecutive households, the complex features a combination of *anogokatogo* housing types, extensions, and various courtyards with structures. Situated in a steep part of the settlement, the complex covers an approximate surface area of 870 m². The northern border is defined by abrupt rocks, while a retaining wall to the south creates a second courtyard layer, serving as both the southern boundary of the complex and the actual courtyard for one of the households.

Isolated from the rest of the neighborhood and situated in a steep plot, the Mangkouratika complex gives off a fortified impression, a characteristic shared with

many houses in Palia Sagiada built on such topographies.

Household 7 (L.HC.A.14): (Drawing 32-33) This specific household, located to the east of the complex, is a combination of two elevated *anogokatogo makrinari* houses, Building A and Building B, in a sliding relationship to each other, along with a courtyard featuring various areas and structures. The houses underwent at least three construction phases. Before the abandonment of the household, the two houses collectively covered an area of 103 m². Although connected, they had separate entrances and outdoor facilities, indicating their use for an extended family. Distinctions in building techniques and spatial qualities allow for the tracing of the sequence of interventions.

The initial Building A of the Mangkouratika household was an elevated, one-room *anogokatogo* covering approximately 22 m². It exhibited an introverted design with distinct spaces—an *anoi*, A.1, for main living and a *katoi*, K.1, for storage. Access to both levels was provided by outdoor stairs on the eastern façade, constructed with stone or carved steps on natural rock, ST.1.

Subsequently, another elevated *anogokatogo*, Building B, was added to the west of the initial house, offering more spacious living areas. The *anoi* likely followed the typical division into a *kalokairino* and *himoniatiko* room, A.2 & A.3. The southern façade featured a balcony with symmetrical windows, and the northern wall in A.3 included a fireplace and a door leading to the backyard, C.2. Access to the upper floor was facilitated by a broad stone stair, ST.3, with a vaulted substructure. The *katoi* of this house had two parts: the northern part, K.3, was dedicated to storage with small niches, while the southern part, K.2, featured three windows on the southern wall and a fireplace on the eastern wall.

The third intervention involved a one-room extension of the initial house, Building A, towards the north, providing additional living space. This extension included a fireplace and shared access to the backyard C.2 with the later Building B. The two houses, A and B had separate outdoor furnaces, F.1 and F.2, and possibly shared lavatories (S.1 and S.2, likely outdoor lavatories). The courtyard was loosely defined by natural rocks to the east and north, with a more organized area to the west, featuring two levels between houses A and B. An arched opening to yard C.1 was formed in this part, although lacking an actual door.

Household 8 (L.HC.A.17): (Drawing 34-35) To the west of the previous household lies

Household 8, L.HC.A.17, including an elevated *anogokatogo makrinari* with an entrance lobby on its western side and various courtyard spaces, more or less secluded. Similar to the neighboring household, the spaces of this house are the result of at least two construction phases, resulting in two buildings. The entire household covers an area of 362 m².

The house, along with the entrance lobby, occupies an area of 78 m². The initial phase was an elevated, two-room *anogokatogo* covering approximately 63 m². It followed a typical arrangement, separating into a two-room *anoi* for main living and a *katoi*. The northern room of the *anoi* (*himoniatiko* - A.2) had access to an isolated backyard C.5 from the A.E.3, likely functioning as an exclusive outdoor extension of the *himoniatiko*. The initial access to the *anoi* was probably from an exterior stone stair on the east, later replaced by the entrance lobby, LO. The *katoi*, K.1, also incorporated windows and a fireplace, possibly used for temporary or occasional stay.

Sometime in the 19th century, a narrow entrance lobby was added to the house, suggested by an inscription on the door lintel on its eastern side (from a lintel inscription remaining only the date “18xx”). The lobby provided access to the *katoi* and the small courtyard to the west, C.2. On the upper level, the lobby likely included an exterior timber balcony facing the western yard, offering access to the backyard areas C.3 and the *anoi*, A.2. Over time, the door to the backyard and one of its windows toward the yard were blocked, possibly indicating changes in its use. Although not following a very typical arrangement, the initial implementation of this lobby with its balcony echoes the open *krevata – hayat* concept, later enclosed as a central space.

The household's courtyards are well-defined by walls on its south and western sides, gradually loosening as it incorporated the rocky landscape to the north. This part has sustained significant damage, limiting information about specific areas, yet it includes two kitchen-like spaces with furnaces and an area that could have functioned as a lavatory, L. The construction of the southern wall next to the lobby suggests that this well-defined courtyard wall was added after the lobby, possibly to enhance privacy for the household.

Household 9 (L.HC.A.19): The third household of the interconnected group, Household 9, L.HC.A.19, located to the west of the group, comprises an *anogokatogo* and covers an area of 168 m². Its organization is simpler compared to the other two households.

The house itself, covering an area of 71 m², deviates slightly from the typical

anogokatogo style in Palia Sagiada. Its outdoor stair to the upper floor is enclosed, featuring a small reception area. The other areas of the household are in very poor condition, making it challenging to identify additional configurations.

Access to this household occurs through a courtyard gate to the west, from a steep, serpentine-type trail, and from a second courtyard gate to the east, passing in front of the other two households.

While each household in this grouping maintains some level of autonomy, it's evident that they operated in a close and intimate environment. Each household had the flexibility to expand its buildings within its domain, incorporating innovations, as seen in Household 7 and possibly Household 8. The similarity in dimensions and typology between the houses in Household 8 and Household 9 suggests an initial shared design, with later transformations in the entrance areas. Moreover, these households created private areas within their domains, such as the private courtyard of Household 8 or the public pathway, serving as a shortcut to the public trail, as seen in the courtyard of Household 9.

If indeed only members of the Mangkouras family lived in these households, the spatial organization reflects the expansion and segmentation of space to accommodate close relatives, children, second-grade relatives, and beyond. As the family grew or separated, the space naturally evolved into sub-areas, sub-houses, and sub-courtyards.

4.9.2 Household 10 (P.HC.A.10), and Household 11 (P.HC.A.11)

(Drawing 45-46) The family possibly residing in this extensive group of households is unknown. However, the complex suggests a high-income family, given its impressive elevated three-storey buildings, various architectural phases, and courtyards with different levels. The complex covers a surface area of 936 m² and is situated on a plot with significant height differences between its southern and northern areas, leading to the implementation of various levels for both houses and courtyards to bridge these differences. Despite substantial destruction in some areas, making it challenging to interpret the initial form of spaces, the complex exhibits complex spatial and social relationships, culminating in the interruption of continuity in some open and closed areas, possibly reflecting strained relationships among residents.

Household 10 (P.HC.A.10): (Drawing 37-39; Figure 4.116-4.124) Household 10, P.HC.A.10, comprises an elevated, multi-level house building with three *anogokatogo*

type parts, Building A, Building B, and Building C, a separated courtyard area, and a kitchen with a furnace, indicative of an extended household. The total surface area of the house building is 300 m². While the dating of the housing units is unknown, their sequence is discernible.

An initial elevated two-level, two-room *anogokatogo*, Building A, was situated to the west of the household, covering a surface of 45 m². The remains of the *anoi* level are insufficient to understand its function. A door on the northern wall accessed the backyard, and the main access to the *anoi*, A.1, was likely from a stone stair to the east. The *katoi* had two parts, K.1 & K.2, with its northern room, K.2, featuring a barrel-vaulted *bimtsa* for keeping animals, accessible from the western side separately from the family's main living area.

An extension towards the east introduced an elevated three-level house building, Building B, with an approximate surface area of 37 m². Although much of the structure is in ruins, remaining facades offer insights into the original use of spaces. The third level featured a room, A.5, with three large windows facing south and one towards the east, later blocked due to the addition of a second housing extension. The room in the second level, A.3, also had three windows in the southern façade, suggesting a bright and airy space, possibly used for occasional stays or by the household's assistants. Details about access and circulation to these upper floors remain unclear. The *katoi*, K.3, had two smaller windows, mostly covered by backfills.

In a third phase, another elevated three-level house building was added, Building C, covering an approximate surface area of 30 m². This new housing unit, partially collapsed, had a bright third level room, A.6, with a balcony on its southern façade, later reconstructed with reinforced concrete. On the ground floor, K.4, there was an interior lavatory, L, adding to the innovations of this extension. The southern wall of this extension formed the boundary of the household in relation to the neighboring Household 11.

Aligned with this housing extension, a kitchen building, S.1 & K.1, with two compartments, including a furnace, F, was constructed. The courtyard was divided into two parts with twin entrances or gates from the public trail. These areas distinguished a cattle pathway to the southwest from the courtyard to the northwest, where the family, its guests, and its assistants circulated.

Household 11 (P.HC.A.11): (Drawing 40-44; Figure 4.125-4.134) Household 11

includes the main house with a slightly asymmetrical II-shape, courtyards, and various courtyard spaces have a total surface area of 636 m². The southern part is elevated and features three levels, while the northern part has two levels.

The house main floor covers a surface of 134 m² and all the floors in total 328 m². The foremost upper level consists of similar living spaces, each with fireplaces, plenty of windows, and internal connections, A.3-A.6. Likely serving as the main living quarters for the family, this level is centrally accessed by a monumental stone stair with vaulted substructures, located in the western courtyard. This stair also provides access to the second level, which was partially used for staying, A.1 & A.2, and storage, K.3 & K.4, including a barrel-vaulted *bimtsa*. The first level, or ground floor, of the house's southern part includes two barrel-vaulted storage spaces, K.1 & K.2, accessible from beneath the stairs. The presence of rooms with fireplaces and windows on multiple levels suggests that the house may have been used by an extended family.

The house is surrounded by three courtyards. The southwestern courtyard, accessed from a plateau branching out from the trail, incorporates secondary spaces in its southern wall, also used for staying, with windows and fireplaces. This heavy structure to the south contributes to the better retention of the steep ground, giving the impression of a fortification. The northern courtyard, accessed through a gate in the western wall, is a broad space that includes a semi-outdoor area for cattle roundup. To the east, the kitchen and some other small spaces are located into a third courtyard.

It is noteworthy that the continuity of the courtyard is disrupted in two areas around the central stair, toward the northern part of the courtyard and the neighboring Household 10. This suggests that after the family and building expansion of the neighbors, physical communication between the families was no longer desired. The outdoor space took on clear definitions for the two households, while the northern courtyard acquired an ultimate secondary role for animal breeding.

Finally, the facades of the complex stand out in their area among other houses. While they follow typical structural and decorative patterns, the spatial expansion of various extensions, small rearrangements of housing volumes, their height, and the 'modern' upper floor with numerous windows echo the urban, stone architecture of the later period.

4.9.3 Household 12-16 (M.HC.A.01-05)

(Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood)

(Drawings 47-59; Figure 4.135-4.159) The Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood comprises a cluster of five housing complexes, Household 12-16 and Building A-E, owned by the Tsogkas family members. Positioned on a gently sloping plot toward the north, it holds a central location in Palia Sagiada, directly opposite the main church of Agios Georgios, the church's public square, the commercial streets, and the settlement's school that has been totally collapsed.

The first recorded members of the Tsogkas family in Palia Sagiada were the three siblings: Ioannis, Konstantinos, and Petros Tsogkas, born in 1852, 1855, and 1867, respectively.²³⁵ Initially, the family's primary source of wealth was animal husbandry, which eventually allowed them to venture into international trade and gain influence within the local society as *prouchondes* (προύχοντες/ kocabaşı), representatives to the Ottoman authorities. Probably this appointment points to an old family tradition in the local politics that emerged with the general politicization in Palia Sagiada as a result of the late Ottoman legislation for the administration of the provinces.²³⁶

Grigoris Tsogkas, the son of Konstantinos Tsogkas, born in 1886, was one of the most prominent members of the family. He fought in the Balkan Wars and later served as a member of the Greek Parliament, representing the party of Eleftherios Venizelos after the integration of the area into the Greek State. Grigoris and his brother Theodoros, born in 1885, are considered the owners of the largest housing complex in Tsogkeika Building A. Among the remaining objects, believed to originate from that house, are numerous silver cutleries, dinnerware, serving sets, china and vessels from Corfu, Europe, the Balkans, as well as handmade wall textiles.²³⁷ These imported objects not only showcase the international expansion of the family's activities but also highlight the influences from the material culture of large urban centers. Most importantly, they underscore the family's adoption of this material culture, integrating it into their daily life within their household in Palia Sagiada. Unfortunately, unlike the

²³⁵ G. Tsogkas, 162, 165-166, 281.

²³⁶ Hasan Kayalı, "Elections and the electoral process in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1919." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 3 (1995): 266-267; Newspaper: "Περί Σαγιάδος," *Φωνή της Ηπείρου*, no. 414, 26/01/1901, 1.

²³⁷ Mr. Thodoris Tsogkas has kindly shared with the author information on his family's heritage including objects once belonging in the main Tsogkas mansion in Palia Sagiada.

Tsogkas' house example that provides such resourceful insights, there is no information available about the owners of the other houses, while the information on their material culture is restricted to the limited architectural remains.

The housing complexes in Tsogkeika are characterized by austere and simple housing volumes with courtyards and various courtyard structures, constructed with stone using the timber-laced stone masonry method. Among the houses, the Tsogkas mansion, Building A, stands out with its four levels, covering an area of 178 m² on a plot of 1120 m². In contrast, the smaller houses, Building C and Building E, span approximately 33.8 m² and 34.2 m², respectively. Furthermore, the houses in Tsogkeika display diverse architectural styles, showcasing a variety of spatial associations.

Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): At the heart of the neighborhood stands the remarkable Tsogkas mansion, occupying a central position. This four-level oblong house, Building A, is divided into two symmetrical sections along the north-south axis. The first level, covering a smaller area than the other levels, K.1 & K.2, eased the proper positioning of the house on the sloping ground. Since it has no openings and is only accessible from the second level internally, it likely served as a storage area. The second level, accessed from the courtyard and directly related to the courtyard's other auxiliary spaces, includes large windows, and it was probably used by the house's assistants, K.3 & K.4.

The main living of the families was on the third and fourth levels. Two external, grand stone staircases with two branches each, are on the east and west sides of the house. These provided access to the third level, serving the two symmetrical households, A.1 & A.2. It is likely that a central timber staircase facilitated access to the upper floors.²³⁸ Additionally, although the actual layout of the rooms not legible, these spaces must have been very comfortable and well-lit, as implied by the numerous windows and balconies.

The house's facades are symmetric, featuring seven rows of windows on each longer side and six windows on the narrower southern side. Carved stone corbels support two small balconies on the southern facade, while the western and eastern façades had from one balcony each. The exterior decorations display neoclassical elements, such as pseudo-pillars on the corners and cornices around the window openings. Lime mortars

²³⁸ The internal timber staircase was a feature of other late 19th-century mansions in Filiates and Corfu such as the Vekkos mansion in the town of Filiates. For Corfu see K. Papaioannou, *Το ελληνικό παραδοσιακό σπίτι*, 191.

also covered the interior facades. The roof no longer exists. This was supported by a projecting cornice composed of three ascending rows of ceramic blocks, bearing stamps indicating their origin from factories in Corfu. The roof itself was covered with ceramic tiles, as plenty of them are still found in the house's surroundings today.

The mansion's courtyard, C, has an open space of 689 m² and features various structures and configurations: the kitchen buildings K.1 & K.2; storages S.1 & S.2; shops with houses SH.1 & SH.2, facing the main street to the south; gardening configurations; stone stairs, and three entrances from the exterior, a main entrance E.1 and two side gates E.2 & E.3 that allowed exclusive access to the separate households within the mansion for each family. The courtyard is divided into three levels, each serving distinct purposes. The first level includes the shops with a house on their upper floor. The shop entrance faced the south facade on the street, while access to the house on the upper floor was provided through separate exterior stone-built stairs from the mansion's courtyard. The second level forms the reception areas for the two households, organized around the monumental staircases. Finally, the northernmost level leads to the kitchen compartments of the two households, K.1 and K.2. These structures define the northern boundary of the courtyard and are accessible from within the house, courtyard, and the exterior of the complex to the north. Modifications to the kitchen compartments created a space in between, S.1, facilitating interaction between the two kitchens and their surroundings over time.

Household 13 (M.HC.A.02): Located to the northwest of the Tsogkas mansion, there is Household 13, including the two-level house, Building B, with substantial dimensions, covering an area of 114 m². The house stands in a medium condition, and with only its masonry walls intact on both levels. It follows a three-room, L-shaped design with an enclosed reception area, creating an almost rectangular shape.

The ground floor of the main house comprises two separate units, each accessed through distinct east side entrance doors. One leads to an entrance hall, H.1, featuring a stone-built interior stairway, ST.1, to the upper floor. The other door leads to interconnected spaces K.2 & K.3 through an interior corridor, H.2. K.2 is a vaulted room used for storage, commonly used for storage, a *bimtsa* (μπίμτσα), while K.3 includes small openings and niches, serving an auxiliary purpose. This division points to tidy approach to the utilization of primary living areas and secondary storage spaces within the same house.

The upper floor of the Building B consists of three interconnected rooms, A.2-A.4, accessed through a well-lit and ventilated lobby, H.3. Among them, A.2, better preserved, features a fireplace and large openings, likely serving as the house's finest room with improved air and light conditions.

The main façade on the east side has six windows on the upper floor, while the ground floor is divided into two sections: the northern part with two entrances framing a small window, and the southern part with two small openings, reflecting the interior organization. The interior and exterior façades were probably rendered with lime mortars. No decorations remain. The roof had a projecting cornice with two ascending rows of stone slabs.

The courtyard of Household 13 spans an open area of 125 m² and is divided into two levels, featuring an outdoor furnace, F, in the northwest corner, a possible lavatory, L, and a structure, S, on the south connected to Tsogkas mansion's A.K.2 kitchen. The main entrance, E.1, branches off from a trail on the east, and a secondary door, E.2, connect to the Tsogkas mansion's main kitchen areas. Despite the size and care given to the house, its courtyard adopts a relatively simple design.

Household 14 (M.HC.A.03): Adjacent to Household 13's eastern courtyard wall in the center of Tsogkeika stands Household 14. This includes a house has a slightly oblong plan, Building C, following the design of the one-spaced, *anogokatogo makrinari*.

The house, Building C, in medium condition, retains its masonry walls. Access to the ground floor is from the eastern façade, likely with access to the upper floor on the same side. The ground floor K.1, likely served as a residence, evidenced by two large windows and a fireplace. The well-lit upper floor A.1, probably served as the main living area, indicated by the larger number of windows.

Building C's main façade faces south, displaying a symmetrical arrangement of openings with three windows on the upper floor and two on the ground floor. The exterior façades are rendered with lime mortars, while the corners and openings are constructed with well-curved stones. The interior façades partially preserve their blue-painted lime mortar. The roof was supported by a projecting cornice with two rows of ascending stone slabs.

To the southern wall of Building C is also attached a low building structure in ruins, S, belonging to the Household 14. There is also a stairway leading to the upper floor of neighboring two-floor house Building D. On Building C northern façade, a courtyard

wall includes Household 13 main courtyard gate. Unlike other houses in Household 14 courtyard appears open and public, accessed from the trail branch, without distinct reception areas or premise walls. The northern courtyard boundary is defined by a lower wall, partially adjusted to natural rocks, measuring 30-50 cm in height.

Household 15 (M.HC.A.04), and Household 16 (M.HC.A.05): Moving on to the Household 15 and Household 16, these include also two-floor, oblong houses, Building D and Building E, located in the eastern part of Tsogkeika. They both stand in a very poor state of preservation; only traces of their upper floors remain, and their ground floors have partially collapsed.

Unlike other houses in the complex, Building D of the Household 15, appears squeezed among surrounding structures. It is directly accessed by a trail branching from the main street, with a stone-built stair on its western side, attached to Building C, as discussed earlier. Building D's eastern wall is attached to Household 16's courtyard.

In Household 16, the main house, Building E, has both its ground and upper floors are accessed from the southern side. The courtyard, C, of the Household 16 covers 137.5 m² and is accessed through a gate, E, on the eastern side. It includes gardening configurations, an enclosed kitchen, K, with a furnace, F, attached to the house, and an extra space, S, on the house's northwestern corner. This last space is half destroyed and may have been connected to the wall premises of Household 15.

The houses in Palia Sagiada, though now standing in a poor condition on the steep slope, offer a glimpse into their previous impressive form as elevated two or three-story stone structures. These sturdy houses typically featured enclosed basement or ground floor areas, while the upper floors boasted windows, creating long facades of adjacent additions. Situated on an elevated base and often resembling towers, these imposing structures were surrounded by courtyards with varying wall heights, incorporating additional structures.

The architectural designs of these houses were based on established typologies prevalent in the region, particularly the *anogokatogo makrinari* type, known in western and southern Greece. Some houses also exhibited influences from urban architecture found in large Ottoman urban centers or the Ionian Islands, albeit to a lesser extent. Key elements included the enclosed version of the reception area organically linked to the entrance stair, the *krevata* or *hayat*, and neoclassical influences, primarily in the

decoration. Local materials and building techniques, along with technological innovations, were employed in the construction process pointing to the craftsmen and their owner's tastes, a topic that will be discussed in Chapter 8.

When considering the relationships between these houses and their courtyard structures in the intimate neighborhood environment, they are viewed as households—sustainable units where various families or domestic groups resided. The proposed classification suggests that common households were associated with simple or extended patriarchal families, equipped with basic secondary facilities in their courtyards to maintain autonomy. Some households demonstrated extra care for outdoor areas, addressing hygiene and cattle needs, while others provided outdoor provisions for multiple families living in the same house, such as the *aderfomoirio* type.

The extended households demonstrate the spatial manifestation of an extended family, where married children would continue to reside with their parents. In cases where middle or upper-class families could afford to provide extra accommodation to the new couples, additional housing units were erected—either adjacent to the initial house or at a more distant location. These new structures were functionally dependent on the original household.

Moreover, interconnected households were the expression of the broader social dynamics within the family, illustrating the expansion of a simple family into a more complex network. Despite the physical proximity, these interconnected households formed small neighborhoods, typically named after the surname of the patriarch. Architecturally diverse, these sub-neighborhoods comprised houses of various types, each exhibiting distinct morphological choices and levels of opulence. Remarkably, these neighborhoods were equipped with internal circulation mechanisms that minimized the reliance on public spaces. Domestic groups within these interconnected households could circulate among themselves without entering the public domain. On the contrary, during times of familial discord, passages and common areas might be closed off.

Chapter 5

PUBLIC SPACES AND INSTITUTIONS

5.1 The neighborhoods with an emphasis on the public spaces

Chapter 4 has discussed how the houses and households created clusters named after the patriarchal family, resulting into smaller neighborhoods within the three main neighborhoods of Palia Sagiada, namely Pazara, Mesomahalas, and Lagkada. The neighborhoods being deeply ingrained in the local memory, primarily serving as geographical references, and not as administrative units, encompassed a variety of overlapping community and individual identities shaped by the architecture and other social attributes.²³⁹

In these sub-neighborhoods, public spaces played a central role in daily life, connecting households and providing venues for gatherings and interactions. These spaces varied, ranging from secluded spots within the neighborhood to inclusive areas that encompassed the entire settlement and welcomed outsiders. Here, community members engaged in a variety of activities, including commercial transactions, religious practices, and cultural celebrations. These shared experiences helped shape the collective identity of the community, fostering a sense of belonging through participation in public events such as commercial fairs, elections, religious ceremonies, and festivities.²⁴⁰

Palia Sagiada's layout featured private and public spaces organized around two main streets or trails. The east-west axis crossed the settlement near the southern edge of the residential areas, allowing three neighborhoods to develop to its north. While the original configuration of this street is partially recognizable today, it has been replaced with a dirt road. This axis connected the settlement to neighboring Liopsi to the east and led to the outpost in the west. It followed the contours of the land, resulting in a

²³⁹ Cem Behar, *A neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul. Fruit vendors and civil servants in the Kesap İlyas Mahalle* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 4-7.

²⁴⁰ This topic will be further developed in the following Chapter 6.

smoother inclination. The second main street ran north-south, traversing a steep slope to bridge a significant height difference and provide access to the plains and water source. Today, this axis has nearly disappeared from the physical landscape.

What remains today of Palia Sagiada's public spaces, and its outskirts can be summarized as follows: two market streets, three churches situated near the dirt road that crosses the settlement (Aghios Georgios (Άγιος Γεώργιος), Aghios Dimitrios (Άγιος Δημήτριος), and Aghios Spyridonas (Άγιος Σπυρίδωνας)), three additional churches at the outskirts (Aghios Nikolaos (Άγιος Νικόλαος), Aghia Kyriaki (Αγία Κυριακή), and Aghios Vimos (Άγιος Βίμος)), and a cave used for worship (Aghia Paraskevi (Αγία Παρασκευή)). The central cemetery and a nearby fountain located at the southern outskirts too, known as '*piadi*' (πηάδι), close to Aghia Kyriaki. Moreover, the ruins of a building known as '*milikon*' ((α) μιλικόν), a special building for hosting Ottoman officials was close the main church and its square. Four threshing floors or public squares (Nousias' threshing floor (το αλώνι του Νούσια), the threshing floor of the church (το αλώνι της εκκλησίας), Fragkos' threshing floor (το αλώνι του Φράγκου), and the threshing floor of Aghios Spyridonas (το αλώνι του Αγίου Σπυρίδωνα)) are still present. Additionally, there are plateaus or open spaces within the residential neighborhoods designated for neighborhood, local gatherings.

5.2 The trail network and public circulation

The topography significantly influenced the construction and layout of the trail network, which facilitated movement within the neighborhoods for both people and animals. (Figure 5.1-5.3) In each neighborhood, the local topography created varying levels of accessibility, ultimately determining the shape and design of the trails. For example, in both the Pazara and Lagkada neighborhoods, the sloping terrain led to the formation of plateaus, serving as convenient resting points along the trails. Furthermore, there were sections with steeper inclines, necessitating innovative solutions for accessibility, such as serpentine trails supported by stone masonry retaining walls (with or without connecting mortars/*kserolithia* (ξερολιθιά)) or straight trails with steep inclines. In contrast, Mesomahalas featured areas with more gradual or flat terrain, allowing for the development of more accessible and comfortable pathways.

Additionally, these variations in topography resulted in different fronts on both sides of the trails. These fronts could consist of continuous facades created by courtyard walls and gates or by house facades. Alternatively, the trail fronts might be interrupted

by natural elements such as imposing rocks, local citrus and pomegranate trees and bushes, or breathtaking views of the plains and roadstead. These unique features shaped different daily experiences for individuals as they walked through the neighborhoods and traversed the trails.

While fully reconstructing the exact trail network of Palia Sagiada may pose challenges, it appears that the trails followed a hierarchical organization. Their purpose was to connect the three main neighborhoods with each other and provide access from all residential areas to the main street axis leading to the "civic center" of the settlement, outskirts, neighboring villages, and the areas of daily economic activities.

The trail network exhibits three degrees of importance. Firstly, there were the main, primary streets or trails that traversed the settlement, connecting it with the outskirts and neighboring areas. These main axes were also linked to the market area of Mesomahalas and have a width ranging from 2.80m to 5.10m. Presently, this main axis only partially aligns with the existing dirt street, while for the most remaining part, the old trail ran parallel to the current dirt street on its northern side.

Secondly, the secondary trails served as basic local arteries for each neighborhood, connecting them to the main trail crossing the settlement. These trails have a width of 2.40-2.50m and were paved with stone slabs, sometimes incorporating steps where necessary. In many cases, the trails were continuous, forming loops around houses or larger housing complexes, facilitating movement throughout the entire neighborhood. In some instances, along these neighborhood trails, the corners of buildings were specially cut to accommodate carriage passage.

Thirdly, trails with a more local character, or assisting trails, served only a few households in their immediate vicinity. These trails were not necessarily paved and were simply traced along the slope gradient. Dead ends were typical only when they provided access to interconnected households or due to topographical constraints preventing further development of the trail.

5.2.1 Trails and public circulation in Mesomahalas

In Mesomahalas, the old main street of Palia Sagiada was aligned with the current dirt street, measuring a width of 3.80-4.50 m between the two street sides. Along these sidewalks, there were benches, each approximately 0.55-0.70 m wide, and stairs that provided access to the shops. Therefore, the shop facades are recessed from the street boundary. The distance between the facades of the two sides varied from 4.90-5.10 m.

This layout of the market street appears to correspond to an even earlier arrangement predating the earthquake when the main trail was narrower, and the facades of the buildings were directly on the street boundary. Remnants of this pre-earthquake configuration could still be observed until some years ago (before covered by cement for assisting the passing cars), including traces of the main trail and possibly shops with, also, a continuous street front (Figure 5.4-5.5).

In the market area of Mesomahalas, the houses with shops display distinct rhythmic and nearly symmetrical arrangements of their openings. Despite minor inconsistencies in precision, the overall effect is a homogeneous appearance. Typically, there is a consecutive alternation of a door and a window on the street-facing facades of the buildings. Moreover, the buildings were spaced at intervals of 0.54-0.60 m while this gap was built up with a stone masonry wall in recession. Additionally, traces of iron installations above the openings, suggest the installed canopies. These protected the commodities exposed on the benches from the weather conditions and contributed to the overall impression of a well-curated space.

On the western boundary of the market area, in the location of the plateau formed by the Aghios Georgios church's courtyard, the shops, and the Tsogkas' mansion, a secondary trail branches off from the main street and proceeds in a northeast direction. This secondary trail, with a maximum width of 4.50 m between its fronts, passes in front of another line of smaller shops, and the rear courtyards associated with the shops facing the main market street. While the width of the trail varies along its length, measuring 4.50m, 4.20m, 3.60m, and 3.20m, it is still wider than the other neighborhood trails in the settlement. Furthermore, northeast of this trail, another 4.20-meter-wide trail continues towards the northern outskirts of Mesomahalas.

The precise fronts of this street and its width are defined by the walls of the house courtyards, reaching a height of up to 1.90 m. from the street and incorporating the main courtyard gates. This trail forms a loop that eventually returns to the eastern boundary of the market street. It effectively encircles and facilitates the neighborhood as a solid block, subdivided among the properties in a closely related manner.

The local topography plays a crucial role here: in areas where the ground is gradual or flat, the houses are developed next to each other, either directly adjoining or with a small 0.50 m gap between their wall premises. In contrast, in areas with abrupt elevation changes due to the topography, there are no actual boundaries between the houses. However, this condition mainly applies to the extended or interconnected

households, as discussed earlier, and facilitates accessibility to and from the households' primary and secondary areas. A characteristic example is the direct access from the public trail to the Skandaletos' house courtyard and its adjacent spaces.

5.2.2 Trails and public circulation in Pazara and Lagkada

Due to the significant variations in elevation between the houses in the Pazara neighborhood, the main trail follows a serpentine configuration. This has a typical width of 2.4 meters between its two fronts, while narrower or wider areas along the trail are determined by the landscape. Retaining stone masonry walls provide support for the southern part of the serpentine trails, particularly towards the slope. The fronts of these serpentine trails can be continuous when the trail follows a more regular path, or they may be interrupted by the landscape in other instances. In some cases, single high rocks stand freely within open areas, often accompanied by small plateaus that serve for communal gatherings and daily interactions among the residential neighborhoods. Adjacent to the outer courtyard walls facing the trail, benches in stone or carved on the rock, measuring 0.50-0.60 m wide are often attached. These benches served as resting spots or spaces for socialization within the neighborhood, complementing the small plateaus as local communal spaces.

In the Lagkada neighborhood, the layout of the trails combines more organic paths that take the topography into consideration, with more regulated ones that demonstrate an intention for better spatial arrangement around the houses. For instance, in the western part of the neighborhood, the main trail ascends from the main street with a relatively steep inclination until it reaches a plateau, functioning as a central hub from which secondary trails branch off to reach different residential areas.

This plateau is partially encircled by steep rocks, providing the foundation for various groups of houses. These steeper areas are accessed through serpentine trails, their width varying due to the topography, and they are supported by stone retaining walls. Alternatively, the ground to the east continues with a gentler inclination, providing an opportunity for certain trail regularization. A set of three linear, parallel streets starting from the plateau and running parallel to the slope contours maintains a consistent width of 2.40 m.

This particular feature creates a distinctive experience compared to the other trails that are ascending vertically to the contours. On the southern front of the street, there are courtyard premises of the adjacent houses, while the northern front features a steep

slope along with the related retaining walls. Behind the retaining walls, the house and its courtyard are situated at a much higher level. However, this attempt to create a more regularized network remains limited, as the regular streets eventually blend into the organic trail system, losing their linearity and transitioning into serpentine forms or reaching dead-ends.

5.2.3 Daily neighborhood gatherings

As mentioned above, daily, casual gatherings occurred in small open areas or plateaus within the residential neighborhoods. These spaces were fashioned through the appropriate use of topographical features, or locations with views, transforming them into inviting seating areas. Whether nestled among houses or strategically placed at viewpoints adorned with trees for shade, these local squares beckoned residents from their immediate neighborhoods for relaxation, socialization, conversations, meals, and refreshments.

An illustrative example can be found at the southern part of the Skandaleteika sub-neighborhood in Mesomahalas. Positioned atop a rock outcrop, this area spans approximately 24 square meters and is situated adjacent to the south facade of a house in Skandaleteika. Accessible via improvised, handcrafted steps carved into the rock, beginning from the nearby trail, it exudes an introverted, private character, primarily catering to the household members. This spot is adorned with grapevines and a chaste tree, framing a picturesque view of the coastline. It offers a shaded and breezy gathering point, especially welcoming during the hot summer days and evenings. To this day, it is fondly recalled as '*muhabeti*' (a term derived from the Ottoman Turkish word *muhabbet*), signifying an intimate conversation between close friends. One can imagine the male members of the Skandaletos family congregating here, engaging in discussions regarding family matters and other topics, within this intimate and idyllic outdoor setting nestled within their sub-neighborhood. Their wives may have joined, serving local delicacies and beverages, further enriching the gathering if permitted.²⁴¹

In the Pazara neighborhood, there exists another local gathering spot, but with a distinctively public character. Situated just beyond the boundaries of house courtyards and flanking both sides of the secondary serpentine trail that crosses Pazara, there are

²⁴¹ Such impressions from this plot are formulated after my personal experiences and discussions with the locals the summer days and evenings during the heritage workshop in Palia Sagiada in July and August 2022, *Narrating our village through its objects*.

stone-built benches. These benches serve not only as resting points for those passing by but, more significantly, as communal spaces for gatherings among neighbors from nearby households.

Unlike the previous example in Skandaletos' *muhabeti*, which was open to views but rather exclusive, this setup is nestled amidst the buildings. Positioned on both sides of a 3.2-meter-wide trail part, it provides a view of the courtyard premises, their entrance gates, and the trail itself. This space is notably more open to the public, extending an invitation to passersby to engage in daily conversations with their neighbors. These interactions encompass everything from simple, casual greetings to more elaborate exchanges of news and idle talks.

5.2.4 Regularization of the trail or street network

While the steep slope and other topographic peculiarities played a significant role in shaping the trails of Palia Sagiada, human efforts to regularize the trail and street network have been apparent. These point to the late Ottoman transformations that took place in the urban settings of the Empire and aimed to the better hygiene, light and air conditions, better circulation, and policing. These efforts for Palia Sagiada can be summarized as follows:

- The width of neighborhood trails was standardized to approximately 2.40 meters or 3 and 8/24 cubits.²⁴²
- The main market was widened to around 4.50 meters in most street areas, corresponding to 6 cubits. This results from the findings of the first survey in the settlement in 2019. According to this, another, previous urban layer in the market are showed a narrower street configuration in the place of the market street

²⁴² 1 tectonic cubit was equal to 0.75m. With a royal decree in 16 October 1856 the French meter was established as the new metric system in the Kingdom of Greece. In the decree is mentioned the equivalence of the new system to the old cubit. According to the decree, the *endâze* (for silk textiles)/ the small cubit of Constantinople was 0.648m and the *arsin*, the big cubit of Constantinople was 0.669m. Also, the decree mentions that the builders and carpenters used the cubit equal to 0, 75m. Kingdom of Greece, “Διάταγμα περί μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν,” ΦΕΚ, No. 56/1856. After 1841 the *mimar arşını* was standardized to 0.7577m/0.758, *çarşı arşını*, was used for measuring the textiles, equal to 0.68m. Mehmet Erkal, “Arşın: Metrik sisteme geçilmeden önce kullanılan bir uzunluk ölçüsü,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, last accessed 4 January 2024. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/arsin>; Alpay Özdural, “Sinan ’s Arşin : A Survey of Ottoman Architectural Metrology,” *Muquarnas*, 15 (1998): 101–15.

constructed probably after the earthquake.²⁴³

- The shops' facades were set back from the street line, allowing space for pavement and organized outdoor activities, resulting in an actual distance of 4.90-5.10 meters. D. A gap of approximately 0.45-0.50 meters was provided between the shops and residential buildings in Mesomahalas when standing next to each other.
- The central part of Mesomahalas was designed to resemble a proper housing block, showing an intention for an almost canonical layout for trail arrangement, similar to the example of the three parallel streets in Lagkada.

Furthermore, there is information pointing towards the existence of a possible cadastral map. This suggestion arises from a petition dating back to 1876 in which local entrepreneurs sought to purchase land from the Ottoman State. While it remains unclear whether the mentioned map, which featured numbered plots, pertained to an area within the settlement or was related to the roadstead, it implies a systematic recording of land into exploitable sections.²⁴⁴ In addition, there is evidence from another settlement, Achouria/Aghios Nikolaos (Αχούρια/Άγιος Νικόλαος) from the *kaza* of Filat, in a later document from 1899, clearly describing the registration of a piece of pastureland to the Imperial Cadastral. This document recognizes the land as property (*tapi*) of the Christian petitioners, subject to an annual tax to the Ottoman State (*tasarruf*). The decision notably mentions the application of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858.²⁴⁵

These observations raise questions as they hint at aspects of Ottoman legislation related to urban planning and regularization, particularly in the wake of the Tanzimat reforms. These reforms were extensively discussed for their application in the transformation of major urban centers within the Ottoman Empire, emphasizing port cities that were among the first to undergo significant changes.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Unfortunately, shortly after this visit in the location, this part of the street was covered by concrete to facilitate the accessibility for agropastoral activities in the area.

²⁴⁴ İ..MMS. / 54 – 2401/ H-30-02-1293 (1876).

²⁴⁵ Unpublished material from the private archive of Ilyas Vrakas. The Vrakas family bringing as evidence to the Thesprotia Court of the First Instance the registration of the land to the Ottoman Imperial Cadastral claimed the pastureland as property. Decision number 51/2004.

²⁴⁶ Albert Habib Hourani and Samuel Miklos Stern, eds., "The Islamic City: A Colloquium," *Papers on Islamic history* 1 (1970); Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi, and Florian Riedler, eds., *The city in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the*

Considering these regulations and developments regarding urban settings, one might contemplate the extent to which urban transformation was initiated in Palia Sagiada following the earthquake destruction of 1872, based on the legislation in effect. To address this question comprehensively, it is important to analyze urban transformations not solely as centralized directives but also in terms of their practical application at the local level, especially within the periphery where Palia Sagiada was situated within the *vilayet* of Yannina. This discussion will take place more thoroughly in the Chapter 8 that will examine the Ottoman State, the Ottoman legislation and the bureaucratic mechanisms as important elements for the building activities in the settlement of Palia Sagiada and the whole region during the fin-de-siècle.

5.3 The market street (s)

(Drawing 5-9) The above reference to the market streets in Palia Sagiada approached the topic from a morphological perspective. The continuous and rhythmic facades of the buildings shape the two fronts of the town's primary thoroughfare. This transformation occurred in response to the reconstruction of the settlement following its destruction, with a certain consideration of new building standards. This part underlines the market's positioning within the broader context of the public spaces and institutions in Palia Sagiada. Additionally, focusing on its function will contribute significantly to a comprehensive understanding of the street's spatial and social identities.

5.3.1 Around the market street

The surrounding public spaces and institutions near the market street in Palia Sagiada underscored the market's central location. To the west, there is the main church of the settlement, Aghios Georgios, along with its courtyard and public square, known as 'aloni' (αλώνι), meaning 'threshing floor'. Annually, typically in March or April, male residents would convene at the church's courtyard to elect their community representatives, the *prokritoi* (πρόκριτοι) or *prouchondes* (προύχοντες).²⁴⁷ Within the courtyard of Aghios Georgios was also the school rebuilt in 1873 after the earthquake

making of urban modernity (Routledge, 2010); Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren, and Donald Quataert, "Port-cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some theoretical and historical perspectives," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* (1993): 519-558.

²⁴⁷ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 92.

yet does not remain today.²⁴⁸

Moreover, directly across from the church, partially extending into the market street with its associated shops stood the Tsogkas' mansion. The deliberate placement of the mansion within the settlement is thought provoking. As the Tsogkas family's active participation in the community's political life as *prouchondes* likely influenced the conscious intent of the owners to establish their presence amidst the other public areas in Palia Sagiada, and right opposite of the place of the local elections. This house might have also served as a local administrative center for managing the town's affairs. Considering that mansions in the region were sometimes utilized as administrative buildings for the entire administrative unit (*kaza*), this suggestion does not seem implausible.²⁴⁹

5.3.2 The function of the market street

In the first half of the 20th century, Palia Sagiada's market area was home to a variety of businesses. In addition to the shops lining the main street, its functions expanded to another street branching out to the north. Nevertheless, commerce and services remained organized within a confined area or specific zone within the settlement.²⁵⁰

Before World War II, the shops served the following functions: two grocery stores (one owned by Giorgos Skendos, born in 1914), three or four coffeehouses that also offered *ouzo* (an alcoholic drink) (Nikolas Skouras, born in 1885; Evangelos Levetsios, born in 1903; Pavlos Mandos, born in 1912; Kostas & Nikolas Stamatis, birthdates

²⁴⁸ This was a *scholarcheion* (σχολαρχεῖον)- Greek school, in which admitted those who had finished the four first classes of the primary school. The books used only by the teacher, came from the Greek state, also ancient Greek was taught. K. Gkatzioti, *Τα ελληνικά σχολεία στο Αργυρόκαστρο* (Greek Schools in Gjirokastre) (2005), 35. Cited in G. Tsogkas, 143.

²⁴⁹ In the *kaza* of Kourvelesi (or *kaza* of Delvino) in present-day in Albania, after the earthquake during 1893 destroyed the administrative building in Koutsi, the seat of the *kaimakam* was transferred to the house of a community representative in Progonati. Michalis Kokolakis, *Το όστερο Γιαννιώτικο Πασαλίκι*, 203.

²⁵⁰ Market streets and open-air fairs were taking place in the following settlements at least since the late 19th century that lasted until recent years and their dramatic demographic shrink: Plaisio (Plasiviça or Plesivitsa) had 344 houses and 1297 residents; Tsamandas (Çamanta or Tzamanta) had 227 h/ 1288 r; Keramitsa (Çeramıça) had 32 h/ 480r; Lias had 164 h/ 874 r; Agioi Pandes (Ahurya Bâlâ) had 113 h/ 369 r; Kokkinolithari (Kızılkaya) had 52 h/195 r; and Konispol had 282 h/ 1488 r; In the case of Kokkinolithari, during fairs, visitors from Deropoli (present-day Dropull in Albania) would bring their offerings to the settlement's church dedicated to Agios Minas. Additionally, Filiates (Filyat 317 h/1575 r) served as the primary commercial center, hosting an open-air fair every Thursday. These settlements thrived during the 19th century as they were integral parts of the primary route connecting Yannina to the shoreline, and subsequently, to Corfu. Michalis Kokolakis, "Η τουρκική στατιστική της Ηπείρου στο Σάλναμέ του 1895," 270-271. For recent demographics:

http://dlib.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/showdetails?p_derive=book&p_id=10095554

unknown), a tailor's workshop (Michalis Anastasiadis/Tsatsis, born in 1904), a bread store (wholesale) dedicated solely to bread sales, not production (Ilias Loukas, born in 1901), two textile stores (one owned by Nikolaos Antoniou, born in 1910), two shoemakers (one owned by Yiannis Gkogkos, born in 1902), a barrel maker's workshop (Yiannis Papadimitriou, born in 1905), and a pastry shop whose owner also operated the barber shop (Spyridonas Borovilis, born in 1909).²⁵¹ Furthermore, among the services, close to the market street was the residence of the town's doctor. During the early 20th century, the doctor was named as Kontis from Dibre (Dhivër in Albania), also held a pharmacy in the Skandaletos property, after marrying one of the family's daughters.²⁵²

Occasionally, these shops operated as rental businesses, where the business operator did not necessarily own the shop situated beneath the residence. This was the case with the Skandaletos complex on the market street, which housed three or four shops: a textile shop, a pharmacy, a groceries-coffee roastery, and the shoemaker's shop of Yiannis Gkogkos. Meanwhile, the Skandaletos family resided in the housing compartments situated above and behind these shops.

Some objects and utilities that serve as evidence of the shops' functions are still preserved as personal heirlooms in the homes of individuals in modern Sagiada (Figure 3.14-3.24). Among these belongings are nearly the entire set of equipment from Michalis Anastasiades/Tsatsis' tailor's workshop, which includes a *Pfaff* rotary hook sewing machine, textile cubits, as well as both a coal and an electric hand iron. Additionally, from the Borovilis pastry shop, the robust cast-iron scale remains, along with other oke (*okka*) weights bearing the signature of II. Abdulhamid's *tuğra*/stamp, which continued to be in use until the mid-20th century, alongside more modern gram weights.²⁵³ textile cubits, as well a coal and an electric hand iron. From the Borovilis pastry shop remains the force heavy cast iron scale, and other oke weights signed with II. Abdulhamid's *tuğra*/stamp and remained in use until the mid. 20th century, as well as more contemporary gram weights (Figure 3.6-3.13)

²⁵¹ Tempsichori Antonadou, "The shops in Palia Sagiada and the Manteika neighborhood," interview by the author including her personal sketches (2012), Sagiada, 26/07/2022. Ms Adonadou was born in Palia Sagiada in 1928. For the dates of birth for the above individual there has been a research for the families in Sagiada by G. Tsogkas, *H Σαγιάδα*, 271-282.

²⁵² Irini Vougidi-Pappa, the grand-daughter of Yerasimos (born 1877) and Kleoniki Skandaletou who resided in the spoken housing complex in Palia Sagiada, interview by the author., Filiates, 02/08/2022.

²⁵³ This model was first launched by the German *Pfaff* in 1922, https://www.pfaff.com/en-us/About-PFAFF/?_gl=1*70atyi*_ga*MTIyMDMxMDQzMC4xNjkyNjk5MTM3*_ga_B8Q70J19KW*MTY5MjY5OTEzNi4xLjEuMTY5MjcwMDE2OC41My4wLjA

This image of the market street also included vivid descriptions of the location of the weekly open-air commercial fair. The Sunday commercial fair served as a multicultural gathering point and a regional event. Vlachs, Albanian Muslims-Chams, and individuals from neighboring lowland settlements, both Muslim and Christian, as well as those of mixed populations, would converge to sell agricultural and pastoral products, along with more intricate goods from local workshops. The open-air fair also drew participants from other settlements, particularly those now located in Albania, such as the highland mixed-population settlements within the *kaza* of Filat: Verva, Ntisiati/Dishad, Markati/Markates, Yaniari, and Konispoli/Konispol.²⁵⁴

The flea market on Sundays in Palia Sagiada resembled the concept of a periodical market known as '*emporopanigyris*' in Greek (εμποροπανήγυρις, meaning a commercial getting together), or '*panayır*' in the Turkish scholarship and Ottoman documentation. The *emporopanigyris* or *panayır* was taking place once per year in particular spots/places and during the Ottoman period, they were popular around the Balkans and Anatolia.²⁵⁵ Sometimes, the event held a name denoting their location or affiliation to a particular religious celebration. The commercial fair lasted several days, while Temporary structures were set up around churches or near established markets to accommodate traveling merchants and store their goods for sale.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ The communication between Palia Sagiada and these high land settlements was very frequent until 1923 when the boundaries with Albania were first defined. G. Tsogkas, *H Σαγιάδα*, 140.

²⁵⁵ For some recent studies: Vedat Çalışkan et al., "Traditional county fairs in turkey: main features and spatial-temporal distributions," *Journal of International Social Research* 11, no. 58 (2018): 237-238; Vedat Çalışkan and Ali Sonmez, "Traditional Fairs of Rumelia and the Balkans in the Fairs of Rumelia and the Balkans in the Ottoman Period," *Research and Development on Social sciences*, ed. Roman Dorczak, Regina Lenart-Gansiniec et al. (Krakow, 2018): 524-531; Pınar Ülgen, "Geç ortaçağ avrupasında pazar ve panayır ilişkisinin ticaret hayatındaki rolü ve türk-islam dünyasındakilerle karşılaştırılması," *Journal of International Social Research* 5, no. 21 (2012).

Or some commercial fairs in Greece: Georgios Vozikas, "Οι εμποροπανήγυρεις στην περιοχή των Σερρών: παράδοση και νεωτερικότητα στην εξέλιξη ενός θεσμού (The commercial fairs in the region of Serres: tradition and modernity in the development of an institution)" (2015); Ioannis E. Tsarouchas, "Το κερβάνι: η ετήσια εμποροπανήγυρη των Σερρών (The kervani: the annual commercial fair of Serres)" (2022).

For further see: Soraya Faroqhi, "The early History of the Balkan Fairs", *Südost-Forschungen* XXXVII (1978); Emilie Thémopoulou, "Les foires dans les Balkans au XIXe siècle: mutations observées et evolution des foires", *Südost-Forschungen* 59/60 (2000/2001).

²⁵⁶ On the commercial fairs the producers/sellers paid a revenue known as '*bâc*': *bac-ı ağnam* and/or *bac-ı kırtıl* for selling animals in the *emporopanigyris* or *panayır*:

Celal Yeniçeri, "Bâc", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, last accessed 30/04/2024, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/bac> ;

"Bac vergisi," Tarihi Olaylar, last accessed 30/04/2024, <https://www.tarihiolaylar.com/tarihi-olaylar/bac-vergisi-208>

Similar extended commercial fairs are documented in the broader Epirus region, such as in Pogoniani (Πωγώνιανη), dating back to the 14th to 18th centuries (Dipalitsa/Molyvdoskepaston) and they are related to the strong presence of merchants there.²⁵⁷ Commercial fairs within the kaza of Filyat, and the broader Thesprotia regions have been attested since the 16th century. Historical records describe such places using terms like 'bazar' or 'nefs,' serving as direct or indirect indicators of commercial activities within the respective settlements. Examples can be found near Mengoulati in the kaza of Filyat, Ouzdina, and Aydonat in the kaza of Aydonat. These records date back to the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁵⁸ In Epirus, these fairs, were often under the patronage of particular elites, as corroborated by examples from other regions. In cases where conflicts arose over control of the fair, it would impact the associated tax revenue, as seen, for instance, in the case of Pogoniani.²⁵⁹ Additionally, the well-known *emporopanigyris* known as 'Lambovo' (Λάμποβο), in the *kasaba* of Paramythia, continues to operate today.²⁶⁰

The limited duration and scope of the flea market in Palia Sagiada, confined to certain daytime hours and offering goods solely from nearby settlements, led to a smaller-scale event. However, despite these limitations, the weekly market following Sunday church liturgy transformed the market street into a vibrant and multicultural environment.

The market in Palia Sagiada served as a hub for commercial exchanges, various services, daily leisure activities, and public gatherings, thanks in part to its coffeehouses and pastry shop. This environment, especially with the presence of coffeehouses, likely played a significant role in shaping the political life within the settlement and connected to procedures of collective decision-making. During the turn of the century, this political landscape was marked by turbulence, as documented by newspapers of that

²⁵⁷ Konstantinos Giakoumis and S. Shupo, "Religious Fairs in the Ottoman Empire's Habitation History: Christian Feasts in Epiros and Albania as Urban Social Events and Their manifestations Displayed in Ecclesiastical Painting of the 16th and 17th Century," *Urban Music in the Balkans. International Symposium in Honorem Ramadam Sokoli, Tirana* (2006): 2.

²⁵⁸ E. Balta, "The ethnic and religious composition," 354.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 358-359.

²⁶⁰ For the Lambovo in Paramythia: Paraskevi Nakou, "Η οικονομική και κοινωνική κατάσταση στην περιοχή της Θεσπρωτίας κατά την περίοδο της ηγεμονίας του Αλή Πασά στο Γιαννιώτικο πασαλίκι (1788-1821), με βάση νέα στοιχεία από το αρχείο του και άλλες πηγές (The economic and social condition in the region of Thesprotia during the hegemony of Ali Pasha in the pashalik of Yannina)" (master's thesis, University of Ioannina, 2021), 117-120.

period.²⁶¹

One can imagine a space of coexistence among various socioeconomic groups: the elites/ local rich influencing politics, their voters, or at the very least, their supporters; their opponents engaging in debates within the coffeehouses; street vendors conducting their business; children and their mothers going about their daily activities. Finally, positioned in proximity to significant public spaces, such as the main church, the market street played a role both visually and symbolically, and likely functionally, in the settlement's "civic center."

5.4 *Milikon*

(Map 2) To the south of the church of Aghios Georgios, there once stood the *milikon* (μυλικόν), which, according to oral traditions, served various purposes, including lodging for tax collectors, seasonal traveling craftsmen, and itinerant musicians. While today only ruins few remain, it's clear that this structure was modest, resembling more a medium-sized oblong house type, rather than an inn.²⁶² Close to the *milikon* was also the oil press belonging to the church that does not remain today.

Although there isn't enough information about the *milikon* in Palia Sagiada, similar buildings existed in other settlements of the region with comparable functions. For instance, there was the *ameliko* in Foiniki, situated close to the main church and the public square. The ground floor was used for the animal keeping and the staying was on the upper floor.²⁶³ Furthermore, in regions of Epirus known for their commercial advancement, such as *Konitsa* (Κόνιτσα), tax collectors resided in similar buildings, managed by the local church of Aghios Georgios. Similarly, the *amiliko* in Kapesovo/Zagori (Καπέσοβο) served as lodging for tax collectors belonging to the common union of settlements in Zagori and was managed by appointed individuals, with documented information dating back to 1823.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Cengiz Kirli, "Coffeehouses: public opinion in the nineteenth-century Ottoman empire," in *Public Islam and the common good*, ed. Armando Salvatore and Dale Eickelman (Brill, 2004), 75-97; APPENDIX B, B1.1 *On the public spaces*. "Περί Σαγιάδος" (about Sagiada), *Φωνή της Ηπείρου* 414 (Foni tis Ipirou), Athens, Fr. 26/01/1901.

²⁶² G. Tsogkas, 140; Field work together with M. Pasiakos, Sagiada, 2019.

²⁶³ G. Voutsis, *Το χωριό μου το Φοινίκι*, 73.

²⁶⁴ For Konitsa: Vaggelis Vourdoukas, "Το Κουτσέκι στο Πεκλάρι (Αμυλικό στα Ελληνικά) (The Koutseki in Peklari-Amiliko in Greek), *Κόνιτσα* (Konitsa magazine) 26, May-June (1989): 70; for Zagori: S.D. Gkinis, *Περίγραμμα Ιστορίας Μεταβυζαντινού Δικαίου* (History Outline of the Post-byzantine Law (Athens: Athens Academy, 1956), 403.

In settlements like Zagori, Konitsa, Palia Sagiada, and Foiniki, Ottoman authorities for tax collection or other purposes often resided in buildings designated for them, known as *amiliko* (or its linguistic variations). The proximity of these buildings to the main church of each settlement, along with their maintenance by the communities or the church, suggests a spatial clustering of structures associated with administrative authorities or a communal approach toward official guests. And particularly for the case study of Palia Sagiada, this was not taking place that far away from the market street and the residences of the Palia Sagiada's rich.

5.5 Religious spaces: churches, burials, and offerings

In parallel to the type of urban life developed in the public spaces around the center of Palia Sagiada, the metaphysical concerns were expressed by several spaces for worship. These include churches or chapels often associated with burials, the settlement's cemetery, and other places endowed with sacred significance. They are strategically positioned at pivotal locations, near the entry points to the settlement from the main trails or the civic center. To this day, these churches continue to hold a special place in local memory as sanctified spaces. Many are adorned with relics, icons, candles, and oil lamps in their niches. In addition to these, small private offerings known as '*eikonismata*' (εικονίσματα) icon stations situated along the trails, and other expressions of shared religious practices, such as worshipping caves, contribute to the sacred landscape of Palia Sagiada.

Presently, these sites vary in their condition, some well-preserved while others are barely recognizable. Apart from the church of Aghios Georgios, which underwent partial restoration in recent years and remains in use by the residents of the new settlement of Sagiada, the other churches in Palia Sagiada have fallen into disuse. Notably, none of them bears a specific construction date, and there are no remaining frescoes or other information that would assist the possible dating. An exception is the restoration date of Aghios Georgios in 1833, marked on its northern façade with ceramic tiles. Although in poor condition, Aghios Dimitrios and Aghios Nikolaos still retain their full-height masonry and can be accessed internally. Aghios Spyridon, though not easily accessible, preserves its wall masonry. In contrast, Aghia Kyriaki is in very poor condition. An intriguing case is Aghios Vimos, completely abandoned and almost unrecognizable, which in fact since the early 20th century, it had faded from

local memory as part of communal religious practices.²⁶⁵

As a general observation regarding their architecture, the churches exhibit a straightforward/simple architectural style strongly resembling the local houses. They are typically constructed with timber-laced, stone masonry walls, and simple pitched, timber roofs mainly covered with red ceramic tiles, while their floor is paved by stone slabs. These churches feature a one-level, rectangular structure, with the southern side elevated to adapt to the terrain, parallel to the contours to orient the sanctuary toward the east. The larger churches with narthexes typically feature two entrances: one leading directly into the main church from either the northern or southern side, and another from the western side of the narthex. Windows are primarily situated on the southern facade, offering views, while the northern facade facing the trails or other public spaces of the settlement often has only small openings or skylights. In the past, the exteriors were typically coated with lime mortars, with well-crafted stones forming the bare cornerstones.

5.5.1 Aghios Georgios

(Figure 5.6-5.9) Aghios Georgios church, situated in a central, nearly level area in Mesomahalas and in proximity to the market street, served as the main church of Palia Sagiada. According to secondary sources, the church owned olive groves and an oil press, which are difficult to identify today, but were likely located to the south of the church. Additionally, the church had grasslands and provided an annual sum of 3000 *kurus* to support the Zografeion schools in Kastorati of Gjirokastrë.²⁶⁶

The church building covers approximately 150m² and stands out from the others in terms of size and typology. Aghios Georgios is designed as a three-aisled basilica, with a slightly rectangular layout that refers to the fundamental tripartite arrangement: a narthex to the west, and the main church including a sanctuary with an altar to the east. The sanctuary is featuring a central main niche and two smaller niches in the prothesis

²⁶⁵ The newspaper article written in 1901 that mentions the churches in Palia Sagiada and their condition, does not refer to Aghios Vimos. “Περί Σαγιάδος” (about Sagiada), *Φωνή της Ηπείρου* (Foni tis Ipirou), Athens, 26/01/1901.

²⁶⁶ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 102. The accuracy of this information has not been confirmed by any document that could describe either the possession of the property or the endowment. However, it is likely that the main church of Sagiada had an income as an estate of the Giromeri monastery. Giouli Evangelou, *Σταυροπήγια Και Εξαρχίες Σε Σχέση Αλληλεξάρτησης*, 132-133; For *metochia* and their administration see: Fotini Kondyli, "Tracing monastic economic interests and their impact on the rural landscape of Late Byzantine Lemnos." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 64 (2010): 146.

section. Above the central niche, there is a small skylight. The three aisles are defined by two rows of arches supported by columns and pillars. Access to the main church is provided through the northern side, while the entrance on the west, leading directly to the narthex, has been subsequently blocked. Despite the suggestion that the church may have once featured a small central dome, a characteristic seen in some churches of the region coming from that later period, no material evidence or secondary sources support this claim. Notably, it features a tall bell tower on its western side adorned with two rows of single and double arched openings.

Morphological and decorative elements that still exist within the interior of the church include the *amvon* (pulpit) and well-preserved frescoes, found in some parts of the main church and the sanctuary; the central niche of the prothesis houses the icon of Platytera. The remaining iconographic themes, displaying a strong folklore style, are organized into two zones, while a third, lower zone, was later covered with mortar. In the upper zone of both the sanctuary and the main church, one can find depictions related to the life of Christ and Theotokos; the lower zone features full-body figures of saints and hierarchs.

Among these frescoes, there is a civic male figure depicted wearing a distinctive hat, fur coat, mustache, scarf, and rosary, known as *kyr' Memos*.²⁶⁷ Although there is no information about this individual, his presence in the decorative program of Aghios Georgios after the restoration of 1833 suggests similar visual representations of local elites in public spaces, such as churches during the 18th to 19th century. Individuals honored for their donations, primarily representing themselves to the public through frescoes in churches and monasteries commissioned by local traveling artist groups, are evident in examples in Zagori from that period.²⁶⁸

The exterior facades typically feature windows on the south side, while the north side bears the date, '1833,' likely indicating a repair or restoration of the upper masonry. Over the entrance door, there's a fresco depicting Aghios Georgios within a niche. A dentil cornice, common in the late Byzantine church architecture, adorned with ceramic bricks between two rows of stone tiles, decorates the top of the masonry.

Photographs from the late 1970s provide a more comprehensive view of the

²⁶⁷ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 105.

²⁶⁸ Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, *The Early Modern Zagori of Northwest Greece. An Interdisciplinary Archaeological Inquiry Into a Montane Cultural Landscape* (Sidestone Press, 2022), 65-66.

church's interior and exterior before significant damage occurred, leading to material loss and subsequent rescue restoration efforts. A large cast iron rod remains from the original structure prior to the recent roof interventions. Notably absent in comparison to these historical photographs are:

- a. The frescoes of the narthex that do not remain today.
- b. The gilded templon made from nut wood, a donation in 1834 by the monk Agapios from the Giromeri monastery who originated from Sagiada and associated to the local ecclesiastic artistic patronage. Today, only the icon of Aghios Georgios remains, preserved through the efforts of the local community.²⁶⁹
- c. The northern entrance, small canopy *hagiati/hayat*, supported by roundel stone pillars.
- d. The adjacent to the *hayat* school in the church's courtyard.
- e. Moreover, according to oral testimonies, at the courtyard of the church, used to be the graveyard for the church's priests, which was covered with paved slabs during recent renovations in the area around the church. Yet, there is no such a record apart from the local narratives.²⁷⁰

5.5.2 Aghios Dimitrios

(Figure 5.10-5.14) Aghios Dimitrios, standing in poor condition near the trail and the eastern entrance to the settlement, is positioned on the southern side of the current dirt street. Due to its alignment with the natural contours, it appears somewhat degraded from the street level.

The church encompasses an area of approximately 122 square meters and exhibits a notably oblong shape with two phases, with sides in a proportion of 2/7 after the last phase. It is a single-level structure, with an elevation on the southern side to adjust to the slope's gradient. The irregularities in the ground have likely led to gradual subsidence of the church's flooring. Notably, the organic relationship between the structure and the natural landscape is evident through the presence of rock configurations incorporated into the wall masonry and the church's floor.

Aghios Dimitrios follows the typical tripartite organization, comprising a narthex to

²⁶⁹ *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* (Ekklesiastiki Alitheia), Constantinople 1899. Cited by G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 112.

²⁷⁰ Christos Tsamados (Kitso-Gkagkos), "National liberation, Grigoris Tsogkas, and the weapons within the graves," interview by Michalis Pasiakos, Sagiada, 2014, audio.

the west separated from the main church by a short wall. The main church is situated at a lower level in relationship to the narthex; the sanctuary, as always oriented to the east, features a central niche, three smaller niches in the prothesis section, and an altar. An extension, added later and covering an area of nearly 9 square meters, extends from the narthex toward the west, housing a small infrastructure for a bell.

There are two entrances to the church: one directly from the narthex, positioned underneath the bell infrastructure and featuring a niche above, and the other on the south wall of the main church, adorned with a trefoil-shaped stone carving panel and a niche above. This very interesting feature, a unique finding in Palia Sagiada indicates a familiar façade morphology seen in churches in Zagori, such as Aghios Nikolaos in Asprangeloi (Ασπράγγελοι).

Interior decoration elements are minimal and include a draft floor configuration in the form of a rose, created with stone slabs located near the sanctuary. Ceramic acoustic jars are found surrounding the upper masonry walls, excluding the extension walls. Notably, the acoustic jars, reminding of Byzantine traditions, although resembling ventilation openings, do not extend to the exterior portion of the masonry, suggesting they likely served a primarily decorative purpose. Lastly, A very small fragment of fresco decoration is present on the sanctuary wall, and some handmade ceramic tiles from the roof remain.

5.5.3 Aghios Nikolaos

(Figure 5.15-5.17) Aghios Nikolaos, also in poor condition, is situated in an impressive location perched above a pre-existing structure at the edge of steep cliffs overlooking the abrupt drop in elevation toward the southern outskirts of the settlement. A trail passes right below the small church, leading to the fountain of Palia Sagiada and the plains. Directly south of the church lies a part of a wall constructed with large stones measuring 0.80x0.70x0.30 meters, likely remnants of an ancient fortification. On the northern side, near the large rocks supporting the church, are remnants of two or three burials in very poor condition (Figure 5.18). These include only partially preserved grave surrounds, probably associated with individuals connected to the Aghios Nikolaos church.

This chapel, smaller in dimensions compared to Aghios Georgios and Aghios Dimitrios, occupies an area of 45.35 square meters. It consists of a single space divided into two nearly equal sections: the main church and the sanctuary. The church features a

single entrance on the western side, with the sanctuary elevated as is customary. The sanctuary's northern wall has two niches, while the eastern wall three niches. A skylight is positioned above the central niche of the sanctuary, and it's worth noting that the central niche is only slightly distinguishable from the others.

The interior is minimally adorned with two windows—one on the north and the other on the south wall—providing limited natural light. Apart from a rose decoration on the floor near the sanctuary, there is no remaining information about the interior decorative program. The rose includes a detailed surrounding band with triangular stone slabs. Natural rocks are incorporated into the wall masonry, serving as integral components of the interior space.

Externally, the church maintains a simple appearance, featuring bare, well-crafted stones on the western façade, likely left uncovered by mortar. The primary entrance to the church is an arched main gate, accompanied by a niche above it. Other exterior elements include a two-zone protruding cornice designed to support the roof and a grand semi-circular staircase consisting of six descending steps with varying widths leading to the main gate.

5.5.4 Other churches and the cemetery in Maritsa

In addition to the three previously mentioned churches, which remain accessible and provide varying levels of information about their interiors, the other two churches, Aghios Spyridonas and Aghia Kyriaki, are in poorer condition. Their masonry is less refined than the other churches, and they were already abandoned at the beginning of the 20th century.

(Figure 5.20-5.21) Aghios Spyridonas is situated at the far western part of the settlement, close to the main trail leading to the shore or roadstead, in a location with the best view towards the sea and Corfu, a possible association to the saint with his role as a patron of the town of Corfu to which people of Sagiada were much affiliated. Like Aghios Dimitrios, appears somewhat degraded due to its parallel alignment with the contours.

It has an oblong shape and covers an area of approximately 67 square meters. While the interior is not accessible, it likely follows a single-aisled configuration. Notable features include a cross-shaped skylight in the central niche of the church's sanctuary and the use of light and dark gray stone slabs for the roof of the sanctuary, which is an exception from the typical handmade ceramic tiles found on the rest of the church's

roof.

Aghia Kyriaki only preserves part of its lower masonry. This small chapel, consisting of a single space with a scarcely distinctive central niche for the sanctuary, has a slightly oblong shape and is much smaller than the other churches, covering 32.5 square meters—similar in size to a simple house room. It is located in the southern suburb of Palia Sagiada, in the area known as Maritsa, adjacent to the main trail leading to the settlement from the plains. Near Aghia Kyriaki lies the settlement's primary cemetery, which, despite its current dilapidated state, still holds some well-preserved marble grave crosses or their bases with neoclassical features dating back to the first half of the 20th century (Figure 5.19). The practice of burials outside residential areas was institutionalized with the Building Law of 1848, and while there is no information about the earliest phase of burials in this location, there is no information regarding the existence of another pre-existing civic cemetery within the settlement.²⁷¹

Lastly, a very low part of the masonry of an older church, Aghios Vimos, already forgotten at the beginning of the 20th century is located to the southeast of Maritsa, closer to the plains than the settlement itself. It lies at the intersection of the main trails leading to the cemetery and continuing northwestwards to the settlement. The remaining fragments include indications of the aisle masonry and the sanctuary's main niche, as well as one or two burials in very poor condition.

5.5.5 *Eikonisma-ta, worshipping caves, and trees with crosses*

Narratives originating from Palia Sagiada's recent history shed light on the enduring local tradition of religious offerings, both communal and private, which somehow persisted despite the settlement's abandonment and is still practiced in various spaces.²⁷² Apart from the church as a worshipping space, other gestures of devotion result to a general sacred landscape.

A very interesting feature is the *eikonisma* (εικόνισμα/εικονίσματα in plural), the icon-stand; a private gesture destined for worshipping. This was either indoor expressions with small icons, candles, or relics placed in the existing niches of abandoned churches (Figure 5.23) or as outdoor, self-standing structures — a common sight throughout Greece. These outdoor structures are simple, prismatic, stone-built, and

²⁷¹ Al. Karadimou-Yerolympou, *Μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης*, 40-42, 51-52.

²⁷² M. Pasiakos and T. Antonadou, interview by M. Pasiakos and the author, Sagiada, 26/07/2022.

devoid of standardized height, designed for the convenience of daily users (Figure 5.24). They are often located near streets or trails, typically commemorating a miraculous incident or someone's unexpected death. The *eikonisma* is an integral part of these religious traditions, very popular for the lower social classes, as less affluent people could express their religious belief, gratitude, or to commemorate deceased ones, as they could not afford the funding of a whole church or chapel.

In Palia Sagiada, one such *eikonisma* still stands facing the street, nearly opposite Nousias' threshing floor (Figure 5.22). It serves a dual purpose, partly public and partly private, associated with the Antoniou household. It consists of two niches on the facade facing the street. One niche functions as a small storage space for materials required for offerings, such as candles, oil, and matches. The other niche likely held the icon(s) of the saint to whom the offering was dedicated. Since these offerings were often individual or family initiatives rather than communal, they are frequently abandoned when their supply ceases, as was the case with the remaining *eikonisma* in Sagiada.

Similar to *eikonismata*, which involve the private deposition of offerings, yet carry a communal meaning, is the worshiping cave of Aghia Paraskevi. This cave is linked to a central narrative in the community's collective memory. It tells the story of an improvised transformation of a cave on the northeastern outskirts of Palia Sagiada into a shrine dedicated to Aghia Paraskevi, the protector of the eyes and the patron saint of many locals. According to legend, those who made an oblation in the name of Aghia Paraskevi were saved from various dangers, making her veneration a communal act upheld by the descendants of the settlement's old residents.²⁷³

Lastly, very interesting is the existence of engraved crosses on trees.²⁷⁴ Apparently, the association of natural features to the Christian Orthodox cult is not new (for example holy water/*agiasma*, water sanctification, etc.), nor unique in Palia Sagiada. A similar, landscape-oriented worshiping was typical in the region: In the neighboring settlement of Plesivitsa, where several trees are marked with crosses, or little offerings have been left together with burning candles in the niches of rocks or small caves

²⁷³ Other worshiping caves are around like the one in Pestiani/Kriovrysi (Πέστιανη/Κρυόβρυση). Yet, the most characteristic case of the scale of the communal memory is the hermitage of Osios (saint) Neilos in the caves opposite of the early 14th century monastery of Giromeri. Again, according to the tradition of the typical narrative of the found icon, Osios Neilos after finding the icon of Panagia, founded the monastery dedicated to the Dormition of Theotokos which later flourished and became the seat of the Patriarchal Exarchate in the region during the Ottoman period. The cave of Osios Neilos and the hermits that followed him are still visited for worshiping.

²⁷⁴ M. Pasiakos, "Crossed trees," interview by the author, Sagiada, 03/08/2022.

attributing an apotropaic symbolism to such gestures. Notably, the ongoing continuity of religious practices in the broader Epirus region, emphasizing celebrations associated with the natural landscape rather than the church, presents a fascinating and growing research field. This area involves interdisciplinary approaches encompassing folklore, archaeology, heritage, and history.²⁷⁵

5.5.6 Metaphysical narratives and the Ottoman context

The religious sites in Palia Sagiada occupy prominent positions within the natural landscape and bear connections to historical structures, such as the remarkable topography surrounding Aghios Nikolaos, intersecting with earlier ruins. As a consequence, these structures linger between the sacred and profane; they are attributed with spiritual connotations, yet the same time, they are products of conscious choices for creating eponymous landmarks within the settlement.

As an evidence of the perpetuation of a metaphysical atmosphere/ ambiance is the persistence of religious practices within the abandoned spaces through various offerings and their connection to natural elements, fostering enduring beliefs and superstitions, making it a compelling subject of interest for socio-anthropological studies.²⁷⁶

Aghios Georgios, a dragon-slaying saint revered by both Christians and Muslims in the Balkans and Anatolia, along with Aghios Dimitrios, serve as guardians of borders and the passage of time. Aghios Georgios is celebrated in the spring, while Aghios Dimitrios is honored in the fall, symbolizing the “seasonal cycle in agropastoral communities.”²⁷⁷ In many local settlements, similar to Palia Sagiada, churches or shrines dedicated to saints like Aghios Georgios and Aghios Dimitrios often serve as the main church of the protector saint, safeguarding the community's boundaries. Aghia Paraskevi, in addition to being worshiped as the saint of eyes and children, was also venerated as a dragon-slayer saint, protecting the northeastern limits of the settlement. Aghios Vimos, positioned on the southeastern boundary, was associated with the

²⁷⁵ Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasίου, "The Celebration of St. Viniri in Băeasă (Vovoussa): Approaching the Archaeology of the Sacred Forests in Northwest Greece," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 3 (2023): 575-597.

²⁷⁶ According to superstitions and local beliefs, the existence of the numerous churches at the outskirts of the rural, mountainous settlements and surrounding the settlement, create a “magic circle” of protection. An interesting example is the village Agios Georgios, close to Grevena (Γρεβενά), western Macedonia where the whole periphery of the settlement had religious offerings (*eikonismata*), so the village is “surrounded by saints.” Vasilis Nitsiakos, *Παραδοσιακές Κοινωνικές Δομές*, 32-33.

²⁷⁷ Nitsiakos, *Εθνο-οικο-τοπικά*, 205.

archangels. Aghios Spyridon, situated to the east and visually linked to Corfu whose protector saint is Aghios Spyridon, held the role of protector not only for the poor but also for the shoemakers, a profession that existed in Palia Sagiada.

Aghios Nikolaos presented an intriguing case. While he is primarily associated with seafarers, the people of Sagiada, though residing along the coast, did not share the maritime culture of island communities. Nevertheless, Aghios Nikolaos became the patron saint of many families in Sagiada.²⁷⁸ This might be attributed to his other role as the protector of the children, merchants and, more broadly, water-related matters. Positioned prominently and visible to travelers, the church dedicated to Aghios Nikolaos overlooked the main freshwater spring and the central-southern entrance to the settlement, underscoring his role as the guardian of the settlement's precious water source and the vital profession that contributed to the settlement's prosperity.

The notion of being "protected by the saints" holds significant sway within rural communities.²⁷⁹ Seemingly marking the boundaries of the residential areas, locals attribute a talismanic significance to this arrangement. They believe that this circle has a magical purpose, serving to protect the settlement from the malevolent effects of the evil eye.²⁸⁰ While such folklore beliefs are integral to the local collective identity, it's important to recognize that the churches and chapels in Palia Sagiada are not merely timeless structures erected solely to address local spiritual concerns, but also visual manifestations of a local patronage of public spaces.

In fact, the widespread construction of religious spaces in rural settlements during the Ottoman period is a topic of discussion, revealing certain continuities from late Byzantine practices aimed at showcasing individual power. These religious structures also exemplify how non-Muslims, particularly Christians, ensured the practice of their religious duties within the framework of Ottoman legislation.

According to the Hanefite interpretation of the Islamic Law, the construction of new churches was permissible in exclusively Christian settlements throughout the Ottoman

²⁷⁸ Kaiti, Aggeliki, and Panagiotis Gkogkos, "The family icon of Aghios Nikolaos," interview by the author, Sagiada, 04/08/2022.

²⁷⁹ Fotini Kondyli, "Protected by the saints," in *Rural Communities in Late Byzantium: Resilience and Vulnerability in the Northern Aegean* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), 138-149.

²⁸⁰ Charles Stewart, "Magic Circles-An Approach to Greek Ritual," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 25, no. 1 (1994): 91-101.

period.²⁸¹ However, there were instances of Ottoman authorities displaying tolerance for the construction of churches near mosques under certain conditions.²⁸² Among the popular ways for achieving this was the initial religious practice within private houses, which later were converted into public churches.²⁸³ This practice may explain, to some extent, the architectural similarities between churches and houses. During the 17th and particularly the 18th centuries, small-sized churches and numerous chapel-like structures resembling houses gained popularity in various regions, including Epirus, the Peloponnese, Thessaly, and Aegean islands.²⁸⁴ In Palia Sagiada, this is evident through examples such as Aghios Nikolaos and Aghios Spyridonas. However, similar little churches are typical throughout the region and its countryside, providing rich material for further research.

Following the Ottoman Reform Edict of 1856/1874, which recognized Muslims and non-Muslims as equal citizens within the Ottoman Empire, their religious rights became equal under the law, making the construction of churches much more straightforward. New and more conspicuous churches in the rural settlements and towns in the Balkans and W. Anatolia expressed the power of their patrons, religious freedom, and identity.²⁸⁵

Particularly for the *kaza* of Filat, this is further substantiated by historical documents that confirm official permission granted for the construction of churches in settlements across the region. For example, a church in Tsamanda received such permission in 1908.²⁸⁶ These permissions also included instructions about construction details and related rules. For instance, in the case of the erection of the Church of Aghia Triada in 1885 in Filat, the main *kasaba* of the *kaza*, which will be discussed further in the following Chapters 6 and 8. Also, apart from the erection of new churches, several

²⁸¹ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman policy towards Christian church buildings," *Etudes balkaniques* 4 (1994), 25.

²⁸² R. Gradeva, "Ottoman policy," 25, 34-35.

²⁸³ Ibid., 27. R. Gradeva, "On Zimmis and Their Church Buildings: Four Cases from Rumeli," in *The Ottoman Empire: myths, realities, and 'black holes'*, ed. Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2006), 233.

²⁸⁴ Charalambos Mpouras, "Ζητήματα Της Εκκλησιαστικής Αρχιτεκτονικής Του 18ου Αιώνου (Topics of the 18th Century Church Architecture)," in *Εκκλησίες Στην Ελλάδα Μετά Την Άλωση 7 (Churches in Greece after the Conquest)*, ed. Ch. Mpouras and St. Mamaloukos (Thessaloniki, 2013), 139–53; Paul Hetherington, *Greek Islands. Guide to the Byzantine and Medieval Buildings and Their Art* (Quiller Press Ltd, 2002).

²⁸⁵ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Urban Texture and Architectural Styles," 504.

²⁸⁶ E. Balta, "Tsamouria," 263.

churches were repaired, and expanded, often including bells, which had previously been prohibited.²⁸⁷ It is possible that bells were added to Aghios Georgios and Aghios Dimitrios in Palia Sagiada during this later period.

The emerging, lingua franca was a common, circulating architectural imagery in many local churches in Epirus. For example, the small canopy, *hagiati/hayat*, at Aghios Georgios in Palia Sagiada closely resembles the entrance *hagiati/hayat* of Aghios Georgios Kamitsianis in Tsamanda, likely due to a 19th-century intervention. Several other churches in the region, like Metamorphosi Sotiros in Foiniki, Aghios Georgios in Kato Xechoro, and those in Zagori such as Aghios Vlassis in Megalo Papigko and Aghios Nikolaos in Pyrsogianni, also feature similar 19th-century additions of a *hayat*, in the form of a small canopy, or arched galleries at the entrances to their narthexes or main church.

Additionally, decorative details, like civic figures among the frescoes of Aghios Georgios and the lintel of Aghios Dimitrios, resemble patterns found in Zagori, such as Kapesovo, Ano Soudena, Negades, and Asprangeloi, indicating strong visual associations between the church buildings and decorative programs in Palia Sagiada and other parts of Epirus.

While there won't be a further comparison of the churches in Palia Sagiada to those with similar morphological and architectural features elsewhere, these observations highlight artistic associations between this coastal region and the mountainous areas of Epirus, particularly Zagori/Zagorochoria. Additionally, they raise the issue of patronage, including donations for the erection, repairs, and decorative program of these public spaces.

Donations for a public project, such as a church, could be a private or communal initiative. The depiction of *kyr' Memos* following the 1833 restoration among the frescoes of Aghios Georgios likely indicates such private donations by local elites, for whom there is more information about their activities in the Zagori region. Illustrative examples include Hatzimanthos Ginou, represented in the early 19th-century fresco in Aghios Georgios church in Negades; Christodoulos Marinoglou in the Evangelistria Monastery in Ano Soudena; and Ioannoutsos Karamessinis in Aghios Nikolaos in

²⁸⁷ Zafer Karaca, *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri* (Yapı Kredi, 2008); Erdem, Gazi. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Hristiyanların Sosyal ve Dinî Hayatları (1856-1876)." *Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*, Ankara (2005).

Kapesovo.²⁸⁸

Architectural patronage in the *kaza* of Filat, with origins from Zagori, is exemplified by the church of Metamorphosi Sotiros in Foiniki, renovated in 1712 by the Patsoulis family. According to I. Lambridis, the family relocated to Foiniki from Zagori in 1687, along with nine other families from Ano Soudena, due to a dispute over pasturelands.²⁸⁹ Moreover, information about a similar communal donation comes from the 19th century restorations of the Aghios Georgios in Kamitsiani by the *prouchondes* and eponymous indiv²⁹⁰iduals from Foiniki.

Another local example of a private donation of a church can be found in the abandoned settlement of Ouzdina (Ουζδίνια), situated mainly within the confines of an ancient castle near the Kalamas/Thyamis River in the *kaza* of Aydonat.²⁹¹ Out of the ten churches that once existed, six remain within the settlement and its outskirts. These churches are believed to date from the 16th or 17th centuries based on their architecture and decorative programs. They exhibit greater complexity compared to the churches in Palia Sagiada, which closely resemble local houses. Notably, the Dormition of Theotokos church in Ouzdina features a dedicatory inscription with ceramic tiles on its northern wall, indicating that Ioannis Petropsaras and the priest Galanis were the patrons of the church, which was constructed in 1609.²⁹² Examples of churches or chapels integrated into residential clusters, tied to individual or family patronage and communal relationships, reach back to late Byzantine traditions.²⁹³

The financial resources and activities of the patron, either individuals or communal,

²⁸⁸ F. Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, *The Early Modern Zagori*, 66.

²⁸⁹ People from Foiniki grazed their flocks in pasturelands in Zagori, therefore, this can be a possible explanation for the connection between Foiniki and Ano Soudena, Zagori. G. Voutsis, *To χωριό μου το Φοινίκι*, 47-49.

²⁹⁰ G. Voutsis, *To χωριό μου το Φοινίκι*, 60-61.

²⁹¹ Ouzdina had 432 residents over the 235 residents of Sagiada in the tax registrar of 1613. Balta, “Ethnic and Religious,” 375. In the Salname of 1895, Ouzdina appears with 158 residents. Kokolakis, “Η Τουρκική Στατιστική,” 269. However, this later demographic data by Kokolakis most probably refers to the neighboring settlement of *Pente Ekklesies* quite often confused with Ouzdina which was abandoned at some point in an earlier period.

²⁹² Dimitrios Konstantios, “Ουζντίνα Θεσπρωτίας: Η Ιστορική Διαδρομή, η Πολεοδομική Εξέλιξη Και Τα Μνημεία Ενός Αρχαίου Και Μεσαιωνικού Οικισμού (Ouzdina in Thesprotia: History, Development, and the Monuments of an Ancient, and Medieval Settlement),” *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society D*, no. 15 (1991): (89–104), 97.

²⁹³ Nikos D. Kontogiannis, “A Tale of Two Cities Thebes and Chalcis in a World of Change (Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries),” in *The Byzantine Neighbourhood. Urban Space and Political Action*, ed. Fotini Kondyli and Benjamin Anderson (New York: Routledge, 2022), 214–45. Also, Kemenia in Lemnos island: Fotini Kondyli, *Rural Communities*, 138.

played a pivotal role in negotiating with Ottoman authorities and commissioning ecclesiastic projects. Examples from the broader Balkan region illustrate this well. Moschopolis (now Voskopojë in southwestern Albania) thrived during the 17th-18th centuries due to trade activities. Profetes Ilyas church and the Twelve Apostles church in the Skammeliki neighborhood are two of the remaining five churches (originally twenty) funded by the coppersmiths' guild and the Moschopolites' Istanbul Society during the late 18th century.²⁹⁴ Similarly, the significant number of churches and priests in Chervena Voda in the Ruse district of Bulgaria is attributed to the economic activities of its residents and their ties to the Patriarchate in Jerusalem during the 18th century.²⁹⁵ In Mani, Peloponnese, the construction of chapels as individual endowments and part of groves or land properties was a common practice. Numerous chapels dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries are associated with specific family lineages.²⁹⁶

The churches and chapels in Palia Sagiada can be viewed as cultural products of a broader historical period during which individual wealth and influence found expression through the patronage of religious spaces, as permitted by the Ottoman system. These structures were not randomly placed but strategically located at visually prominent entrances to the settlement from the main trails, serving as focal points for religious practices and addressing the spiritual concerns of the local population. While it has been challenging to directly associate specific individuals from the settlement with the construction of the churches in Palia Sagiada, it is highly likely that these religious spaces were the result of private or communal donations—a common practice in the Epirus region.²⁹⁷ When these donations ceased, it is possible that this contributed to the abandonment or deterioration of these churches.

²⁹⁴ Evanthia Konstantinou or Tegou-Stergiadou, “Οι Ναοί Και Το Μοναστήρι Της Μοσχόπολης (The Churches and the Monastery of Moschopoli),” in *Μοσχόπολις (Moschopolis)* (Thessaloniki, 1999), 123–37.

²⁹⁵ R. Gradeva, “Villagers in international trade: The case of Chervena voda, seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth centuries,” *Oriente Moderno* 25, no. 1 (2006): 1–20; R. Gradeva, “On Zimmis and Their Church Buildings,” 227–228.

²⁹⁶ Nikolaos Drandakis, et al, *Έρευνα στην Κάτω Μάνη (Research in Kato Mane)* (Athens: Archaeological Society, 1993); Sharon E.J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²⁹⁷ There are numerous examples for communal donation and activities in the settlements of Filiates region. To illustrate, for Foiniki see: Panagiotis Mitsis, *Η Ζωή και τα Σχολεία στη Θεσπρωτία τα Χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας. Ιστορική Αναδρομή (Life and Schools in Thesprotia during Tourkokratia. Historical Overview)* (Igoumenitsa: Folklore Museum of Foiniki, 2006); for Plesvitsa/Plaisio: Ioannis Pegkas, *Πλεσίβιτσα (Plesivitsa)* (Athens: 2006).

5.6 Threshing floors (*aloni-a*) or public squares

Until the mid-20th century, a part of Palia Sagiada's population engaged in agriculture, cultivating grains such as wheat, oats, barley, and corn. Some residents even owned pairs of oxen for plowing. Oral accounts reference the existence of about ten threshing floors (*aloni-a* (αλώνι-αλώνια in plural)) in Palia Sagiada. While it's possible that threshing floors existed in the countryside surrounding the settlement near the plains, only four have been identified today, and all are located within the confines of Palia Sagiada, nearly aligned with the main trail that traverses the neighborhoods. This layout of the threshing floors prompts questions about their actual function, as threshing was a disruptive activity incompatible with residential areas. Furthermore, local memory describes the threshing floors solely as gathering spaces.

Locals typically refer to the threshing floors in Palia Sagiada by the names of individuals or in association with nearby churches. Notably, most of them are remembered more as places for communal gatherings and celebrations rather than spaces primarily used for agricultural production. Several photographs from the previous century depict festivities taking place on these threshing floors. Among them, the threshing floor close to the church of Aghios Georgios stands out, as it is still used for summer events. Consequently, it has been restored and maintained in better condition compared to the other threshing floors, which are now barely recognizable.

Positioned on natural plateaus along the edge of the slope within the settlement, these threshing floors could have been strategically located to harness the wind for more efficient grain winnowing, assuming they were indeed used for such purposes. They typically possess a circular or nearly circular layout. Fragments or larger sections of their pavement, composed of stone slates or slights, remain visible. The surface within the circle is flattened, with the pavement featuring either a more uniform arrangement of rectangular slights in various sizes or an irregular arrangement of stones. The boundaries of the circle vary, transitioning from natural rocks to open edges or short, surrounding walls (although not forming distinct clusters).

5.6.1 *The Nousias' threshing floor*

(Figure 5.25-5.26; Figure 6.1) A short distance west of the Agios Dimitrios church in the Lagkada neighborhood, you'll find the Nousias' threshing floor, which is currently intersected by a dirt road. Directly across from this threshing floor stands what remains

from the Nousias' house. The threshing floor takes on a circular shape with a diameter spanning 15 meters. Its southern boundary is defined by natural rocks that steeply descend towards the slope, while a short retaining stonewall marks its northern boundary, providing support to the rising terrain.

5.6.2 The threshing floor of the church

The threshing floor of the church is situated in the northeastern part of the Aghios Georgios church, precisely at the juncture of the church grounds and the market street in Mesomahalas. Presently, it is well-preserved, although it has been subject to modifications to accommodate events organized by the local community of the new settlement of Sagiada. Positioned at a higher level than the church's courtyard, it is accessible via stairs from the courtyard, while its northern section is nearly level with the street. The threshing floor takes on a circular shape with a diameter of 20 meters and is enclosed by a low retaining wall that borders the street and a shop. This wall likely featured some arched niches, which have been reconstructed in its current restoration. Also, the pavement has a regular arrangement with rectangular slights in various sizes, little resembling the flooring of an actual threshing floor.

The current appearance of the threshing floor near the church suggests more of a festive gathering space than a site for agricultural production. However, its proximity to the main church of Aghios Georgios and the once existing church's oil press indicates a potential historical use for agricultural purposes related to the church's finances, possibly predating the 19th century. A similar arrangement is found in the neighboring settlement of Plesivitsa/Plaisio, where the oldest church, Aghia Marina, dating back to 1610, is situated near the settlement's threshing floor and church-owned oil press, which likely served as active production areas at some point in the settlement's history.²⁹⁸

5.6.3 The Fragkos' threshing floor

The Fragkos' threshing floor is situated to the south of the main trail, directly across from the Fragkos' house and the Fragkeika sub-neighborhood in Pazara. It takes on an almost circular shape with a diameter of 15 meters (with some parts measuring 13 meters). Similar to the Nousias' threshing floor, it is situated on a natural plateau, and its southern boundary is defined by steep rock formations.

²⁹⁸ G. Pregkas, *Πλεσίβιτσα*, 281, 282.

5.6.4 The threshing floor of Aghios Spyridonas

(Figure 5.27) Northwards and relatively close to the Aghios Spyridonas church, in the Pazara neighborhood, is located the fourth remaining threshing floor of Palia Sagiada. Similar to the previous examples, this threshing floor is situated on a natural, open and airy plateau and has a circular shape with a diameter ranging from 17.5 to 18 meters. In contrast to the other threshing floors, this one is almost entirely open along its entire perimeter. Moreover, this one was not close to the residential neighborhoods, but rather towards the eastern outskirts of the settlement, maybe suggesting its actual use for graining apart from a gathering spot.

5.6.5 Remarks on the threshing floors

In the rural settlements of Thesprotia, threshing floors were important spaces related to agricultural activities, particularly in the context of grain production. Abandoned threshing floors in the region bear witness to these past agricultural endeavors. They were rarely situated either within residential areas, with some exceptions such as in the abandoned settlement of Vrachonas (Βραχωνάς); most typically they were in close proximity to grain fields. These locations were chosen for their elevated positions, exposed to the wind, which was essential for effective grain winnowing.

Similar examples of such threshing floors can still be found on the outskirts of settlements like Malouni (Μαλούνι), Kokkinia/Kokinesta (Κοκκινιά), Kato Xechoro/Xechoro Zeineli (Κάτω Ξέχωρο), Keramitsa/Çeramiça (Κεραμίτσα), and Tsamandas/Çamanta (Τσαμαντάς). It was not uncommon for multiple families to share and utilize the same threshing floor for their agricultural activities.²⁹⁹ Furthermore, these threshing floors located outside the settlements often contributed to the naming of entire natural landscapes. For instance, in the case of Kato Xechoro, the area near the neighborhood or suburb (*synoikismos*) of Agios Georgios is still referred to as ‘Aloni’ and ‘Palialono’ (Παλιάλωνο, meaning old threshing floor) today, owing to the presence of two threshing floors in that area.

Like the threshing floors in Palia Sagiada, those located near churches or chapels in other areas, have also been linked to communal gatherings for religious celebrations,

²⁹⁹ Apart from Vrachona which belonged to the *kaza* of Margariti/Margaliç (*sancak* of Preveza), the other settlements mentioned were parts of the *kaza* of Filiates/Filyat (*sancak* of Yanya) in the registration of the 1895 yearbook. Kokkinia and Kato Xechoro were free settlements/*karye*, while the rest were *çifliks*. M. Kokolakis, "Η τουρκική στατιστική," 270-271, 310.

rather than serving as primary production spaces. On the third day of Easter or during the celebration of the saint to whom the nearby church is dedicated, local residents would convene, partake in meals, and engage in dancing following the morning or evening liturgy.³⁰⁰

The association of religious and production spaces is not uncommon, and this practice has historical precedents. For instance, in Mani, this association dates back to the 13th century when threshing floors were considered private properties that contributed to the church's sustenance through donations from agricultural production.³⁰¹ Furthermore, while the use of threshing floors in the Eastern Mediterranean as spaces for local festivities has been a secondary, parallel function since antiquity, it's noteworthy that these spaces were often abandoned and repurposed depending on various changes in local socio-economic standards.³⁰²

As far as the threshing floors in Palia Sagiada, only the one near Aghios Spyridonas, situated at the western outskirts of the settlement, is remembered as a production space for the community. For the other threshing floors located near residential areas and the market street, there is no evidence to confirm whether or when they actually functioned as threshing floors before transforming into spaces for festivities. Additionally, there is no information available to suggest possible shifts in the balance between production and consumption, which might have led to a surplus of production and subsequently, the abandonment of these threshing floors.

However, contrary to local beliefs, which suggest that the threshing floors within the settlement were originally intended as public squares and only acquired the name 'aloni' due to their resemblance to actual threshing floors, it seems more plausible that these spaces underwent functional changes over time. The example of the threshing floor of Aghia Marina in Plesivitsa/Plaisio discussed above, points to an organic relationship between the church's property that provided income through the production, including an oil press and the threshing floor. Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that initially serving agricultural purposes, the threshing floors in Palia Sagiada, particularly that of Aghios Georgios, became integrated into the fabric of the revitalized

³⁰⁰ Sotirios Pappas, age 93, interview by the author, Filiates, 19/08/23.

³⁰¹ Sophia Germanidou, "Mapping agro-pastoral infrastructure in the post-Medieval landscape of Maniot settlements: The case-study of Agios Nikon (ex. Poliana), Messenia," *Messenia. J. Greek Archaeology* 3 (2018): 388, 392.

³⁰² John C. Whittaker, "Alonia: the ethnoarchaeology of Cypriot threshing floors," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12 (1999): 11, 15-16.

settlement post-earthquake, aligning with the development of new neighborhoods, the renovated market street, and the civic center. The unsanitary conditions and inconveniences they posed for public use might have been the driving force behind their inevitable transformation into a different type of communal space.

5.7 *Piadi*- the fountain

(Figure 2.28-5.29) The fountain of Palia Sagiada, referred to as '*piadi*' (πηάδι) derived from the modern Greek word 'pigadi' (πηγάδι), meaning 'well' and being a common reference name to the local fountains, is situated at the southern edge of the settlement. It marks the terminus of the Tsogkas' gully, adjacent to a natural water source. While it is relatively close to the Maritsa cemetery and the chapel of Aghia Kyriaki, it isn't directly associated with these sacred spaces. Instead, it signifies the beginning or end of the marks north-south axis trail that ascends the steep slope, passing through very steep rock formations. This trail leads first to the Aghios Nikolaos church and then directly to the central square of Aghios Georgios.

The fountain, likely erected post the 1872 earthquake, boasts a straightforward, rectangular oblong structure housing a water pipe wall alongside a reservoir (*potistra* (ποτίστρα)) for animal watering purposes. With dimensions measuring 4.26x2.78x4.00 m. (including the reservoir), it's crafted from meticulously cut stones of uniform size. Topping it is a modest cornice, consisting of a series of protruding stones, while its low roof is clad in gray stone slabs, a restoration from 2000.³⁰³

The fountain features two stone outlets for water supply, complemented by three niches positioned 0.75 m from the ground, each adorned with lintels forming a pointed arch. At the central upper section, just beneath the cornice, it's likely that there was once a rectangular stone slab, possibly bearing inscriptions such as the construction date or other pertinent information, although regrettably, this slab no longer exists.

Overall, the structure resembles a facade wall of a rural house, falling into the typical categories of fountains built in Epirus during the late Ottoman period. Numerous such fountains have been preserved within local settlements and their outskirts. Among the 58 oblong-shaped fountains in Epirus, 28 are found in Thesprotia, with 10 belonging to the same category as the *Piadi* fountain in Sagiada. Examples include the *Itia* fountain in the settlement of Lista (built in 1908), *Piadi* in Faneromeni, *Andriaksis*

³⁰³ Danai-Ioanna Maritsa, "Η αρχιτεκτονική των κρηνών της Ηπείρου στην περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας (The architecture of the fountains in Epirus during Tourkokratia)," PhD diss. (NTU Athens (2010), 76.

fountain in Plesivitsa/Plaisio (built in 1853), Mavri Vrysi in Smertos (from the 19th century), and Lazindourou fountain in Margariti (built in 1868).³⁰⁴

In addition to their practical function of providing fresh, drinkable water, Pouqueville's description of the fountain near the settlement of Keramitsa illustrates the role of fountains in the folklore process of humanizing water. This attribution of a metaphysical dimension to water is intertwined with myths and traditions, highlighting its cultural significance beyond mere utility.³⁰⁵ The traveler's mention of the niches adorning the fountains is particularly interesting. It suggests that those who drank from the fountain's water were expected to make an offering to the deities believed to inhabit the spring safeguarding the water. This ritual involved leaving 'a gift' in the niches as a gesture of reverence or gratitude, underscoring the spiritual significance attributed to these natural water sources. This gesture served as a form of apotropaic action, expressing gratitude for the water and seeking to prevent any form of disrespect that might lead to the drainage of the source.³⁰⁶

The fountain served as the primary source of drinking water in Palia Sagiada. There were no other water sources within the settlement, or any form of water channelization. Consequently, each household bore the responsibility of taking care for its own water supply, either from the streams formed in the gullies or by collecting rainwater in containers. This meant that the need for clean, drinkable water rendered into a daily routine the journey from the settlement to the fountain on its outskirts. Typically, women or young girls would transport water, carrying barrels on their shoulders or with

³⁰⁴ Danae-Ioanna Maritsa, 62-77, 323.

³⁰⁵ Vasilis Nitsiakos, *Εθνο-οικο-τοπικά*, 178.

³⁰⁶ F.C.H.L. Pouqueville. *Travels in Southern Epirus in the Years 1814-1816*, 17-18.

“(The bank of Keramitza) ornamented with an olive grove, shading a fountain of excellent water, an inestimable treasure in the burning climate, especially in Epirus [...]. Both Turks and Greeks entertain particular regard for fountains and springs, and, if they do not now, as in the days of yore, sing the praises of the nymphs, daughters of the springs and protectresses of the issuing streams, they still respect the fountains as the spontaneous gifts of some beneficent supernatural beings. Buildings are erected from which pipes discharge the pure element, for the benefit of the panting traveller; and the super abundant fluid is received into reservoirs of stone, for the use of cattle. In the buildings are always formed small niches, to receive the mysterious offerings made to *Anaraidēs*, the modern Greek name for the *Naiades*, or divinities of the springs of antiquity. At the fountain no one quenches his thirst without depositing in the niche some token of his gratitude, were it only a flower, as sprig from a bush, a pretty stone, &c. in order to turn away the evil eye, which might perhaps occasion some ailment, or disaster, or even dry up the spring altogether.”

the assistance of an animal (Figure 5.30-5.31).³⁰⁷

The location of the fountain between the settlement and the plains served those who would commute daily to work in the fields. This setup was common in other local settlements as well, where the main fountain was situated close to the production areas. For instance, the Pousi in Foiniki was used by households until 1860-70, and men would often carry water back to their homes on their way back from work in the local plains.³⁰⁸

What set this public space apart from others was the simultaneous presence of young unmarried men and women. In contrast, the presence of unmarried women in other public spaces within the settlement was carefully regulated, often under the watchful eyes of male family members. Unexpected and chance encounters between young girls and boys could even be considered disrespectful, given that marriages were typically arranged between families and discussed within the private confines of households. In contrast, the act of wedding itself was a public event involving the entire community. However, it appears that the fountain provided an alternative avenue for intimate encounters, evolving into an idyllic setting for love affairs.³⁰⁹

The placement of the fountain on the settlement's periphery or at crossroads, while primarily serving the practical need for water access, attributed the fountain with a public dimension. It set itself apart from other structures and institutions, gradually becoming a central hub for daily social interactions, thereby developing its distinctive character. The spatial, social, and symbolic roles of the fountain in Palia Sagiada exemplify how fountains can embody practical, metaphysical, and social connotations. Situated just outside the settlement, at the beginning of the main trail and surrounded by

³⁰⁷ T. Antonadou, interview by the author, Sagiada, 17/07/2022. *Women in the public space and the fountain: Interview*. Also, marriage ceremonies as public events are typical in the small communities/settlements of the region. Fragment from the interview (AK: the author; TA: T. Antonadou):

AK: Where there any places within the village that the girls were not allowed to go or pass by?

TA: Nowhere, they were not allowed to go anywhere. Like punished, they stayed in. They (the parents) were very strict back then. [...]

AK: You were unmarried when you went to this wedding with your father...

TA: Yes... 17 years old.

AK: How come? Could the unmarried girls attend a wedding or a panigyri?

TA: We were relatives. To foreign houses no... we were relatives.

[...]

TA: The young ones used to go to the piadi to bring water. From time to time, the young boys use to wait there to see the girls...

³⁰⁸ G. Voutsis, *To χωριό μου το Φοινίκι*, 43-45.

³⁰⁹ ³⁰⁹ T. Antonadou, "Women in the public space and the fountain: Interview."

fragrant trees and the cypresses of the nearby cemetery, it served the thirst and daily needs of passersby, residents, and those working in the fields. Simultaneously, it held symbolic significance in acts of purification with supernatural attributes and even emerged as a clandestine/secret rendezvous spot for forbidden romances.³¹⁰

5.8 The function of the public spaces in Palia Sagiada

This chapter explored public spaces and institutions in Palia Sagiada, presenting the remaining material evidence and reconstructing their use and impact on public daily life. Public life in Palia Sagiada unfolded on two levels: within the public spaces of the three neighborhoods and along the two main streets that traversed the settlement. These streets connected Palia Sagiada with the plains and the coastal route to the south, and with neighboring Liopsi and the outpost to the west.

Within the neighborhoods, gatherings occurred in various settings, from intimate meetings among households to communal assemblies along the pathways. These gatherings facilitated interactions ranging from private conversations to more public engagement with passersby, offering daily opportunities for leisure. Additionally, the various trails not only facilitated accessibility between households but also channeled neighborhood life into the main streets, which had a trans-regional character.

One particularly noteworthy street crossed the southern boundary of the residential neighborhoods from west to east, gathering the majority of the public spaces and institutions. The market street in Palia Sagiada, reconstructed after the 1872 earthquake, reflected efforts to modernize large Ottoman urban centers, aligning with broadly applied standards following the Tanzimat reforms. Functionally, this street served as a hub for commercial transactions, hosting a weekly, multi-regional commercial fair, a variety of services, daily leisure activities, and public gatherings. Its significance was further heightened by the presence of coffeehouses, which fostered social interactions

³¹⁰ The fountain becomes an idyllic setting for the legend of a love between Golfo and Tassos, with a tragic end that inspired the rural drama, first silent movie of the Greek cinema (1914), first written and presented in 1893 as a theatrical play in Akrata (Ακράτα), Achaia-western Peloponnese, as being the birthplace of the author and his source of inspiration.

For the fear of the mothers for mischief of the young girls by men in the way to the fountain during the 18th century: Shirine Hamadeh, "Splash and spectacle: The obsession with fountains in eighteenth-century Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 123, 141.

Federica Broilo, Shilling Brooke, and Stephenson Paul, "A dome for the water: canopied fountains and cypress trees in Byzantine and early Ottoman Constantinople," *Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium* (2016): 315-316.

and individual involvement in the public and political life.

In the realm of 19th-century urbanism and urban culture, places and practices in Palia Sagiada stand out with a pronounced, visual and functional impact. The "civic center" forged by the market street and its adjacent institutions and public areas was such a place. This central area included the main church of Aghios Georgios, repaired in 1833, and the public square, referred to as the '*aloni*,' the threshing floor of church. Additionally, currently demolished school at the church's premises, the also almost disappeared *milikon*, the hostel for the Ottoman authorities, and the Tsogka's mansion contributes to this urban landscape.

On the main street there were also positioned two more churches, Aghios Dimitrios close to the eastern entrance to the settlement, accompanied by a threshing floor, and Aghios Spyridonas on the western entrance, also accompanied with a threshing floor, while a last threshing floor was between the Aghios Georgios and Aghios Strydonas. Threshing floors, *alonia*, often associated with churches, evoke the image of agricultural activities and production within the settlement. However, in the local collective memory, these spaces are closely tied to festivities and other communal gatherings. While this research hasn't found enough evidence regarding the potential shift in their use, insights from comparative examples that underscore the dual role of threshing floors as venues for celebrations that could support such an argument. The hypothesis based on the local narratives that these areas served only as public squares, and their name '*aloni*' might have derived from their distinctive shape, could be seen in the reverse. Over time, the geometric configuration of these structures and suitability for public gatherings could have resulted in their transformation into communal meeting points, thereby gradually shifting away from their original agricultural function. This multifaceted interpretation suggests that these threshing floors played a dynamic role within the community, evolving from spaces primarily used for agricultural purposes to becoming integral to the social fabric of the settlement, hosting public events and gatherings.

Along the north-south route, following the Tsogkas' gully, religious spaces like Aghios Nikolaos and Aghia Kyriaki marked the entrance to the settlement, situated near the cemetery and the fountain on the southern outskirts.

The discussion surrounding the religious spaces in Palia Sagiada highlighted their dual function. Firstly, they served as public platforms for the display of self-identity and representation through private or communal donations, especially when located in

visually dominant positions along the main routes and crossroads of the settlement. The religious freedom and accumulation of wealth enjoyed by non-Muslim individuals in the 19th century, following the Tanzimat reforms, led to power demonstration through the construction and patronage of community-related buildings, including churches, sharing common architectural imageries.

At the same time, these structures, intimately intertwined with nature, are manifestations of the deeply ingrained religious beliefs of the community. Places of worship, such as churches, the cave of Aghia Paraskevi, or the smaller-scale *eikonismata* and offerings, are positioned along the primary trails and routes to and from the settlement. These sacred spaces often coincide with crossroads or serve as boundary markers between the settlement and its surrounding countryside. The connection between these religious structures and the natural landscape and topography is reciprocal. Their location bestows upon them a metaphysical dimension, as they are seen as guardians, protecting the settlement from “evil forces.” Nature itself is also humanized in this context, with instances like crossed trees and worshiping caves participating in the general sacred landscape.

Lastly, situated just beyond the settlement's borders, at the beginning of the primary trail near the church of Aghia Kyriaki and the cemetery, the fountain, known as the '*piadi*,' played a crucial role in the daily life of the entire community. Serving as the sole source of potable water, its strategic placement on the outskirts or at crossroads endowed it with a distinctly public character beyond the confines of Palia Sagiada. The *piadi* fulfilled the thirst and daily needs of both travelers and permanent residents. Simultaneously, it held symbolic importance, associated with acts of purification and endowed with supernatural attributes. Lastly, as a place that served the unofficial meetings of the unmarried couples, it acquired one of the most intriguing identities from the other public spaces of the settlement.

The rural settlement of Palia Sagiada embodied both an urban and sacred landscape, two facets that existed in parallel during the late Ottoman period and continue to shape the local collective identity today. This coexistence reflects a complex relationship between continuity, innovation, and the quest for self and community definition, that said, a heterogeneity that constituted a profound expression of the late Ottoman urban culture.

Chapter 6

TO SEE AND TO BE SEEN: PRIVATE AND PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS

Differentiated from daily practices and routines, the public and private spaces of Palia Sagiada underwent transformations during special occasions, known as *giorti/eorti-es* (γιορτή/εορτή-γιορτές/εορτές in plural) and *panigyri-a* (πανηγύρι-πανηγύρια in plural).³¹¹ During these festivities, the relationship between people and physical space changed both quantitatively and qualitatively.³¹² Larger numbers of people, forming various groups, circulated and congregated within the established public areas of the settlement or transformed private spheres into celebratory nodes within the neighborhoods. These transformations lasted for days and nights and involved various activities and multi-sensory experiences, all of which influenced the architectural space while also taking advantage of the physicality of the settlement.

Celebrations have been a religious and cultural phenomenon in the Eastern Mediterranean since antiquity, prevailing in local versions throughout Greece and other areas in the Balkans. They preserve and demonstrate impressive similarities to their ancient ritual and celebratory counterparts.³¹³ Mainly being rituals, the nature of the celebrations has been a fascinating field in the studies of social anthropology. The festivities compose social mechanisms that include old practices, yet always have the potential to activate new ones.³¹⁴ Especially in the context of the late Ottoman period,

³¹¹ The word ‘*eorti*’ (εορτή) is also pronounced as ‘*giorti*’ (γιορτή) after the linguistic feature of synizesis.

³¹² ‘How many?’, ‘Who?’, ‘Where?’, ‘What?’, ‘How long?’ Jan Gehl and Birgitte Svarre, *How to study public life*. Vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Island press, 2013), 13-17.

³¹³ For interesting comparisons: Martin Persson Nilsson, *Ελληνική λαϊκή θρησκεία*, translated by Ioannis Kakridis (Athens: Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Φιλολόγου, 1979); Vasilis Platanos, *Τα ελληνικά λαϊκά πανηγύρια* (The Greek folk celebrations/panigyria) (Athens: Filippotis Publications, 2002).

³¹⁴ Insights on related ideas by Durkheim and Latour: J. Leal, “Festivals, group making, remaking and unmaking,” *Ethnos*, 81(4) (2016): 595-596.

For an example regarding how the rural celebrations in ancient Greece became gradually civic events: M.P. Nilsson, *Ελληνική λαϊκή θρησκεία*, 94-98.

which is the focus of this work, the new lifestyle, identities and self-representation could find expression through the various festivities in the Ottoman urban world.

In the Greek language, the two words for celebrations, *eortes/giortes*, and *panigyria*, are often associated with each other. Since the Byzantine period, these terms have been linked to the Christian cult and have various meanings or contents. 'Eortes/giortes' are joyous events, ceremonies, or celebrations commemorating significant public or private events. They may occur on the occasion of a particular event or refer to a specific day dedicated to the worship of a saint or honoring a great religious event. Additionally, *eortes/giortes* may have personal significance as they honor the day dedicated to the saint whose name someone bears.³¹⁵

The term '*panigyria*', originally referred to general assemblies in the ancient Greek context, have been related to the celebration of a religious anniversary with the gathering of the faithful around the church and their participation in a variety of entertaining and customary events; generally, the word connotes a lively group.³¹⁶ While there is a common understanding regarding the religious significance of both *panigyria* and *eortes/giortes*, these festivities also had a civic aspect. They typically included church rituals such as vigils, liturgy, and litany, as well as economic and entertainment activities, while often featured commercial fairs, further enriching the cultural and social dimensions of the event.³¹⁷

Indeed, the economic activities associated with *panigyria* were often extensive and held significant importance for both local and interregional markets. This tight interrelation between *panigyria* and socioeconomic identity underscores the multifaceted nature of these events. As previously discussed in Chapter 5, the mention of *panayır* or *emporopanigyris* highlighted the economic dimensions of these gatherings, distinguishing them from simple celebratory expressions. These events served as important hubs for commercial transactions, reflecting the economic vitality

³¹⁵ “Γιορτή (Giorti)”, Portal of the Greek language – Dictionary of standard Modern Greek, last accessed 29/03/2024, https://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BF%CF%81%CF%84%CE%AE&dq=

³¹⁶ “Πανηγύρι (Panigyri)”, Portal of the Greek language – Dictionary of standard Modern Greek, last accessed 29/03/2024, https://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/search.html?lq=%CF%80%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B7%CE%B3%CF%8D%CF%81%CE%B9&dq=

³¹⁷ Gordana Blagojević, "Πανηγύρια στη Σερβία απο το Μεσαίωνα μέχρι σήμερα (Panigyria in Serbia from Medieval period until today)," *Λαογραφία Δελτίον της Ελληνικής λαογραφικής εταιρείας* 43 (2017): 491-497.

and interconnectedness of the communities involved.

In Palia Sagiada, there was not any *emporopanigyris* – commercial fair – taking place; yet plenty of *panigyria* and *eortes/giortes* – celebrations, played a vital role in the social fabric of the community. They held a multi-social character, involving a diverse array of participants such as hosts, guests, vendors, musicians, and local authorities.

Both private and public celebrations were annual rituals that served to reorganize public life and reinforce social identities within the community.³¹⁸ Religious duties were intertwined with entertainment, promenades, and social interaction, contributing to the reaffirmation and occasional renegotiation of communal identity. Additionally, these activities helped delineate the community's boundaries in relation to neighboring settlements.³¹⁹

This chapter aims to delve into the various celebrations in Palia Sagiada, exploring their significance in reshaping both private and public spaces within the settlement. By examining the tangible and intangible components of these festivities and considering the relationship between physical space and sensory experiences, we can possibly uncover their sociopolitical dimensions.

These celebrations, as diverse expressions, embody rural traditions deeply rooted in religion, gratitude, and prayer towards God and the saints, shared by those of the Christian Orthodox faith. Additionally, they serve as markers for the changing seasons, which significantly impact agro-pastoral activities—the primary livelihood for many. Beyond their religious significance, these events also highlight political and social representation, transforming them into civic events linked with urban life. Thus, while religious festivities have always been a fundamental aspect of rural culture, passed down through generations, they also serve as urban expressions at certain historical junctures. These occasions become platforms for demonstrating power and wealth, celebrating national or personal heritage, and engaging in politics.

In the late Ottoman context, public events served multiple purposes, including representing specific ethnoreligious groups, thereby contributing to individual and communal identity and cohesion.³²⁰ The selection and intentional design of public

³¹⁸ They organized the public life throughout the 19th century in the Ottoman world. Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: the rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 154; J. Leal, "Festivals, group making, remaking and unmaking," 596.

³¹⁹ V. Nitsiakos, *Εθνο-οικο-τοπικά*, 191.

³²⁰ An example from late 19th century Crete: Antonis Anastasopoulos, "Public Celebrations and Ceremonies in the Late Ottoman Cretan Press: Building a Collective Identity among the Christian

spaces within the settlement to host these events were crucial, facilitating participation and enabling both individual and communal expressions. This design not only hosted the celebration but also influenced the dynamics among the different social groups involved. The civic nature of these events was intertwined with both the permanent architectural elements and the temporary arrangements made for the occasion.

The research that follows explores the connection between the architecture of the space and the ways of celebrating in Palia Sagiada. The architectural spaces of the settlement chosen by its residents for the partaking of the celebrations together with customs still prevailing today and preserved by the descendants those lived in the old settlement, are the main sources for this discussion. Additionally, scarce yet invaluable records from celebrations in neighboring settlements and the regional center of Filat/Filiates enrich our understanding of the unique identities of these celebrations in Palia Sagiada.

As these practices have transcended historical thresholds to reach the present, there is an attempt in this work to trace and connect information primarily from the late Ottoman period. This analysis reveals how continuities and emerging urban concepts coexist, guided by the spatial organization and transforming both the public and private realms of settlements: the celebrations in Palia Sagiada exhibited both rural and civic characteristics, mirroring developments and celebratory expressions seen in larger Ottoman centers.

Although vivid narratives recount life in Palia Sagiada during the early 20th century, particularly the 1920s and 1930s, and contemporary accounts reflect the reconstruction of community identity, questions arise about the diachronic nature of these depictions. Specifically, to what extent does daily life during the period when Palia Sagiada was part of the Kingdom of Greece—reflecting an evolution in the use of space—accurately represent life during the late Ottoman era, after the settlement was rebuilt following the devastating 1872 earthquake? This section addresses these questions by relying on historical records, making comparisons with similar cases, and referencing narratives from 19th-century travelers.

Population," 142-159; examples from Rusçuk/Ruse: Svetla Ianeva, "Between tradition and modernity-Entertainment in Late Ottoman Rusçuk," 121-141, in *Entertainment Among the Ottomans*, ed. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet (Brill, 2019).

6.1 Private and public celebrations in Palia Sagiada

Descendants of those who once lived in Palia Sagiada still possess objects and recall stories related to their *eortes/giortes*, or private family celebrations held in the old settlement. These objects—ranging from religious icons and wedding gifts to dowry chests and dowry contracts—are treasured not only as keepsakes but also as vessels of familial tradition, preserving the continuity of old customs to this day.

One notable example involves an icon of Aghios Nikolaos owned by the siblings Kaiti, Aggeliki, and Panagiotis Gkogkos, which was inherited from their grandparents, Vasilios Gkogkos (born 1901) and Charikleia Alexiou (Figure 3.23). This portable icon, originating from Vasilios' parents, Ilyas Gkogkos (born 1862), occupies a special place in the household. It is revered as the protector saint of the family, even though none of the family members bear the name Nikolaos—a more common practice. Remarkably, this icon is considered miraculous, underscoring its significance within the family.

According to Ms. Kaiti Gkogkou, a notable miracle involving the icon occurred during WWII. As Charikleia and Vasilios were escaping from Palia Sagiada, Charikleia carried the icon in a sack. When a bomb exploded nearby, miraculously, she was unharmed. She then carried the icon on her shoulders, traveling on foot along the trails to an outpost, where she awaited debarkation to Corfu, specifically to Aghios Mattheos. Upon the family's return from Corfu in the early 1950s, they reinstated a grand celebration in honor of their patron saint, Aghios Nikolaos. Every year on December 6th, the official feast day of Aghios Nikolaos according to the Greek Orthodox calendar, the family participates in the morning liturgy, offering stamped bread adorned with Christian symbols to the church. Following the service, they open their home and serve delights (*lokum/ λουκούμια*) to all who visit to partake in the celebration.³²¹

Private celebrations in Palia Sagiada also included events dedicated to the patron saint of individual family members, particularly those who shared a name with the household's male members. On such name days, it was customary for nearly everyone in the settlement to visit the home of the person being celebrated to offer

³²¹ Kaiti, Aggeliki, and Panagiotis Gkogkos,” interview by the author, Sagiada, 04/08/2022.

“This icon of aghios Nikolaos belonged to the mother of my grandfather (Vasilis Gkogkos, born in 1901). On the 23rd of August, when Sagiada was bombed by the Germans, my grandmother put the icon in a sack. The bomb fell next to her... nothing happened to her. She took the icon. They left and stayed for three years in Corfu. [...] The icon belongs to the family. The icon should not leave the house. It became a family celebration, a tradition. Every year, on the 6th of December, the celebration day of the saint, we make “prosforo” (offering bread) and we offer “loukoumi.”

congratulations and best wishes. Men and women celebrated separately, as women visited the celebrated household in the evening hours.³²²

Moreover, households in Palia Sagiada celebrated significant life events tied to family members, primarily associated with Christian religious rituals such as birth and baptism, weddings, and funerals. Weddings, in particular, were elaborate affairs, lasting a whole week and featuring dancing, singing, and various customs. These celebrations typically took place in both the bride's and groom's homes.³²³

One notable custom that symbolized the union of the two families and often resembled a public event was the transfer of the bride's dowry from her family's home to the couple's new residence, usually the groom's familial home. Central to this custom was a dowry chest, atop which were placed all the clothes and household items the bride's family had prepared for her as part of the dowry contract (Figure 6.2). On the day of the dowry transfer, the bride would stand next to her dowry chest as guests celebrated around her. When the groom's family arrived, they would joyously take possession of the dowry and carry it to its new home, parading through the neighborhoods and public spaces of the settlement.

Notably, another example that bridges old wedding customs with present-day memory within the Anastasiadis family revolves around a dowry chest (Figure 3.24). The female members of the family are tasked with safeguarding their grandmother Anna Feidi's dowry chest, in which she sought refuge during her wedding day due to feelings of shame toward her husband Michalis Anastasiadis (b. 1904). To honor Anna's memory, the girls incorporate the same chest into their own wedding celebrations, using it to store their dowries in their respective homes. As a result, the chest circulates among the female cousins, preserving a tradition that connects generations within the family.³²⁴

Similar to the dowry day, during the final day of the wedding ceremony, families, neighbors, and friends, having gathered for feasting, dancing, and merriment at the bride's or groom's house, would then move collectively on foot to the church where the religious ceremony took place. Such as during the dowry procession, the excited and engaged group of participants was marching and dancing accompanied by music, and

³²² G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 229.

³²³ Ibid., 229-30.

³²⁴ Anna Anastasiadi, "My grandparents Anna and Michos Anastasiadis", interview by the author, 04/08/2022.

songs making a noticeable impact as it crossed various trails and the main street.³²⁵

A liminal condition between a public and private celebration occurred when individuals with the same name as the honored saint of the neighborhood or settlement were celebrating. At such times, private household celebrations could transform into public occasions, and vice versa. For example, one of the main public celebrations in Palia Sagiada was the feast of Aghios Georgios, the patron saint of the settlement to whom the main church in Mesomahalas was dedicated. This celebration did not have a fixed date but was based on the lunar calendar, typically occurring one week after the Easter celebrations and the period of fasting during Great Lent. On the eve of the celebration day, a litany around the settlement with the icon of the saint took place, while during the day, after the morning liturgy, there was a feast. This feast, featuring music and dances that lasted until late hours, was held in the threshing floor of the church, the public space next to the church's courtyard, opposite the Tsogkas' wealthy house and the market street.³²⁶ The centrality of the location and very official nature of occasion must have rendered the feast honoring Aghios Georgios into an important public event (Figure 6.5-6.8).

One can also imagine that during the morning liturgy, households with a male member named Georgios/Giorgos would be represented by offering stamped bread for blessing, similar to the example of the icon of Aghios Nikolaos for the Gkogkos family. Later, concurrently with the public feast at the church, these households would have hosted their own smaller feasts for visiting kin and neighbors. Thus, the celebration transitioned from public spaces to private ones, or conversely, the celebrating household could participate in the central celebrations in the main square, reshuffling centralities and blurring the lines between public and private spheres.

In addition to the celebration of Agios Georgios, in Palia Sagiada, Christmas on the 25th of December, the Dormition of Mary/Theotokos on the 15th of August, Easter, and the commemorations of the saints to whom the churches of the settlement were dedicated (Aghios Nikolaos, Aghios Dimitrios, Aghios Spyridonas, Aghia Kyriaki, Aghia Paraskevi) held great significance as collective events and celebrations involving the entire community.

³²⁵ These customs and religious celebrations both for a family's patron saint and during marriage are still vivid and typical in the region.

³²⁶ Michalis Pasiakos had rescued and preserved the 19th century icon of aghios Georgios; Charles Stewart, "Magic Circles-An Approach to Greek Ritual," 91-101.

Historical accounts vividly depict the celebrations during Easter and Christmas, which included dances and music. For three entire days, "the clarinet played loudly at Nousias' threshing floor, drawing the entire village together." (A.E.PC. Fig.28). Those who did not partake in the dance, primarily women and children, gathered around and watched, a custom known as 'sairi.' Following tradition, women danced throughout the night immediately after the Resurrection.³²⁷ Moreover, on Christmas day, people visited their neighbors and relatives, exchanging treats, a custom already attested to since the 19th century. This tradition resembled the private celebrations when households were open to guests; however, on Christmas day, everyone participated in the festivities.³²⁸

Music and dance were central components of the feast in Palia Sagiada. Interestingly, historical records shed light on the commissioning of a music companionship for these events and the type of music played during the celebrations. Until 1878, the community council of Palia Sagiada commissioned the music project to the companionship of Tsiolis Fakos from Veltsista – Ioannina (Βελτίστα)). This companionship used instruments such as the clarinet, violin, laouto (similar to an oud), and tambourine. This combination of instruments was innovative for their neighbors in Plesivitsa, who were accustomed to the sounds of the tambouras, floghera (similar to a flute), laouto, tambourine, and davul. Taking advantage of a disagreement between Tsiolis Fakos and the organizers in Palia Sagiada, representatives from Plesivitsa invited the musicians to their celebration during the Easter festivities of that year, establishing a yearly collaboration. Those celebrating in Plesivitsa were so delighted with the clarinet that they placed banknotes within the mouth of the clarinet while dancing as a treat for the musicians.³²⁹

Regarding the participants of the celebrations, men, women, and children from any social class were involved, with the events also being open to foreigners. However, physical proximity did not always translate to social mixing and direct interactions. For instance, young unmarried women often danced separately from men. Interactions between different genders were more common among married individuals who were

³²⁷ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 253.

³²⁸ "Εθίμα Χριστουγέννων (Christmas customs)", *Εστία* (newspaper Estia), 1891, 397.

³²⁹ I. Pregkas, *Πλεσιβίτσα*, 198.

relatives or who came together to arrange marriages.³³⁰ Lastly, it seems that there is no information available regarding the active participation of Muslim neighbors in the celebrations in Palia Sagiada for entertainment. The only testimony refers to the presence of the Muslim guard, ağa Soulio Sourtis from Konispol, around the beginning of the 20th century. Although he enjoyed the celebrations, he was armed and responsible for safeguarding the event.³³¹ Most possibly, the presence of Soulio Sourtis was related to the general suspicion of the Muslim authorities on the Christian events or the protection of the event after payment, and not to his wish to participate.

6.2 Local events as multi-sensory displays in the press of the 1930s

The sensory and spatial dimensions of the celebrations in the region were so delightful that they always held a place in the newspaper *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), which was issued in Filiates during the 1930s by the journalist and its director, Georgios F. Vougidis. Vougidis, who was a local, moved for a while to Istanbul, and after his return to Filiates that year, he became particularly active in the political and intellectual life of the region.³³² Without missing the entertaining cultural events in the various settlements around Filiates, he made sure to document his impressions in his newspaper, sharing his experiences of mingling among the various local communities. The events were understood and remembered through their sensory displays, space, smells, sounds, and tastes.

During that period, 17 years after the integration with the Kingdom of Greece, the region was part of the newly established prefecture of Thesprotia. However, despite the undoubtedly crucial administrative changes, the ethnoreligious composition remained the same as it was during the late Ottoman period. Muslim Chams, Christians, and the few Jewish residents still lived in the local settlements, practicing their own customs and cultural expressions. Although the majority of the newspaper articles focus on the

³³⁰ T. Antonadou, "About the celebrations and women," interview by the author, Sagiada, 26/07/2022.

³³¹ Nikolas Koros (b. 1890) in G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 67, 274.

³³² Georgios F. Vougidis, born in 1889 in the settlement of Giromeri in the kaza of Filat/Filiates, moved to Istanbul with his parents, who owned a bakery there. He studied at the Μεγάλη του Γένους Σχολή (Fener Rum Erkek Lisesi) and later had a successful career in Istanbul as a journalist. Working for journals such as *Άνω Κάτω* (Ano Kato), he managed the satirical column of *Φρου φρου* (Frou Frou) and edited the satirical journal *Καθρέπτης* (Kathreptis). Upon his return to Filiates in 1930, he founded and directed the region's first newspaper, named "*Θεσπρωτία*" (Thesprotia), printed in Filiates.

Some information about the activities of Vougidis in Istanbul: Delis H., Vougidis, G.F. 1920: *Ano Kato: Satirikon Imerologion / Άνω Κάτω: Σατυρικών Ημερολόγιον*. Istanbul, *Tipois Estias / Τύποις Εστίας*. <http://medusa.libver.gr/jspui/handle/-123456789/6675>

Christian events, there is also information on the Muslim celebrations, providing intriguing insights into celebrations that predated the 1930s and, though somewhat changed, the Christian ones continue to this day.

Particular emphasis is given to the relaxed, joyful atmosphere, framed by music, dances, abundant food and drink, performances, and a special attention to personal grooming and spatial beautification for hosting the celebration. These practices could extend for up to three days or even overlap with the occasion of another celebration, offering a very cheerful vibe far from the daily routine.

Some illustrative examples come from several local settlements around Filiates. In Plaisio/Plesivitsa, during the preparations for the Easter celebrations, the women of the households used to whitewash the courtyard walls with lime mortar to welcome guests. On Easter day, everyone dressed in their finest attire and gathered in the settlement square for events. Musicians from elsewhere played both local and European music, encouraging everyone to dance. While men and women danced in separate circles, the entire community participated in the festivities in the central square. During Easter 1931, which coincided with the celebration of Aghia Marina, Plaisio/Plesivitsa was especially lively during those days.³³³

In the settlement of Foiniki, the celebrations took on a strong performative perspective, incorporating more than just dances but also other interesting sub-events. Organized by the community council, some locals dressed up as street vendors from Istanbul, selling *kete* (*keten*) *halva* on portable decks. They adapted their voices to emulate street vendors and shouted for their products in Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, and English.³³⁴

Although it is not known whether this creativity for such a performative representation is a post-Ottoman novelty, as this event was described in 1932, or if it had already been an established form of entertainment, the reproduction of a micrograph of the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, suggests an audience that was very familiar with the environment of the Ottoman capital. Individuals from Foiniki, with extensive activities in Istanbul and other large Ottoman and Western urban centers since mainly the second half of the 19th century, brought new practices to the local festivities.³³⁵

³³³ “Πασχαλινά γλέντια στο Πλαίσιο” (Easter celebrations in Plaisio), *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), A, 20, 15/05/1931, 3.

³³⁴ “Το Πάσχα στα χωριά” (Easter in the villages), *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), B, 72, 13/05/1932, 2-3.

³³⁵ There will be a more extensive mention on the activities of the circulating individuals in Chapter 8.

The mobility of the events and the participants, sometimes quite feverish, resulted in non-casual routes within and outside the celebrating settlement. The excited companionships would fulfill their religious duties during the morning hours of the celebration day, then set a small morning feast outside the church, proceeding to the settlement's main square if the celebrating church was on its outskirts. Moreover, after returning from the church, the companionships would visit the houses whose patriarch's name was after the celebrating saint, and then continue reveling in the square.³³⁶ Especially when households held their private celebration that day, they received guests with small treats throughout the day, while in the evening, they would prepare a proper dinner for the closest relatives. The custom of celebrating a patron saint is known as '*pappoudiko*' (παππουδικό/ παππούς means 'grandfather'), denoting that the custom was passed down to them from their grandfathers. Such customs, also common elsewhere in Greece, were described by Vougidis, taking place in many settlements of the region around Filiates during his 1930s newspaper articles, such as Faneromeni, Plaisio, Xechoro Zeyneli, and Foiniki (figure 6.4).³³⁷

Departing from the households and although this tradition gradually disappeared in most of the local settlements, the custom of playing music and dancing around the graves during the Easter days used to take place during the 1930s in various settlements of region as well, such as in Filiates and Plesivitsa (Figure 6.3).³³⁸ Instead of circulating among the houses of the living, the musicians and the initiated circulate among the deceased. This custom, dating back to the 18th century according to oral tradition, is now exclusively associated with the settlement of Giromeri. The locals of Giromeri claim the custom as their own and continue to practice it, believing that they celebrate the resurrection together with their departed loved ones.³³⁹

The more prominent the position of the honored saint in the lives of the faithful, the larger the organization of the event and the turnout from neighboring areas. For example, great attention was given to the celebration of Aghia Triada (Holy Trinity),

³³⁶ "Το Πάσχα στα χωριά" (Easter in the villages), *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), B, 72, 13/05/1932, 2-3; I. Pregkas, *Πλεσίβιτσα*, 198.

³³⁷ G. Voutsis, *Το χωριό μου το Φοινίκι*, 133; I. Pregkas, *Πλεσίβιτσα*, 197. Another example with similar celebrations from around Greece is during the celebration of May in Makrinita, Pelion. V. Platanos, *Τα ελληνικά λαϊκά πανηγύρια*, 19-24.

³³⁸ "Το Πάσχα στα χωριά" (Easter in the villages), *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), B, 72, 13/05/1932, 2-3.

³³⁹ *Enthymion- Memento*: Directed by Nikos Ziogas and written by N. Ziogas and M. Chrysromallis, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt14972654/>

the protector of Filat/Filiates. This celebration was a more crowded and multifaceted expression compared to events in smaller settlements. Filat/Filiates served as the main *kasaba* – the administrative center of the *kaza* – and often authorities were present, lending the event a more official character. In contrast to events in smaller settlements, celebrations in Filat/Filiates had to be implemented in a broader area with more complex public spaces and more communities represented.

The information from the local press about the event that took place in June 1931 in Filiates for Aghia Triada helps to visualize various aspects of the successful celebration. The public square of Filiates was bustling with people, described by Vougidis as "like a meadow with different types of flowers." An altar was prepared for prayer and discussions, adorned with garlands and lambs, creating an atmosphere reminiscent of a fairytale. Various communities, such as those from Foiniki, were strongly represented, with individuals dressed in luxurious attire. The local philharmonic band played music that evoked memories of Corfu, and the festivities included tango and Greek dances, as well as abundant food and drinks, continuing throughout the day until late in the evening.³⁴⁰

Coinciding religious events for various faiths could also occur, as many religious celebrations were based mainly on the moon calendar, requiring extra arrangements for the practicalities of the festivities. An illustrative example is the non-convenient market days in Filiates during 1935 falling together with the celebrations of Aghios Spyridonas, Christmas, Bayram, and New Year, all taking place on Wednesdays. As the festivities lasted more than one day, the open flea market in Filiates, which typically occurred on Thursdays, was temporarily moved to Mondays for three weeks.³⁴¹ The way the calendars and religious practices organized public life in multicultural societies is a rich field of research.³⁴² However, there is very limited information on how the present-day prefecture of Thesprotia functioned as a multicultural space and further research is needed.

Indeed, from the limited available information, it appears that the custom of circulating from settlement to settlement, or from household to household, was not exclusive to Christian celebrations. During "Ramazani" (Ramazan/Ramadan), for 30

³⁴⁰ "Η εορτή της Αγίας Τριάδος" (The celebration of Aghia Triada/ Holy Trinity), *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), A, 24, 10/06/1931, 1.

³⁴¹ "Ραμαζάνι", "Αι ημέραι αγοράς", 1.

³⁴² S. Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: the rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880*, 154.

nights or "one moon-time," Muslim houses were open for visits, providing opportunities for shared meals, coffee, and conversations (*muhabet*). Vougidis, in his newspaper, vividly describes the practice in Filiates, guiding us to imagine the light from oil lamps, transforming Muslim households into illuminated spots within the darkness; mosques were particularly welcoming during this time.³⁴³

It's fascinating to observe the similarities between the early 19th-century account by Pouqueville and the descriptions of celebrations in Palia Sagiada and its neighboring settlements during the early 20th century. The early 19th century Pouqueville's account of a religious celebration, a *panegyris* he attended in Delvinaki (Delvina, presently in Albania), mirrors a comparable atmosphere and sense of a bustling, vibrant space like the one described for the celebrations in Palia Sagiada and the neighboring settlements. The celebration in Delvinaki was a space divided along gender lines but not among social classes, being open to guests. Individuals wore their best clothes, looking at their best and engaged in day and night dancing. Especially, when the entertainment switched from daily to nocturnal and fires and torches were on, the extra celebration of a wedding was added to the general feast.³⁴⁴

The blending of private and public spaces during the 19th to early 20th century festivities in the region around the *kaza* of Filat, later the municipality of Filiates, created a sense of liminality where distinctions between the two became blurred. House doors, along with the public spheres of the celebrations, were left open to uninvited guests, emphasizing a spirit of community and hospitality. This openness of private households to the public space of the settlement, accompanied by music, dance, and communal representation, transformed the material spheres of the settlements into intangible rituals of celebration. Moving through the settlement's streets, visiting

³⁴³ "Ραμαζάνι", "Αι ημέραι αγοράς" (Ramadan, The market days), *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), E, 258, 04/12/1935, 1.

³⁴⁴ F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, "Panegyris _religious celebrations in Delvinaki," in *Travels in Southern Epirus in the Years 1814-1816*, 11.

"It was on the 15th of May, 1806, the anniversary of the Ascension, that I first descended into Delvinaki; and the inhabitants then holding a panegyris, were all in their best faces and dresses. [...] their festal ceremonies, celebrated not by those of the town only, but the husbandmen, shepherds, and labourers of the environs, with their wives and children. In one corner of the open market-place parties of the handsomest female Epiotes, dressed in white woolen robes, the head covered with yellow shawls, displayed their skill and grace in the romeika, or customary Greek dance. In another corner were similar groups of young men, adorned with varieties of field flowers. [...] but the dancers were interrupted when the sun being set, the stars began to appear, and fires and torches or resinous trees were lighted up, in honour of the festival, and also for the celebration of a wedding. [...]"

various households, and participating in the main event created a physical expression of the atmosphere or musical tone that permeated everywhere.³⁴⁵

Private spheres also intermingled with the public celebrations not only when it came to the visits of the companionships to the households, or of the neighbors from house to house when there was a special occasion. The public celebration was also an opportunity for the private affairs to occur and become official, such as engagements and marriages. Then the cheerful atmosphere was doubled. Especially when the marriages were taking place between families from different settlements, the representatives, kin relatives, of the one or the other side would make their loud appearance in the public celebration, being lavishly hosted and showing off their happiness, their pride for the event, and maybe wealth, extending the already dancing, eating, and drinking.

Spatial centralities were switching focus based on the happy celebrating companionships that were circulating among the public and private spaces, transferring their entertaining practices of dancing, eating, and dinking in various spots within and outside the settlements. Particularly when visualizing also such practices taking place during spring and summer, the blossoming Mediterranean nature was participating in the general bucolic sensorial experience.

6.3 Group-making in the late 19th century local celebrations

The local communities showed a particular care to represent their settlements in celebrations when the local authorities were present. The celebration that was taking place in the monastery of Giromeri, the center of the Patriarchal Exarchate, was a lavished event also during the 19th century. Pilgrims coming from afar for the event on the 15th of August each year, of the Dormition of Panagia, Virgin Mary, the monastery's patron saint, would stay overnight in designated buildings or rooms provided by the monastery, specifically allocated for each community. The visitors would stay in rooms, *oda*, associated with their respective settlements: Sagiada's visitors in Sagiada's *oda*, Sideri's in Sideri's *oda*, Plesivitsa/Plesio's in Plesio's *oda*, and so on. There was even a Turkish *oda*, indicating that Muslims also participated in the celebrations.³⁴⁶

It is not know since when this practice has been part of the monastery celebrations,

³⁴⁵ S. Robinson, *Architecture is a verb*, 141.

³⁴⁶ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 100.

however, similar practices are observed in other parts of the Balkans at least during the 19th century, such as Serbia, where buildings on ecclesiastic property, financed by family groups, were used to host families and their relatives visiting the monastery, serving as a demonstration of the family's power.³⁴⁷

A more urban expression of a celebration, yet this time carried a clear political symbolism, was occasioned by the inauguration of the church of Aghia Triada (the Holy Trinity) in the *kasaba* of Filat/Filiates in 21st of July 1885. The event had received notable attention by the newspaper ΣΙΩΝ (Sion) that year. The article portrayed the celebration as an honoring ceremony after the building of a Christian church so much needed for the locals. The article nurtured a sense of national pride, common origins, and community bonding.³⁴⁸ The construction of the church held significant importance for the local Christians, serving their religious practices and reinforcing their representation within the communities of Filiates. Local donors funded the undertaking and its inauguration turned into a lavished event, which was the outcome of collaboration between ecclesiastic authorities responsible for the local Christian communities and the Ottoman administration (Figure 8.8-8.10).

Local communities sent their representatives and priests for the ceremony of the inauguration conducted by the Metropolitan of Ioannina, Sofronios, the Bishop of Paramythia Ioannis, the exarch of Giromeri, Parthenios, and many other priests from around the province. The Metropolitan gave a speech emphasizing religious devotion and justice, while he delivered a letter with his impressions to his friendly affiliated journalist of ΣΙΩΝ.³⁴⁹ Having the press at his disposal, the Metropolitan made sure that he would spread the knowledge emphasizing the glorious event and the need of the church for the local Christians, that all this time were lacking 'because of the conditions of the times,' implying the Ottoman rule.³⁵⁰

It is likely that the Muslim community of Filiates also attended, as oral testimonies from the 1900s suggest that the two communities participated in each other's

³⁴⁷ G. Blagojević, "Πανηγύρια στη Σερβία," 494.

³⁴⁸ A. Anastasopoulos, "Public Celebrations and Ceremonies in the Late Ottoman Cretan Press: Building a Collective Identity among the Christian Population," in *Entertainment Among the Ottomans*, ed. Ebru Boyar (Brill, 2019), 158.

³⁴⁹ Georgios Kotsis, *Φιλιάτες. Ιστορικά και λαογραφικά στοιχεία* (Filiates. Historical and folklore elements) (Ioannina: Ektypotiki Ipeirou, 2021), 73-74.

³⁵⁰ [...] στερουμένων παντελώς εκκλησίαν καιρικών ένεκα περιστάσεων. G. Kotsis, *Φιλιάτες*, 74; A. Anastasopoulos, "Public Celebrations and Ceremonies", 143, 155.

celebrations. They would visit each other's houses, Muslim authorities protected the Christian celebrations from bandits, and local Muslims even helped with church preparations for the ceremonies.³⁵¹

The national significance of the inauguration, evidenced by the diverse crowd that included Christians and their communal representatives from the entire region, as well as the symbolic message conveyed to the Christian community through the construction of a church in the *kasaba* of the *kaza*, prompted measures from the local Ottoman authorities to prevent unrest. Subsequently, from the inauguration of the church onwards, an annual celebration of the Holy Spirit and Aghia Triada was established, occurring on the Monday seven weeks after Easter. Additionally, any organized events were mandated to take place on Tuesdays to ensure fewer attendees due to their work commitments.³⁵² This altered custom, celebrating Aghia Triada on Tuesdays instead of Mondays lasted in Filiates until the beginning of the 21st century.

The inauguration of Aghia Triada involved ecclesiastic authorities, community representatives, various groups of people, and the tolerance of the Ottoman state. This event served to connect the public with the authorities and conveyed political messages. The Christian community, sharing a similar cultural capital, would unite during religious celebrations and ceremonies, thereby strengthening its identity.³⁵³ Notably, even the songs popular during that period, whether performed at smaller or larger events, often carried a nationalistic sentiment advocating for independence. One such example is the enduringly popular song "Osmantakas" or "Semantakas," believed to have been written around the 1870s and still performed by contemporary local music bands.³⁵⁴

Adding a mention of the nationalistic character of the commercial fair in Paramythia

³⁵¹ G. Kotsis, *Φιλιάτες*, 69-70.

³⁵² Ibid., 74

³⁵³ Britt Swartjes, and Pauwke Berkers, "Designing conviviality? How music festival organizers produce spaces of encounter in an urban context," *Leisure Sciences* (2022): 3; S. Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: the rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880*, 152.

³⁵⁴ According to the legend, the song was written about a certain Osman Taka (1848-1887), a Cham from Konispol, captured by the Ottoman authorities during an uprising. Sentenced to death, before his execution, Osman asked to dance a last dance before his execution. The bey of Margaliç was so impressed by the pride in his dance that set him free.

“Δέλβινο και Τσαμουριά” και “Σαμαντάκας”: Δύο ηπειρώτικα τραγούδια με ιστορία (“Delvino and Tsamouria” and “Samantakas”: two epirotan songs with history), ProtoThema.gr <https://www.protothema.gr/stories/article/1357348/delvino-kai-tsamouria-kai-samadakas-duo-ipeirotika-tragoudia-me-istoria/>

during that period will enrich the discussion on the collective ethnoreligious identities shared by locals through public events. In 1896, the newspaper Φωνή της Ηπείρου (Foni tis Ipirou) clearly stated that the commercial gathering had a national character (*η πανήγυρις έχει εθνικόν χαρακτήραν*) as merchants and livestock farmers from the free Kingdom of Greece mingled with the local Greek Christian community. However, fears of uprisings led to strict suppressions by the local Ottoman authorities, resulting in a failed event with few participants that year.³⁵⁵

The rights granted to non-Muslim groups following the Gülhane Edict (Tanzimat), coupled with aspirations for independence and integration with the Kingdom of Greece, gradually gave rise to nationalistic expressions. These sentiments found their outlet in celebrations and communal gatherings, which were increasingly highlighted by the emerging local press. As Antonis Anastasopoulos discusses in the context of Crete, these events became arenas for "contested legitimacies," drawing the attention of authorities.³⁵⁶ Therefore, what were once rural religious celebrations binding local Christians together evolved into modern, publicly documented events that reflected the gradual emergence of a national identity among the local Christian ethnoreligious group.

6.4 Choosing an image for shaping identity

As a matter of fact, comparing a public celebration in Palia Sagiada, attended by a few hundred people at most, to similar festivities in larger urban centers may seem somewhat distant. However, both cases represent expressions of communal identity and self-definition, facilitated by the architectural space that symbolized change and modernity.

While the celebrations in Palia Sagiada to honor its patron saint, Aghios Georgios, may not have carried the same political symbolism as the celebrations for Holy Trinity

³⁵⁵ Marios Mpikas, "Ο Λάμποβος της Παραμυθιάς (Αφιέρωμα) (The Lambovo of Paramythia), 5/10/2023.

<https://periodikostep.gr/%CE%BF-%CE%BB%CE%AC%CE%BC%CF%80%CE%BF%CE%B2%CE%BF%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%B1%CE%BC%CF%85%CE%B8%CE%B9%CE%AC%CF%82-%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%B9%CE%AD%CF%81%CF%89%CE%BC%CE%B1/>

³⁵⁶ A. Anastasopoulos, "Public Celebrations and Ceremonies", 148; about prohibitions in Rusçuk due to the nationalistic message of the elite entertainment: Svetla Ianeva, "Between tradition and modernity-Entertainment in Late Ottoman Rusçuk," in *Entertainment Among the Ottomans* (Brill, 2019), 131; S. Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: the rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880*, 185-186.

in Filat/Filiates, the choice of public space for the festivities suggests an intention to organize the event among the settlement's landmarks. These landmarks served as symbolic representations of local administration, while assisting the functional operation of the event.

The settlement appeared not as a random whole of houses, religious and production spaces, but as a designed whole which a clear hierarchy. When the celebration was taking place within Palia Sagiada, the entire central street adorned with its shops, churches, and squares, featuring the most prominent mansions of individuals participating in local and interregional politics such as Tsogkas and Skandaletos, transformed into a vibrant space brimming with social and cultural opportunities.

Residents from all corners of the settlement converged upon this main street, coming and going as the celebrations, music, dancing, and merriment unfolded, which could span not only days but also nights. The events occurred much like an urban setting, with the main market street, now expanded to a 5-meter-wide thoroughfare to meet new standards after the earthquake, and in front of the shops, where people actively engaged in the creation of a celebratory space. This dynamic represented a parallel to the celebrations on urban boulevards but on a different scale. Indeed, the promenade along the central street in Palia Sagiada showcased a conspicuous demonstration of "commonly shared lifestyle preferences."³⁵⁷

The Tsogkas family rich house serves as an illustrative example. Its fashionable neoclassical facade, positioned directly opposite the settlement's main church, served as a public testament to the influence and prominence of the influential local family. Their architectural choices, influenced by trends from larger urban centers, not only reflected their personal tastes but also exerted influence over the architectural landscape of the community. Additionally, given the family's involvement in the efforts for the integration of the region with the Kingdom of Greece, the mansion represented a potent visual and sociopolitical presence in the heart of the festivities.

While there is no explicit information to suggest any overtly political expressions during the festivals in Palia Sagiada, given the general revolutionary and aspirational atmosphere of the time, it would not be far-fetched to imagine that there were moments when the national spirit found its expression through the communal celebrations. Events such as the revolutionary dances like 'Osmantakas' may have served as vehicles for such

³⁵⁷ A. Bennet, and I. Woodward, Festival spaces, identity, experience and belonging, in *The festivalization of culture* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014): 2, 14.

expression, aligning with the broader revolutionary sentiments of the era. This notion could help explain the presence of the Muslim guard at one of the Easter celebrations, suggesting a shared spirit of preventing resistance against prevailing authority.

The celebration for individuals and their families entailed the representation of their family or community group by dressing in their finest attire and preparing their households to receive guests. Likewise, the public space underwent a transformation, adorning itself to honor the occasion and its attendees. While specific details about Palia Sagiada are not available, examples from other contexts highlight the importance placed on the care and presentation of one's space as part of local hospitality traditions. Host communities took great care in their preparations, ensuring both the beautification of their homes and their appearance as integral parts of the public space during the festivities.

During these celebrations, private and public spaces assumed new identities as entertainment venues and facilitators of social bonds. This temporary departure from daily life, often centered around religious events, served as an opportunity for the expression of metaphysical beliefs through rituals, leading to a transformation of the space. Portable and removable materials were employed to enhance the celebratory atmosphere of gathering areas, contributing to the festive ambiance and altering the movement patterns within the settlement.

The sensory experience of these celebrations extended beyond visual aesthetics to encompass the quality and type of music. Community councils often commissioned musical groups from elsewhere to entertain the attendees, with careful consideration given to the development of highly performative expressions, as seen in Foiniki and other settlements during the 1930s.

Guests, in turn, were expected to partake in the hosts' joy also by showing up also being dressed up, engaging in dance, eating, and drinking. The more active the participation, the more the music found spatial expression through the movement of bodies, infusing the public space with a vibrant human dimension.³⁵⁸ These participatory activities played a crucial role in strengthening communal bonds and contributing to self-identification.³⁵⁹ Rituals, community identities, and space were

³⁵⁸ Ash Amin, "Collective culture and urban public space," *City* 12, no. 1 (2008): 5-24.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 142.

interrelated, connected through movement, music, place, and culture.³⁶⁰

Movement was indeed a significant aspect shaping the function of space in Palia Sagiada, influencing both private and public domains. During celebrations, the fluidity of movement blurred the boundaries between these spaces, highlighting alternative focal points within the settlement. The transformations observed during private celebrations are particularly illustrative of this phenomenon. Whether these celebrations were dedicated to honoring the family's patron saint or observing customs during weddings, they fostered a distinct spatial dynamic within the local community.

In the private celebrations in Palia Sagiada the households assert centrality and become liminal spaces. Hosting these celebrations effectively transformed the household into a public space themselves, changing the public and private boundaries within the neighborhood. They welcomed anyone with friendly affiliations to join and celebrate with the homeowners, often without the need for formal invitations. In situations where multiple households shared the same patron saint, more than one household became centers for festivities within the neighborhoods. The imagery of such occasions portrays the private houses within the residential neighborhoods in Palia Sagiada as provisional public spaces and centers which during the household celebrations became the focal points for socialization and entertainment within their neighborhoods and the settlement. In contrast, the settlement's public spaces were only parts of the routes followed by the family and friends that connected the various celebrating households.

When household celebrations coincided with the festivities at one of the churches in the settlement, both the households and the religious spaces served as sites of honor and celebration. The church liturgy and the public feasts outside the church would extend into the publicized private neighborhood nodes. In cases with a processional character, such as weddings, or dowry transfers, the public streets served as the backdrop for the procession, connecting the related households to the religious spaces where the final rituals would take place.

Admittedly the private celebrations in Palia Sagiada had a more rural character, safeguarding the old customs the forefathers inherited to the community until today. Equally rural was the character of the public celebrations when those took place outside the settlement, such as possibly during the celebration of Aghios Spyridonas and Aghia

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 143.

Paraskevi. Yet, the more organization the celebration received, such as commissioned music players, the more it was emphasizing the role of the institutions in the operation of the feast. Therefore, although the rural character of the private and public celebrations in Palia Sagiada was prevailing, the spirit of the organization of a celebration as an entertaining public event, and not only as a religious ritual, a late 19th century sociopolitical phenomenon, was underscored by the emerging identity expression, either national or local, a self-definition in relationship to the neighbors.

Celebrations in Palia Sagiada, much like those in neighboring settlements, offered a respite from daily routines, both in private and public life. During these festivities, the various spaces within the settlement underwent a transformation, offering residents a distinct experience from their everyday surroundings. The celebrations created a visual spectacle, with the central street adorned and households decorated and beautified, presenting a positive image of the community through the event. This transformation turned the hosting place into an attractive destination, showcasing communal organization and hospitality. While rooted in religious traditions, these celebrations also served personal and communal identity needs, resulting in well-organized expressions that crossed the line between the private and the public spheres.

PART C

INSIGHTS FROM THE LATE OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE AND SPACE-MAKING IN THESPROTIA



Chapter 7

**INSIGHTS FROM THE LOCAL ECLECTIC ARCHITECTURAL
IMAGERY**

The American politician Edward Everett visited the outposts of Sagiada and Filat/Filiates during his diplomatic trip to Yannina under Ali Pasha's governance, around 1819. Upon his arrival on the Epirotan coast from Corfu, he found himself obliged to local hospitality. He depicted the accommodations he received in a rather unfavorable light, starting with the house of the "Turk *ağa*" in the *skaloma* of Sagiada, likely referring to the Muslim Cham toll collector who served under Ali Pasha. Later, he lodged in a Christian house in Filat.³⁶¹

Deeply biased and negatively surprised by the living conditions, he disparaged these structures, portraying them as scarcely qualifying as proper houses. Regarding the house of the *ağa* in *skaloma*, he described a double-storey structure. The ground floor was dedicated to housing horses, while the upper floor consisted of a single room serving as the main reception, living, sleeping, and dining areas for the *ağa* and his guests. The *ağa* typically sat on the floor, on carpets, while guests sat on chests, perhaps serving as seats (*minder*). Food was served on the *sofra*, a low, round table around which everyone gathered to eat from shared dishes. The few windows lacked glass, and the minimal decoration consisted mainly of lavishly adorned firearms hanging on the walls, reflecting the prevalence of warfare during the early 19th century. Everett expressed concern about hygiene conditions, but received a proud reassurance from the *ağa* that the house was safe from the deadly plague that had ravaged the local population.³⁶²

The Christian house in Filat was no better, especially considering it was a common house not associated with any authority figure. Once again, Everett describes a two-storey structure, with the ground floor reserved for animal keeping and the main living

³⁶¹ E. Everett, A. Frantzi (translator in Greek), *Σελίδες ημερολογίου*, 58-64.

³⁶² For more about the plague in Epirus during that period: G. Papageorgiou, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά: Η Επιδημία Πανώλης*, 1986.

area situated on the upper floor, accessible via an exterior staircase. The upper floor was divided into two rooms: a slightly more elaborately furnished elevated room where the family resided, and a simpler second room. The main entrance was through the latter room, which also served as wood storage and was warmer than the other, suggesting the presence of a fireplace. This led Everett to decide to spend the night in this room for the sake of warmth.

In both cases, Everett points to what is known as the *anogokatogo* house type, with one room for the house of the *ağa* in *skaloma*, and with two rooms for the Christian house, portraying a lifestyle that he deemed very backward and depreciated. Whether these impressions were exaggerated or accurate, it was evident that belligerent conditions, illnesses, poverty, and misery prevailed in coastal Epirus in the beginning of the 19th century, as also described by other sources like Pouqueville.

However, the remaining material culture from the fin-de-siècle, including the *anogokatogo*-type houses among others, reveals a more complex reality. Examples from Palia Sagiada show that there were also more elaborate and larger houses, furnished with modern furniture, housewares, and decorations such as portraits and lacework. Additionally, due to the lack of previous research, there is a gap in our knowledge regarding the material culture and house architecture in the region from the late 18th to early 19th century, which renders into a challenging task the accurate tracking of architectural transformations.

The analysis in Chapter 4 pointed out specific elements illustrative of a new lifestyle that began to prevail in the Ottoman world during the later period. This included improved living conditions with better-lit and ventilated living areas, as well as more comfortable spaces, and elaborate entrance lobbies, at least for the middle and upper classes. Simultaneously, house facades started incorporating elements that not only served a functional role but also created visual associations with urban and official architecture, such as porticoes and neoclassical elements, or transformed into eclectic components like towers, which previously ceased to be solely defensive mechanisms and became symbols of political power and status.

Therefore, this chapter will focus on the architectural components of the houses in the region encompassing the three *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia, Filat/Filiates, and Margaliç/Margariti, mainly from the second half of the 19th century, reflecting the plurality of styles and various architectural references from neighboring urban areas or broader zones of influence. Moreover, this section will contextualize architecture in

Palia Sagiada within the broader architectural milieu, highlighting the rich material of the region available for further research. Adding to the material presented already in Chapter 4, additional primary sources from personal fieldwork in the region, will allow visual associations, although not fully researched as this would be the focus of another study.

In fact, the available material evidence is limited to what has survived the extensive destruction during and after World War II, although the range of architectural types likely extended to further categories. Historical photographs, particularly those taken by Fred Boissonnas during the 1910s and Spyros Melentzis during the 1930s and 1950s, as well as personal archives, provide glimpses into a vanished, yet previously shared built environment between the Christian and Muslim populations. Considering the sketches by Edward Lear depicting some tower houses in Filat/Filiates that no longer exist today, it's probable that the architectural variations extend beyond the remaining sample. These tower houses with timber and protruding kiosks, reminiscent of the tower houses of Gjirokastrë, would introduce a whole set of urban tower houses to the discussion (Figure 7.12-7.13).³⁶³

The architecture of public spaces in late Ottoman Thesprotia is as intriguing as that of the residential buildings. However, information about these public spaces often comes from secondary sources, as much of the built environment has been significantly altered. Apart from a few surviving churches and schools, very few public buildings have withstood the test of time. Structures associated with Muslim authorities and local Muslim Chams, such as mosques, religious schools (medreses), and soup kitchens, have not been preserved. Similarly, the once-impressive houses of the Muslim elite have largely disappeared from the built landscape of Thesprotia's settlements following World War II.

Regarding the remaining evidence of house architecture, neoclassical and academic influences are not uncommon in the local architecture of late 19th to early 20th century Thesprotia. Nevertheless, the use of neoclassical architectural elements such as pediments appears to have become more widespread in eclectic compositions following the integration of the region with the Kingdom of Greece. These were adopted for various structures, including religious buildings, houses, and shops (e.g., Frangkiskos pharmacy in Filat/Filiates) (Figure 7.9), and schools (e.g., the school of Liopsi built in

³⁶³ M. Pasiakos, 16-18/04/2021, <https://labastia.blogspot.com/search/label/EDWARD%20LEAR>

1930) (Figure 7.10-7.11).

Notable examples include the remaining houses in Palia Sagiada, with the Tsogkas' house being the most prominent, alongside other affluent houses in the main towns of Filiates, Margariti, and Paramythia. Unfortunately, several of the finest examples no longer exist, such as one of the houses of the Riggas family in Paramythia, which was praised by the photographer Fred Boissonas for its outstanding decoration: "Finally, we reached the nice house of the major G. Riggas. We admired the outstanding decoration of the walls, where quite some gold covers the reliefs" (Figure 7.1-7.3).³⁶⁴ Prominent individuals like Tsogkas and Riggas, who played central roles in local political life, sought to manifest their presence in the region through impressive houses.

Moreover, besides the conspicuous examples, a phenomenally homogenous impression is created by a strong local idiom of stone structures with similar facade finishes and morphological elements, blending with the abovementioned novelties. This eclectic architectural approach reflects a departure from the old styles and a willingness to experiment with diverse elements in building design. Many examples from the late 19th century exhibit a variety of styles and innovations, partially incorporated into old forms or used as pronounced new features. In other words, some structures adopted neoclassicism with the intention to differentiate themselves from their surroundings, while others simply combined new elements into more eclectic forms.

The examples presented here are drawn from other settlements close to Palia Sagiada, as part of the lowland settlements of the *kaza* of Filat. These include Smerto, the abandoned Liopsi and Kotsika, which were mainly composed of a Muslim Cham population. Additionally, examples come from other settlements such as Aghioi Pantes, Kokkinia, and Foiniki, as well as Konispol in present-day Albania, and the *kasaba* of Filat/Filiates. Some examples from the neighboring *kazas* of Margaliç and Aydonat will enrich this discussion on visual associations between the local eclectic architectural idiom and the urban centers of Yannina. Furthermore, they will provide insights within a milieu of strong architectural experimentations based on personal tastes, mostly evident in the multicultural, pluralistic environment of the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, and the emerging large urban centers of the Balkans.

³⁶⁴ Fred Boissonas, *Θεσπρωτία* (Thesprotia), translated by Ourania Palli, edited by Michalis Pasiakos (Organization of Municipalities of Thesprotia, 2004).

7.1 Architectural eclecticism and influence centers

Yannina and Corfu were the two urban centers in close geographical proximity to coastal Epirus, directly interconnected through various sea and land routes, fostering diverse economic and cultural exchanges. Yannina/Yanya served as the administrative and cultural capital of the Ottoman province, which included coastal Epirus, forming the *eyalet/vilayet* of Yannina/Yanya. On the other hand, Corfu was the capital of the United States of the Ionian Islands during British governance from 1814 to 1864, and later became part of the Kingdom of Greece. Both centers experienced advancements in architectural developments, as they hosted administrative and official institutions, along with the emerging bureaucratic and economic elites who sought to socialize through new modes of entertainment and showcase their wealth through their lifestyle.

The cultural exchanges between European regimes and the Ottoman Empire, along with the influence of prestigious architectural institutions such as the *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts* (ENBA) in Paris and the *Bauakademie* in Berlin, fueled the fervor of various revivalisms, including neoclassicism, during the late 19th century. The neoclassical style, with its eclectic spectrum, emerged as a prominent and commonly used architectural style during this period.³⁶⁵ Originating in major urban centers and reflecting the new regimes, upper classes, and ideologies, these innovations spread geographically and evolved into a diverse array of visual expressions.

In Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, this trend of Classical Revivalism manifested in a variety of architectural structures symbolizing modernity. Buildings such as office buildings, custom houses, warehouses, hotels, apartment buildings, commercial spaces, barracks, state buildings, embassies, wooden mansions along the Bosphorus (*yalı-lar*), and clock towers all exhibited a fusion of architectural elements, drawing from revival styles. This amalgamation of architectural styles contributed to the diverse urban image of *fin de siècle* Istanbul. The eclectic architectural landscape of late 19th-century Istanbul was a subject of discussion among different groups of intellectuals and visitors to the Ottoman capital. Similar phenomena, characterized by the adoption of various architectural styles and the emergence of new building types, were observed in many other Ottoman centers during the last decades of the 19th century, especially in

³⁶⁵ Zeynep Çelik, "Architectural Pluralism and the Search for a Style," in *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 126-127.

the aftermath of calamities and as part of broader urban and social developments.

European eclecticism is frequently examined as a deliberate "experimental moment in the history of Western art," associated with the ascent of historical research and national politics. However, 19th-century eclecticism in the Ottoman Empire, notably in Istanbul, has often been viewed by various scholars simply as a stylistic derivative of European trends. This perception is even more pronounced in rural settings, where architectural pluralism and the regions' engagement with the broader cultural milieu of the modernizing era—during which these visual styles emerged—are often overlooked.

Neoclassical tendencies became apparent in Yannina during the later period, particularly under Rasim Pasha's governorship.³⁶⁶ After the deliberate arson in 1869, the design of new structures, especially residences, reflected European models based on neoclassical principles. Rasim Pasha's engineering education in Berlin, Germany, a hub of 19th-century neoclassicism, and the contributions of educated architects like S. Mineiko of Poland, Bernasconi from Italy, P. Sakellariou, and later, Perikles Melirrytos, played a significant role in this direction.³⁶⁷

P. Melirrytos, significantly influenced local architecture significantly upon returning to Ioannina in 1893 after graduating from the National Technical University of Athens.³⁶⁸ The academic environment of the NTUA, influenced by the thoughts of Lysandros Kautatzoglou (1811-1885), clearly favored neoclassicism—a topic that was not unrelated to the German royal and architectural presence in Athens.³⁶⁹ These ideas undoubtedly shaped Melirrytos' work.

Melirrytos built a large number of important public and private buildings in Yannina, using neoclassic elements in most of them, yet open to experimentations. Some of his famous works are the unique theater-café, or 'cafe-chantant' (kafodeio-

³⁶⁶ Manos Biris and Maro Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture in Greece* (Athens: Melissa Publication House, 2004), 176.

³⁶⁷ For more about the arson in Yannina and its impact in the city planning that followed see Chapter 8.

³⁶⁸ M. Biris and M. Kardamitsi-Adami, *Neoclassical Architecture*, 178.

³⁶⁹ That period in the NTUA academy there was the strong influence and/ or presence of the German architects Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), the brothers Christian Hansen (1803-1883), and Theophilus Hansen (1813-1891), Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), and mainly Ernst Ziller (1837-1923) who moved permanently in Athens. Main representatives are the graduates of NTUA: Anastasios Orlandos (1887-1979), Emmanouil Kriezis (1880-1967), and Dimitris Pikionis (1887-1968), Patroklos Karantinos (1903-1976), Nikos Mitsakis (1899-1841), and Kyprianos Mpiris (1907-1990). Eleni Fessa-Emmanouil, *Βασίλειος Κουρεμένος Αρχιτέκτων (Vassilios Couremenos Architect)* (Athens: Athens Academy, 2017), 19, 85-86, 89-90.

καφωδείο) during the late 19th century in art nouveau style, post office including a protruding central volume forming an entrance portico (1905) (Figure 7.4), house of the governor, a symmetric neoclassic building with the central balcony on a portico (the house of the vali or the ‘Pasha’s konak’ in 1870, later becoming the Commercial School) the new Zosimaia School (1902), the Hatzikostas Hospital (1907), the Girls’ School (Yanya Hamidiye Kız Rüşdiyesi) (Figure 7.5), and the eclectic clock tower for celebrating II. Abdülhamid by the vali Osman Pasha (1897-1905).

The preference for neoclassical style among Melirrytos' Greek clients is evident. Nevertheless, neoclassical elements were also favored by Muslim Ottomans, as seen in structures like the house of the governor, and by the Jewish community in Yannina.³⁷⁰ Notably, wealthy merchants and scholars from these communities, built mansions according to new architectural trends, initially incorporating minimal neoclassical elements such as balconies and exterior doors, which were later expanded upon.³⁷¹

Another important reference for understanding the developments in the Epirotan coast are the architectural projects in the Town of Corfu during the 19th century. The urban landscape of Corfu during this period was significantly influenced by the French under Napoleon (1807-1814) and later by the British (1814-1864).³⁷² Particularly noteworthy is the impact of the French, who, among other developments, organized public services and implemented new urban planning in the Town. One prominent urban landmark from that period is the residential and commercial complex in Spiniada, known as Liston, which features a promenade with arched passages reminiscent of the Rue de Rivoli in Paris. Liston remains a vibrant center of social life in Corfu to this

³⁷⁰ Vassilis Kolonas, “Commercial Buildings and Appartments in Istanbul during the Westernization,” in *Batılılaşan İstanbul’un Rum Mimarları: Oı Ρωμοί αρχιτέκτονες της Πόλης στην Περίοδο του Εκδυτικισμού*, ed. Hasan Kuruyazıcı and Eva Şarлак (Istanbul: Zoğrafyan Lisesi Mezunları Derneği, 2011), 101.

In 1882, the journal from Istanbul Ημερολόγιο της Ανατολής (Imerologio tis Anatonis), published in Greek language, expressed the depreciation of the architectural pluralism of Istanbul, that does not favor the Neoclassical style, which is related to the “noble and beautiful Greek art” embraced by northern Europe and applied in the new Greek State by the “great German architect Schinkel.” (V. Kolonas, “Commercial Buildings,” 103. Other similar reactions rejecting Eclecticism on the one hand, or favoring it on the other, demonstrate a preference of different prototypes, Neoclassicism in Athens introduced by the Munich School, and Eclecticism in Istanbul by École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

³⁷¹ M. Biris and M. Adami, *Neoclassical architecture in Greece*, 178.

³⁷² Regarding the various historical phases of the Island of Corfu after the Byzantine period: First Venetian period (1204-1214); Despotate of Epirus (1214-1267); Angevins (1267-1386); Second Venetian period (1386-1797); French (1797-1814), Republica Rettinsulare (1799-1807).

day.³⁷³

The British administration that followed implemented significant improvements to the water and road infrastructure in Corfu. Additionally, British building regulations applied to the island led to the construction of multistory apartment buildings, some reaching up to 5-6 floors, to accommodate multiple families. An important innovation in the house's new spaces was the lavatory, which became a distinct space within the house for the first time.³⁷⁴ As a result of these developments, the old local wealthy families living in the countryside relocated to the Town of Corfu to take advantage of opportunities for expanding their entrepreneurial ventures and improving their quality of life in an urban setting influenced by the British presence and longstanding European traditions.

Opulent and luxurious examples of house architecture contributed to shaping the new architectural identity of the island (Figure 7.6-7.8). These rich housing compositions were constructed by renowned architects and engineers, contributing to the allure of the island's urban landscape.

Notably, wealthy individuals from coastal Epirus, engaged in business in Corfu, were captivated by this environment and integrated it into their lifestyle. One such example is the wealthy Michail Paramythiotis (1743-1862), who relocated to Corfu from the *kasaba* of Paramythia with his family, despite not initially belonging to the island's elite. Paramythiotis, however, made his presence felt by commissioning the architect J. Balsamo, along with the engineer P. Gironci, both well-known figures in Corfu, to design and construct his house on the coastal front. This multistory house, known as the "mansion of Donzelot street," was built in two phases, with the second phase receiving building permission from the British authorities in 1856 and including commercial spaces.³⁷⁵ Moreover, built in the particular coastal plot, it dominates with its size the waterfront while approaching the town of Corfu from the Epirotan coast (Figure 7.6-7.7).

In addition to the architectural aspects, the material culture of urban houses in Corfu

³⁷³ Sofia Angelidou, "Πρόταση αποκατάστασης - επανάχρησης πολυώροφου διατηρητέου κτιρίου κατά την περίοδο της αγγλοκρατίας. Κέρκυρα. Παλιό Λιμάνι. Δονζελότ 7-9) (Intervention of restoration and reuse of a multistorey preserved building from the period of British rule. Corfu. Old Port. Donzelot 7-9)" (M.Sc. Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2018).

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 21-23.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 31-34.

during that period reflects of the owner's wealth and exposure to the lifestyle of European elites. Reception and dining rooms, painted with blue color to ward off the 'evil eye', were adorned with lavish curtains and intricately decorated curved furniture, including special items like mirrors (known as *yotsa* (γιότσα)) or furniture specifically designed for hosting guests, such as the *servante* (σερβάντ). Characteristic ceiling lamps with laced metallic branches from Florence, referred to as '*fiorentina*' (φιορεντίνα), decorated porcelain plates, and silver cutlery imported from Italy and Germany were common features. Additionally, portable bars stocked with elegant glasses for serving expensive alcoholic drinks (e.g., liqueur) and silver houseware, reserved solely for display purposes and not for practical use, were also prevalent. These items bear resemblance to several imported items identified within the grand mansions of Palia Sagiada, such as those belonging to Tsogkas and Skandaletos, often retaining their names in the Corfiot idiom.

Positioned between the rapidly transforming Ottoman urban center of Yannina and Corfu under the French and British architectural influence, coastal Epirus—particularly areas connected to these centers like Palia Sagiada—experienced frequent cultural interactions. These interactions can partly explain the exchange of architectural trends and building materials, such as roof tiles, facilitated by direct market links. This exchange of ideas and resources likely contributed to the evolving architectural landscape in coastal Epirus, particularly in the three Epirotan coastal *kazas* of Aydonat, Filat, and Margaliç.

Focusing on architectural novelties of the late 19th century in the region, also observed and discussed as far as Palia Sagiada, the various elements can be summarized into the following groups, acknowledging though the rich remaining material in the region that needs to be further explored:

- **Symmetrical Plan Configurations and Facades:** Buildings showcase symmetrical plan configurations and facades, with a strong emphasis on symmetry. Features like entrance porticoes or monumental stairs were commonly incorporated. Particularly for the most luxurious houses, Π-shaped (U-shaped) structures were favored by the local elites.
- **Comfortable Spaces:** A shift towards more comfortable living spaces and functional design has been observed, characterized by taller rooms, and an abundance of

windows to maximize natural light and ventilation. Additionally, central lobbies around the staircases facilitated circulation among the rooms. In the coastal area under study, the enclosed version of the central lobby, known as *krevata* or *hayat/hayati*, was prevalent.

- **Decorations and Morphological Elements:** Buildings were adorned with various decorations and morphological elements, including cornices, friezes, and ornate opening frames. Pseudo-pillars in the corners replaced the typical well-curved lime corner-stones. The use of escalating, protruding roof cornices was a distinct feature that contributed to the overall neoclassical aesthetic.
- **Tower-forms and Porticoes:** Some buildings incorporated tower-like structures, which served both defensive and residential purposes. Arched entrance porticoes were also common, reminiscent of Venetian architectural influences and reflecting the eclectic features prevalent in the broader region of the Eastern Mediterranean.

7.2 II-shaped (U-shaped) houses

The house owned by the Tasis family, as well as the Household 11 (complex P.A.HC11) in Palia Sagiada, both exemplify the II-shaped type of architecture (see Chapter 4). The former underwent alterations and additions, transitioning from an initial simple *anogokatogo* design, while the latter was constructed from scratch in this distinctive configuration. Several examples of II-shaped houses remaining in Thesprotia testify to the opulent living of the local elites. Particularly in Katavothra/Mazarakia and Margariti, these buildings evoke the impressive residences of the Muslim *ağa* (Figure 7.20).³⁷⁶

Similar to the case studies in Palia Sagiada, the II-shaped houses in Mazarakia and Margariti are sturdy stone structures, often with protruding branches resembling towers. They typically feature a symmetrical or asymmetrical room organization centered around an entrance area. The pronounced central part, the *krevata* - *hayat/hayati* as already explained, serves as the access point to the upper floor and organizes circulation to the various rooms, appearing in both closed and open versions. In cases where the II-shape resulted from later interventions, typically around the 1900s, the *hayat/hayati* is commonly part of an enclosed lobby, characteristic of the later period, providing

³⁷⁶ S. Mamaloukos, "Architecture in Thesprotia," 672, 674-675.

protection from the weather conditions. Additionally, the upper floor is characterized by numerous windows and possibly balconies, ensuring ample natural light and ventilation for the rooms.

Earlier examples of Π-shaped (or U-shaped) houses in Epirus can be traced back to Yannina from the early 19th century. These include features such as bay/bow windows and an open hayati/hayat oriented towards a courtyard, as seen in the Despot's house (before 1820) and Ioannidis' mansion (before 1820). Subsequently, the prominent Misios' mansion (1843), commissioned by Athanasios Misios to a master craftsman named Nikolas from Vourbiani in Konitsa, followed similar architectural patterns.³⁷⁷

Representing the emergence of mansions in northern Greece and the Balkans from the late 18th century onwards, the room layout of these houses offers more comfortable living on the upper floor and improved circulation through the *hayat*. Some notable examples are the Sisko's house in Konitsa (1845) with an enclosed *hayat/hayati* (Figure 7.21); Hatzigiannis Mexis' house in Spetses (1795-1798) featuring an open *hayat* reminiscent of Arab-Venetian prototypes, and houses in Plovdiv in the Razlog region, also with an open *hayat*.³⁷⁸

The design of Π-shaped house layouts often raises the question of whether symmetry in house design reflects gender segregation within the household, with half of the house functioning as *selamlık* (male quarters) and the other half as *haremlık* (female quarters). However, the answer is not always clear-cut. In coastal Epirus and at least up until Gjirokastrë, houses were not typically divided into separate quarters for men and women. Exceptions may include buildings that had administrative functions in addition to serving as residences, where gender segregation might have been more practical. Many of the remaining houses in Thesprotia belonged to local elites involved in various aspects of local administration, whether as landowners or intermediaries between local, official, and foreign stakeholders. Thus, these houses may have also served political roles, and therefore, at times, incorporated spatial division between the male and female members of the household.

Another explanation for the preference towards Π-shaped houses, especially their symmetrical versions, could be the equal separation of a house for the families of two

³⁷⁷ A. Petronotis and V. Papageorgiou, *Μάστοροι Χτίστες*, 121-127.

³⁷⁸ Rachele Anguelova, "Βουλγαρία (Bulgaria)," in *Balkan Traditional Architecture*, 100, 128; Marianna Filindra, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Spetses*. Edited by Dimitris Filippidis (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 1986), 24-25.

married brothers, the *aderfomoirio* type, extensively discussed in the context of houses in Palia Sagiada. Further research on the family structure of the Albanian Muslims will shed light to the actual application of the *aderfomoirio* model to Π-shaped houses of Muslim families.

7.3 Tower-form houses

In addition to Π-shaped (or U-shaped) houses, tower houses once must have dominated the landscape of Thesprotia, associated to the land aristocracy and the belligerent conditions among the local *ağas* and *beys*, as described by the early 19th century travelers such as Pouqueville and E. Lear.³⁷⁹ The few remaining examples can be categorized into two main groups based on their architectural characteristics: independent/free-standing towers or fortified houses with annexed tower(s). The remarkable features of tower houses stem from the merging of domestic and military components, reflecting the region's history of conflict and aristocratic influence.

Other house types in Thesprotia exhibit enclosed, simple shapes with few openings, several protruding tower-form volumes (e.g., used as lavatories, living quarters, or for defensive purposes), and often include embrasures. Such characteristics sometimes blur the distinction between these opulent houses and tower houses. The architectural difference among the genres lies in the vertical progression of tower houses, although this attribute is not always immediately apparent.

Despite no evidence of a tower-house type in Palia Sagiada, many houses within the settlement give the impression of a tower form, largely due to the steep topography and the necessity to bridge height differences, often creating underground or semi-ground storage areas. These houses are among the most opulent in the settlement, considering the additional cost of constructing infrastructure such as basement areas to support the main house. The visual result is a very tall house that bears resemblance to the tower houses of the land elites and local upper classes.

The concept of the tower's form or impression being incorporated as an eclectic element in housing composition is evident in several other examples along the coast of Thesprotia and southern Albania during the late Ottoman period. Towers attached to

³⁷⁹ F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly. With 4 Engravings*. R. Phillips, 1820.

Moreover, during the middle-19th century, in his "European Turkey" tour, the painter Edward Lear was inspired by the tower houses in Filiates and Paramythia in Thesprotia.

houses assumed a new identity as eclectic elements within architectural compositions. Rather than serving primarily defensive purposes, these towers became visual focal points in their environments. For instance, the remaining house of the Riggas family in Paramythia exemplifies this eclectic use of the tower: within an almost rectangular house building, a rectangular tower rises vertically from the center, creating an interior attic with panoramic views for its occupants (Figure 7.2).

It shouldn't be perceived that the tower becomes an additional eclectic feature in the architectural composition, akin to the turrets of Ecole des Beaux Arts apartments in cities, nor should it be seen as an awkward adjustment to a trend. Instead, it represents a local architectural expression that acquires new meaning through its architectural composition.

Originally serving as a purely militaristic element of a fortified house, addressing the practical needs amid conflicts among the land elites, the tower evolved into a symbol of political status and a private residence for the owner and their guests. Furthermore, as argued by other scholars, the towers in Epirus and Albania during the late 19th century positioned their owners within the struggles for national independence from the Ottomans, reflecting collective identities.³⁸⁰

To illustrate better, the *saray* of Dino bey in the Cham Muslim settlement of Liopsi, also abandoned after WWII, situated one kilometer away from Palia Sagiada, serves an interesting case-study. Despite the geographical proximity, however, Liopsi presents a totally different spatial organization than Palia Sagiada. Additionally, although the house typologies in Liopsi employ a rich variety such as the houses in Palia Sagiada, based on the same enclosed two-storey, oblong or L-shaped houses, with very similar interior organization, houses in Liopsi include defensive mechanisms, such as riffle holes and corner turrets in some cases. Notwithstanding the highly interesting house architecture, the settlement of Liopsi and its architectural features remain unstudied.

The most notable housing complex in Liopsi sits atop the hill, belonging to the Dino family, commonly referred to as 'the *Saray* Dino,' unfortunately, without a specified date. This complex dominates the landscape, drawing attention, as evidenced by Boissonnas's particular focus on photographing the *Saray* from the shore. The *Saray* of the Dino family in Liopsi stands as a captivating example that amalgamates local architectural elements with innovative features, resulting in structures with ambiguous

³⁸⁰ T. Marinov, "The Balkan House," 506.

identities, particularly concerning the towers within the complex. A closer examination of the *Saray Dino* can offer insights into the complexities of interpreting the forms and identities of such buildings (Figure 7.14-7.18).

What remains of the complex, includes two symmetrical houses enclosed by courtyard walls featuring rifle holes for defense. The Π-shaped, two-storey house is naturally sheltered by the topography, while the E-shaped house is designed to face the scenic view. The elevated, two-storey E-shaped structure boasts lavish facades constructed with well-curved limestones of consistent dimensions, incorporating decorative zones adorned with colored stones. Functioning as a fortified house, it features rifle holes in all its walls. The internal circulation takes place through an enclosed *hayat/hayati*, which includes an enclosed central kiosk-like protrusion, and tower-like protrusions including interior lavatories. Two towers, emphasizing symmetry, contribute to the opulent character of the composition. Beyond their defensive function, these towers house baths, and their upper floors are designed for habitation, offering panoramic views of the surroundings.³⁸¹

The straightforward location of the E-shaped compartment of the *saray* right on the top of the hill, without taking advantage of the topography for protection, as seen in the initial Π-shaped house, highlights priorities of power demonstration and scenic views. While this choice may have made the property more vulnerable to assault, it also served to enhance its luxury and visibility. Additionally, the addition of towers not only provided a defensive function but also contributed to the opulent character of the complex, further emphasizing its status and grandeur.

The *saray Dino*, although not a common architectural form in the region, displayed features suggesting a division into male and female compartments (*selamlik* – *haremlik*), as inferred from the analysis of its interior spaces where the access to the half of the building takes place from a secondary lobby and not directly. However, it's important to consider an alternative interpretation of the use of the *saray* than merely an opulent house, suggesting that this building might have served an administrative function. What contributes to this hypothesis is the influential role of the Dino family in local politics, potentially as *ayans*, intermediates between the Ottoman State and the locals, in the early 19th century and later favored by the Ottoman State, with Dinozade

³⁸¹ The documentation and analysis of the *Saray Dino* in Liopsi was part of the author's M.Sc. diploma project at NTUA, 2015-2016 published in the edited volume by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia, *Θεσπρωτία Ι* (Thesprotia I), 2019.

Abidin paşa receiving official training;³⁸² as well as the notable resemblance of the Dino *Saray* to the administrative building, the *saray* of Veli Pasha, son of Ali Pasha, in Tyrnavos, Thessaly, constructed between 1814-1822 (Figure 7.19).³⁸³

The fortified houses in the *kazas* of Aydonat, Filat, and Margaliç, played a significant role in local political life, serving as the residences of the land local Cham elites who also demonstrated through their house, their socio-political position among their communities. As such, the straightforward location of the E-shaped house of the *saray* Dino complex, right on the top of the hill, without taking advantage of the topography for protection, as seen in the initial Π-shaped house, highlights priorities of power demonstration and enjoying scenic views. While this choice may have made the property more vulnerable to assault, it also served to enhance its luxury and visibility. Additionally, the addition of towers not only provided a defensive function but also contributed to the opulent character of the complex, further emphasizing its status and grandeur.

7.4 Porticoes and arched galleries

Arched porticoes and galleries showcasing an eclectic adaptation of a Venetian architectural feature, were prevalent in the great mansions of the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean during the late Ottoman period.³⁸⁴ And therefore, these elements were not unusual for houses belonging to more affluent locals in the coastal Epirus, as well as in churches that during the late 18th century and more systematically during the 19th century, received arched galleries or porticoes before the entrance to the main church. Moreover, this trend, as exemplified by Melirrytos in the public buildings of Yannina, also found application in local public buildings such as the administration building in Margaliç/Margariti, featuring a central entrance with an arched portico and an enclosed protruding space or kiosk on the upper floor (Figure 7.26).

³⁸² Nikos Stylos, *Ο Πρεβεζιάνος Αμπεντίν Πασάς Ντίνος, τα ελληνικά του ποιήματα και οι Ντιναίοι* (Abedin Pasha Dino from Preveza, his Greek poems, and the Dino family) (Mülheim, 2014), σελ.27; Platonas Kypriotou, “Αμπεντίν Πασάς, Νομάρχης του Αρχιπελάγους (1894-1908) (Abedin Pasha, Governor of Archipelago)” *Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* (Dodekanisiaka Chronika) vol. 2-1973 (Athens, 1974), 175.

³⁸³ Panos Tsolakis, *Οθωμανικά διοικητήρια στον ελλαδικό χώρο, 1850-1912* (Ottoman administrative buildings in the Greek area) (University Studio Press, 2008), 19.

³⁸⁴ May Davie, “Genèse d’une Demeure Patrimoniale: La Maison Aux Trois Arcs de Beyrouth,” in *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant* (Beirut et Tours: ALBA, 2003), 57–96.

In Palia Sagiada remains only one example of a house that included an arched gallery in its ground floor, while as discussed in the case of Aghios Georgios in Palia Sagiada, the settlement's main church once included a built entrance canopy, a small *hayat* (Chapter 5). However, it is likely that some houses had a balcony, or a kiosk supported by rectangular pillars creating a covered entrance area, the remaining material evidence though, is limited for further suggestions. Other examples from the region illustrate better this feature, such as the Doupis' house in Kokkinia (Figure 7.25), the Theologis' house which includes two entrance porticoes symmetrically arranged on a two-storey *aderfomoirio*, opulent house in Foiniki (Figure 7.23), and in a ruined house in Liopsi of unknown owner (Figure 7.22), belonging to a broader complex of a house with towers.

In the broader region of south Albania, some houses present interesting blends: Π-shaped houses in Korça/Korytsa, symmetrically designed for two brothers and their families, further demonstrate the integration of arched, entrance porticoes with kiosks in the upper floor, and larger towers with various features suitable for staying/living, in compositions that offer various spatial qualities (Figure 7.24).³⁸⁵

7.5 Houses with shops

The last category discussed here involves houses with a shop on the ground floor, forming the façade of the public street. A combination of smaller or larger such houses forms the fronts of the main market street in Palia Sagiada. These houses with a shop follow the typologies of the other houses, having a different function between the ground and upper floors (Chapter 4). The most prominent example in the whole kaza of Filat is the Vekkos house in the main *kasaba* of Filat/Filiates.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ Pirro Thomo, "Αλβανία (Albania)." In *Βαλκανική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική* (Balkan Traditional Architecture), edited by Vagena-Papaioannou, Lamprini and Dora Komini-Dialeti (Athens: Melissa Publications, 1993), 51-52.

³⁸⁶ Georgios Vekkos (born on 15/9/1873) provides in his autobiography important information for the Vekkos family, going back three generations, their activities, notions, and social network. This unpublished material belongs to Dimitrios Kotsonis, a living descendant- grandson, of Georgios Vekkos. Mr. Kotsonis has kindly shared his archive to the author for the purposes of this research.

The archive includes the autobiography of Georgios, letters between the family members, from Istanbul to Filiates, Corfu, and vice versa; official correspondence with the local Ottoman authorities; analytic cataloguing of the personal book collection held by Georgios Vekkos; detailed and extensive documents regarding the family's commercial activities such as invoices, imports, exports, and prices of the raw materials and the final products, etc.; newspapers where Georgios Vekkos was contributing with his articles, or newspapers that referred to the Vekkos family activities; the will of Sotirios Vekkos and correspondence regarding his death. Sotirios Vekkos in his will, allocated his property to his wife, and two sons, Georgios and Panagiotis, dividing it to three equal parts. The property included: the house in

The house in Filiates, currently in poor condition, features a prismatic, symmetric and slightly oblong-shaped plan, located on the southeast corner of an approximately 680 m² property, facing the old commercial street in Filiates. Constructed likely around the 1880s-90s, after the family had relocated to Istanbul and Corfu, the house was designed to accommodate the two families of Sotirios Vekkos' two sons, Georgios and Panagiotis.

The plot is partially surrounded by a tall wall, adjusted to the with the main façade towards the street, while the entrance to the yard takes place from there, separating the access to the house, from the access to the shops, as typical also in such houses in Palia Sagiada. The yard, the remaining space within the plot, contains an auxiliary structure that served as a kitchen and a well. The main house, constructed with the typical stone structure, comprises an elevated ground floor, a first floor, and a second floor (Figure 7.30-7.35).

The ground floor accommodates three separate workshops with mezzanines, accessible from the street side. The entrance to the residence is located on the back side, along with an interior wooden spiral staircase leading to the upper floors. Adjacent to the staircase, there is an interior lavatory on the left and a small room with a fireplace on the right. The floors of the first and second floor are symmetrically organized around a central inner hall/*sofa* that includes the staircase.³⁸⁷ The second floor, is the most opulent area of the house, unfortunately, partially collapsed. It also follows a strict, symmetrical organization; four rooms are arranged on both sides of the hall, which is divided in two parts by a timber wall: a lobby around the stair and a reception room. The timber wall included, probably, three, two-wing doors with skylights. The rooms were accessed both from the lobby and the reception space, which has view towards the street. In the reception room, a fireplace still preserves some of its rich ornamentation; on its both sides there are two small rectangular niches and two doors leading to a small balcony. The second floor was opulently decorated in its whole, as demonstrated by the few remaining features.

The decorative elements within the Vekkos house showcase a blend of moderate

Filiates with three workshops, the house in Xechoro, the olive grove in Foiniki, and the business, the bakery in Istanbul, to his two sons Georgios and Panagiotis. Sotirios Vekkos, his will. Galata-Istanbul, 13/12/1901.

³⁸⁷ The second floor was not accessible due to the roof collapse, yet, the basic understanding of the organization of its spaces was feasible by the assistance of a dromedary.

neoclassic details with local features. The timber doors and other carpentry elements were painted in a light blue color and featured friezes with dentils and cornices. The spiral staircase, a prominent neoclassical feature, was adorned with characteristic neoclassical balustrades. In contrast to the morphological/decorative novelties, the fireplaces exhibited typical forms, drawing inspiration from patterns found in local houses. Unfortunately, many of the authentic timber structures, such as the ceilings and floors, have not been preserved due to later interventions involving reinforced concrete.

The exterior façades of the mansion are austere and simple. Rendered with thick plaster, the façades leave uncovered areas around the openings and corners. The main façade facing the street exhibits a clear tripartite organization: a base with alternating arched doors and windows, a middle level with rectangular windows, and an upper level with rectangular windows. The central part corresponding to the reception room includes two arched doors and a small balcony with iron railings featuring repetitive geometrical shapes supported by iron corbels. The arched doors, divided into lower opening parts and skylights, are adorned with iron railings in geometrical shapes, reminiscent of the balconies. Rather than following a symmetric organization around a central axis, the façade appears to be structured as a multiplication of the same vertical articulation of doors and windows, resembling the house architecture of the Ionian Islands.

The Vekkos family house in Filat/Filiates offers valuable insights into the interior organization, shedding light on how a house with novelties like functional coexistence with a shop, symmetry, an interior furnace and lavatory, an enclosed entrance hall with a central staircase, and a prominent upper floor reception room can effectively accommodate two families.

This case study is important for imagining the function and the decoration of the opulent houses in Palia Sagiada. The Vekkos family, with broad activities in Corfu and Istanbul, built their house in Filat/Filiates, incorporating novelties in the interior space missing from the interiors in Palia Sagiada, merely appearing as fragments (e.g., interior lavatories in only some houses, neoclassical decorations in some others, etc., Chapter 4). Moreover, the incorporation of the *aderfomoirio* concept, as desired by the house owners, was seamlessly blended with these innovations. This resulted in a local expression that harmoniously combined established and contemporary elements.

Everett's experiences in the house of the *ağa* in the *skaloma* and the Christian house in Filat from the early 19th century, despite any biases, likely reflect the prevailing poor housing conditions during that era, which persisted into the 20th century, especially evident in the simple *anogokatogo* where extended families resided. However, notably for the residences of the land or mercantile elites, living conditions markedly improved throughout the 19th century. This improvement was characterized by the creation of larger spaces with better air and light, alongside the integration of morphological elements into architectural compositions. Consequently, these houses became visually prominent and served as symbols of individual promotion.

Apart from some prominent examples highlighted in this chapter as being accessible within this study and still providing some material in situ, one should consider that the architectural novelties of the late 19th century were also incorporated in the interiors of rural structures, that do not remain today, as exemplified by the ruined house of Kotsonis in Smertos (Sagiada area). This house, originally belonging to the *ağa* Yasin Malko, is a typical L-shaped, *anogokatogo* fortified house with rifle holes incorporated into its masonry. The house, situated on top of the hill in Smertos including a large estate (*çiflik*) and a view towards the Sagiada valley, once featured an impressive yard gate dated June 10, 1890 (Figure 7.27-7.29). The house had preserved until recently its neoclassical features on the interior façade, including a typical quadrat sphere window opening in the main, reception room, yet this decoration has since been lost.³⁸⁸

Indeed, it would be overly simplistic to characterize late Ottoman house architecture in coastal Epirus as stagnant or backward solely based on the prevalence of tower-form, austere volume houses and compared to developments in neighboring regions, such as the impressive tower-form houses in Thessaly and Macedonia. The case study in Smertos exemplifies this complexity, where the fortified nature of the house, combined with the gradual absence of interior finishes, complicates the association between opulent lifestyle elements and the militaristic character of fortified buildings. However, the presence of tower-forms alongside features like porticoes and complex, symmetrical designs suggests a nuanced interplay between war and peace in the region's domestic architecture, warranting further investigation and research.

Although in the case of Palia Sagiada, the militaristic component of house

³⁸⁸ The inheritor of Kotsonis' house in Smertos. Dr. Antonis Kotsonis has entrusted me with the 1930s transfer contract of the house, bestowed by the Muslim *ağa* Yasin Malko (s) to Kotsonis through a transfer contract type known as 'eksonisi' (εξώνηση).

architecture is limited to tower-like compositions without other militaristic features, the prominence of these houses in their surroundings is still emphasized. This prominence is further highlighted when these structures incorporated other novelties, such as comfortable upper floors that offered unhindered views.

Lastly, during the late 19th century appeared houses that combined commercial uses, including stores in their ground floors and being part of the local market streets such the Vekkos house in Filat/Filiates and the houses with shops in Palia Sagiada. Let alone, when the house owner belonged to the merchandize elites such as Vekkos, the houses had their interiors organized and decorated with strong references from the prevailing trends in the urban centers in which the owner was exposed to. Such examples with more in situ material in their interior spaces, in comparison to the household material culture of the houses in Palia Sagiada and Corfu, help to partially reconstruct the rich, eclectic interior environment of the rich houses in Palia Sagiada.

Despite the challenges posed by the disappearing-built environment in coastal Epirus, several architectural trends emerged during the late 19th century that reflect a broader stream of experimentation and adoption of diverse styles. These trends include the incorporation of neoclassical elements in interior spaces, the eclectic use of established tower-form houses, and the integration of commercial functions within residential structures. There was also a gradual enhancement of functional comfort features such as lavatories and internal stairs. Furthermore, a growing emphasis on providing unhindered views in the main living rooms indicated a shift towards more modern and comfortable living environments, developments thoroughly discussed for Palia Sagiada as well as in this chapter, underscoring the dynamic nature of architectural evolution in coastal Epirus during this period.

Chapter 8

SPACE-THINKERS, SPACE-MAKERS

All “making,” whether in the form of spell-casting or of the reasoned technical construction of a machine, is an externalization of inner powers or conditions and as such their visible, outward form.”³⁸⁹

J. Gebser’s integral consciousness theory, as presented in his book “The ever-present origin” (*Ursprung und Gegenwart*) analyzes the evolution of the various structures of consciousness (archaic, magical, mythical, mental, and integral). Gebser proposes that these structures are permeable, ultimately coalescing into what he terms as integral consciousness. This leads to a more holistic understanding of the reality, prompting an “awakening” and “awareness.” It signifies a transition from an egocentric understanding to a sense of communal belonging. This theory significantly influences the perspectives on sciences and arts, including sociology and architecture. The imprint that consciousness leaves shapes how individuals and societies perceive the world. Symbolism, particularly in architecture and social interactions, plays a crucial role in communicating the various structures of consciousness, rendering the architectural shifts and community expressions as indicators of one’s awareness.³⁹⁰

This chapter investigates further the topics of architectural tastes, public spaces and aspects of urban life initiated by the analyses of the previous chapters that explored architecture and spaces in Palia Sagiada. It examines the actors that were involved the building activities leaving their mark in architecture and urban space, operating as forms of resilience after the earthquake calamity of 1872: the Ottoman State that was setting the rules; the various individuals who were the owners of the projects; and the craftsmen who were commissioned the undertakings. The research here considers the urban aspects in this frontier, rural area, forms of the new modern consciousness, notion, that

³⁸⁹Jean Gebser, *The ever-present origin* (Ohio University Press, 2020), 132.

³⁹⁰Sarah Robinson, *Architecture is a Verb* (Routledge, 2021), 92.

developed after the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire and not only as “echoes” of the transformations of the large urban centers of the Empire.

In particular, the Ottoman State had the role of the responsible authority required to respond, activate necessary mechanisms to alleviate the locals' suffering, document damages, and reconstruct the operation of the area. This was crucial as the outpost and salines held significant interest for the state as a landowner and potential tenant, attracting attention from both foreign and local stakeholders.

Moreover, the locals of Palia Sagiada seized the opportunity presented by the earthquake not only to rejuvenate their settlement's space, creating public areas like the market street following modern regulations, and constructing houses tailored to their tastes and needs, but also to initiate collective actions for the spatial development of their coastal region. Drawing inspiration from projects in other parts of Rumelia, they aligned these initiatives with their family traditions and business capabilities for interregional trade. This made them confident individuals and a conscious community group, eager to engage in negotiations with authorities, well-aware of their potential, and politically attuned to the late 19th-century governmental development agendas for coastal areas.

While not extensively discussed in previous chapters, the last group of actors involved in the building activities comprised the actual builders who implemented established techniques, introduced innovations, and applied their knowledge of materials and construction. These craftsmen not only left a distinctive mark on house architecture, decorations, and stone engravings but also contributed to an entire local economic and market culture that connected the coastal area of Epirus with other regions in the Eastern Mediterranean.

These mechanisms culminated in the rehabilitation of the coast after the devastating earthquake. Within a few years, despite not achieving the same level of success as other coastal parts of the Ottoman Empire during the *fin-de-siècle* (e.g. Mersin, Iskenderun, Volos), the settlement of Palia Sagiada not only underwent reconstruction but also showcased various architectural styles. It also boasted a well-designed promenade, a curated market street, and public squares near the churches for communal celebrations.

Institutions, individuals, communities, and their spatial expressions through architecture and festivities enacted established spatial practices after a natural calamity and at the same time they claimed a renewed space. Expanding beyond Palia Sagiada, the topic of space-making or envisioning extend to a broader context encompassing

other settlements of the three *kazas* of Aydonat/Paramythia, Filat/Filiates, and Margaliç/Margariti with a focus on the settlements of the kaza of Filat/Filiates where Palia Sagiada was also inscribed; larger urban centers such as Ottoman Yannina and the Greek Corfu that had a rich European cultural heritage. Lastly, the discussion broadens to consider other areas from Balkan Peninsula and Western Anatolia, where associations and materials permit more distant connections.

In the aftermath of World War II and the relocation of the Albanian-speaking Muslims, the Chams, the memory of how space functioned within the coastal settlements of Epirus in terms of building activities and associated actors underwent a complete rewrite. The Ottoman State, once an unapproachable authority, the Cham land aristocracy, and the simple Cham people, deeply connected to the events of WWII, have been demonized, with little association with daily life's rich facets. This last chapter aims to emphasize the impact of the mentioned actors on space-making and define modes of modernity that delineate urbanity in that coastal frontier—a central theme throughout the entire dissertation.

5.1 The Ottoman State in local building activities

The new space of the settlement of Palia Sagiada after the earthquake appears incorporating novelties expressed through the intention to regularize the trail network and the market street. This observation is not irrelevant to the change that had taken place after the Tanzimat regarding the image and better policing and operation of the urban centers. Considering these regulations and historical developments, one might contemplate the extent to which urban transformation was initiated in Palia Sagiada following the earthquake destruction of 1872, based on the legislation in effect.

To address this question comprehensively, it is important to analyze urban transformations not solely as centralized directives but also in terms of their practical application at the local level, especially within the periphery where Palia Sagiada was situated within the vilayet of Yannina. By examining the nature of urban change that took place in Yannina, will allow to suggest whether and/or un which form the new regulations were considered in the making of the new spaces in Palia Sagiada.

The building regulations were initiated with the 1848 Building Regulation (Ebniye Nizamnamesi/ Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, and encompassed various

parameters.³⁹¹ These included measures such as street widening to prevent fires, with a mandated minimum width of 6 cubits (approximately 4.5 meters in the French metric system), ensuring a distance gap between neighboring buildings, promoting the use of stone masonry structures for fire prevention, and requiring building facades to recede from the street line. This regulation emphasized clear differentiation between street and building lines and disallowed dead-end streets.

Following this, the 1863 Street and Building Regulation (Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi/ Council of Laws) was introduced, which had a broader scope and retained the fundamental principles of the 1848 Building Regulation. It continued to stipulate a minimum street width of 6 cubits, measured from building facades that were to be set back from the street line. A hierarchical street network was established, and plans were mandatory for obtaining building licenses.³⁹² Subsequently, after the implementation of the 1863 law, cadastral maps became integral to the building process.³⁹³

An urban transformation, or at least the intent for the redevelopment of Yannina's commercial center, was set in motion following a deliberate arson incident that occurred on July 28-29, 1869. During this period, Governor Ahmet Rashim Pasa initiated efforts to renovate the commercial district, despite resistance from local merchants. At the time, the engineer responsible for the vilayet was C. Holz, who made initial attempts at devising a street plan. While these endeavors achieved limited success, they did result in the creation of the Averof and Anexartisias avenues, each measuring 12 cubits in width.³⁹⁴ The remaining streets ranged from 6 to 10 cubits in width, which, compared to

³⁹¹ Özcan Koray, "Tanzimat'ın kent reformları: Türk imar sisteminin kuruluş sürecinde erken plânlama deneyimleri (1839-1908)." *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 7, no. 2 (2006): 158

Also, about the Ebniye Nizamnamesi, see: Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Yerel Yönetim Metinleri (V): Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi ve Getirdikleri," *Çağdaş ve Yerel Yönetimler Dergisi* 5, no. 5 (1996): 67-81; Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın kent reformları üzerine," *Modernleşme sürecinde Osmanlı kentleri* 2 (1999): 1-18.

³⁹² Aleka Karadimou-Yerolymou, *Μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης: Θεσσαλονίκη και Βορειοελλαδικές Πόλεις στο τέλος του 19ου αιώνα* (Between East and West: Thessaloniki and North Greek Cities in the end of the 19th century) (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2004), 40-42, 51-52; Ceylan İrem Gençer, Işıl Çokuğraş, "Regulation of Urban Space in the Ottoman State: The Case of Istanbul (1820–1900)."

³⁹³ Özcan Koray, "Tanzimat'ın kent reformları," 164.

³⁹⁴ Thanasis Zygouris, *Από τον Bernasconi στον Hebrard. «Γνωστοί» και άγνωστοι πολεοδομικοί χάρτες των Ιωαννίνων* (From Bernasconi to Herbrard. "Known" and unknown urban maps of Ioannina) (Ioannina: Municipality of Ioannina, Zosimaia Public Library of Ioannina, 2019), 23.

the previous situation, were considered also relatively spacious.³⁹⁵

Notably, the establishment of the first Office for City Planning (Γραφείον Σχεδίου Πόλεως) took place during the tenure of Yaya Bey, who served as Yannina's first mayor in 1874. This occurred several years after Holz's initial efforts and even more years after the enactment of the first law in 1848, which laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Building Council.³⁹⁶ The establishment of the Office for City Planning aimed to centralize decision-making in public works, leading to a more uniform construction approach based on standardized prototypes.³⁹⁷ Lastly, the first comprehensive city plan, developed by engineer I. Bernasconi, did not materialize until later, between 1893 and 1896. This plan primarily focused on aligning and widening certain roads. The overarching vision for urban regularization in Yannina and its surrounding areas only came to fruition following their integration into the Greek State and the centralized urban reform efforts led by El. Venizelos.³⁹⁸

The earthquake that struck Palia Sagiada presented an opportunity for the urban renewal of the settlement, akin to how deliberate or accidental fires in major urban centers within the Ottoman Empire had provided chances for rejuvenation.³⁹⁹ However, it should be acknowledged that even in Yannina, which served as the administrative center of the entire vilayet, the first city plan was not implemented until the period of Bernasconi. Therefore, it appears unlikely that a detailed plan for Palia Sagiada in its modern form existed. Nevertheless, the application of the legislation in effect is evident, not only through the implicit presence of a possible cadastral map, as suggested by the document, but also through the incorporation of spatial design principles mentioned in

³⁹⁵ Al. Karadimou-Yerolymou, *Μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης*, 94-95.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 51-52; Th. Zygouris, *Από τον Bernasconi στον Hebrard*, 22, 32-37.

³⁹⁷ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Urban Texture and Architectural Styles after the Tanzimat," in *The Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean*, edited by L. Baruh-Tanatar and V. Kechriotis (Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2010), 496.

³⁹⁸ Th. Zygouris, *Από τον Bernasconi στον Hebrard*, 23. Eleni, Bastea, "Athens 1890-1940: Transitory Modernism and National Realities," in *Races to Modernity. Metropolit Aspirations in Eastern Europe 1890-1940*, ed. Jan C. Behrends and Martin Kohlrausch, (CEU Press, 2014), 127-152.

³⁹⁹ Emiliano Bugatti, "Urban identities and catastrophe: Izmir and Salonica at the end of the Ottoman Empire," *Geographical Review* 103, no. 4 (2013): 498-516; T. Sahara, "The Ottoman city council and the beginning of the modernization of urban space in the Balkans," in *The city in the Ottoman empire: Migration and the making of urban modernity*, eds. Ulrike Freitag, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi, and Florian Riedle (2011), 26-50; Sotirios Dimitriadis, "Transforming a Late-Ottoman Port-City: Salonica, 1876-1912," in *Well-Connected Domains*, eds. Firges, Pascal, Tobias Graf, Christian Roth, and Gülay Tulasoglu (Brill, 2014), 207-221.

Chapter 5.⁴⁰⁰ These principles played a pivotal role in defining the new layout of the settlement after the earthquake. Streets measuring 6 cubits in width, which were newly opened in Yannina, were deemed spacious thoroughfares, and a similar assessment would likely apply to Palia Sagiada's newly established 6-cubit-wide market streets. The establishment of an orderly spatial layout is apparent, as the principles of modern city planning gradually extended to the area following their relatively delayed implementation in the center of the periphery.⁴⁰¹

Overall, while a comprehensive city plan for Palia Sagiada may not have existed, the application of existing legislation and spatial design principles facilitated the creation of an organized and planned urban space in the aftermath of the earthquake. Although local efforts were made to enhance the general infrastructure of the area, spurred by activities in the small port/roadstead of Palia Sagiada, neither the settlement nor the port reached the level of development achieved by other relatively insignificant port areas during the turn of the century.⁴⁰² Nevertheless, the opportunity for renewal was embraced to a certain extent, resulting in the implementation of specific standards and regulations that significantly shaped the post-earthquake landscape of the settlement.

As a matter of fact, a great number of the settlements of the three *kazas* of Aydonat, Filat, and Margaliç throughout the 19th century endured and overcame challenges such as earthquakes, diseases, vendettas, and hostilities among Muslim *ağas* (e.g., Dematoi-Seikatoi).⁴⁰³ Another earthquake event that shook the area resulting in the utter disaster of settlements and the death of hundreds took place for three day 2-4 of May 1895 in the region of Paramythia. The press was particularly interested and investigated the

⁴⁰⁰ İ..MMS. / 54 – 2401/ H-30-02-1293 (1876).

⁴⁰¹ Zeynep Çelik, Diane G. Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, eds., *Streets: critical perspectives on public space*. (Univ of California Press, 1994), 83-94; Zeynep Çelik, *The remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*. No. 2 (Univ of California Press, 1993) ; Al. Karadimou-Yerolymou, *Μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης*.

⁴⁰² T. Ünlü and E. Göksu, “19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Doğu Akdeniz Liman Kentlerinde Kentsel Mekân: Patras, Volos ve Mersin Üzerinden Bir İnceleme,” *Meltem İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Dergisi*, (2) (2017), 24-49; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, Eyüp Özveren, and Tülin Selvi Ünlü, eds. *Eastern Mediterranean Port Cities: A Study of Mersin, Turkey—From Antiquity to Modernity* (Springer, 2018).

⁴⁰³ For the diseases in the early 19th century Filiates/Filat, see Georgios Papageorgiou, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά: Η Επιδημία Πανώλης: Θεσσαλία, Ηπειρος Και Αλβανία 1812-1823 (Epeiriotika Chronika: Plague in Thessalia, Epirus, and Albania)* (Ioannina, 1986).

conditions and the various official reactions during and after the earthquake.⁴⁰⁴ Although in the central settlement, the *kasaba* of Paramythia, the damages were restricted only to some collapses of old houses, and the cracking of various buildings including the church and the mosque of the market, in the near-by settlements such as Karvounari, Dragani, almost no houses remained. The dramatic condition of the hundreds of homeless people activated the local municipality of Paramythia in collaboration to the authorities of Yannina and local wealthy individuals such as Riggas from Paramythia, to provide the earthquake victims with first aids and temporary housing.

Although so far there is no further information on the later involvement of the State in the repairs and the rehabilitation of the region, the event of the earthquake in Paramythia had nevertheless created similar reactions, initially for facilitating people and their direct comfort. After the earthquake in Sagiada, the immediate response of the authorities and their presence for reporting damage, safeguarding residents, providing first aid, and overseeing other business operations in the outpost were centrally directed from the Yannina governor's office.⁴⁰⁵

Equally challenging were the disasters resulting from the uprisings, resulting to the rebuilding of the main centers; their commercial streets were renewed with shops and wealthy houses designed to ensure protection in case of fires. An example is the Vekkos' house with shops located on the commercial street in the *kasaba* of Filiates.⁴⁰⁶ The main facade of the building still preserves the pressed tin fire mark of the insurance company '1828 L' Union de Paris,' displaying images of two raised female angel figures holding trumpets and a garland. This indicated that the property had been insured against "fire risks."⁴⁰⁷

The rebuilding projects following arsons or disasters in the region bear a resemblance to the reconstruction efforts in large Ottoman urban centers during the 19th century, often providing opportunities for renewal and infrastructural development. In the Epirus and south Albania region, notable centers that experienced destruction and

⁴⁰⁴ “Εκ Τσαμουργιάς (From Tsamouria),” Φωνή της Ηπείρου, 19-5-1895, 1-2.

⁴⁰⁵ ŞD. / 2087 - 51 - 0. Tarih : H-18-01-1293; ŞD. / 566 - 34 - 0; Tarih : H-22-02-1297

⁴⁰⁶ Present-day Ethnikis Antistaseos Str in Filiates, Thesprotia. Most of the remaining buildings carry inscriptions from mid-19th century onwards.

⁴⁰⁷ SALT, “L’Unio Compagnie D’Assurance Contre L’Incendie, Les Accidents et Risques Divers,” accessed January 10, 2020, <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/122189>.

subsequent rebuilding included the market of Yannina in 1869, the market of Konitsa in 1860, and the market of Argyrokastro/Gjirokastrë in 1890.⁴⁰⁸

Further examining the public spaces and the role of the Ottoman State in their implementation and maintenance in the region of the three *kazas* of the late Ottoman Thesprotia towards the end of the 19th century, a short mention on these spaces will be illustrative. The yearbooks of 1872-3 (*Salname-i Vilayet-i Yanya*) aside from detailing the local population offer insights into the built environment across the entire *kazas*, encompassing public buildings and infrastructure. The recorded statistics include 99 mosques and *mesdjids*, 284 churches/*havras*/ monasteries, 4 *tekke* and *türbe*, 62 schools, 2 medrese in Filat and 1 in Margaliç, 4 soup kitchens, 3 governmental offices, 31 bridges, and 147 fountains.⁴⁰⁹

A case regarding the direct involvement of the Ottoman State in the construction of public buildings is apparent in the process for the erection of the church of Aghia Triada in the *kasaba* of Filat/Filiates in collaboration to the Ecclesiastic authorities. The Imperial Decree issued for the church's construction was announced by Ahmet Rasim Pasha of Yannina in 1871 to the authorities of Gjirokastrë (Javit Pasha), the *naip*, *mufti*, and the *ağas* of Filiates.⁴¹⁰ The decree provides crucial information about the terms and conditions of this building activity.

According to the available translated document in Greek, this decision resulted from a petition submitted through the Patriarchate of Istanbul, related to Filiates via its previous exarchate, the Giromeri Monastery, and the efforts of its prior, Parthenios, for the needs of the Christian millet on a privately donated plot to the monastery.⁴¹¹ The construction specifications were defined as 32 cubits in length (24m), 16 cubits in width (12m), and 10 cubits in height (7.5m), including 14 windows, as well as a courtyard surrounding the church building.⁴¹² Other terms for this activity stipulated that the church should not be part of a Muslim neighborhood, a wakf, or a means of extracting

⁴⁰⁸ Such as the cases of fires in Larissa (1841), Edirne (1846), Serres (1849), in various neighborhoods of Thessaloniki (1854, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1869, 1890 etc.), Istanbul (Aksaray 1845, Hocağa 1865, Pera and Edirne Kapı 1870 etc.), the market of Veroia (1884), the market of Elbasan (1877, 1880, 1882), Karditsa (1881), and Monastiri/Manastır (1863, 1889). Al. Karadimou-Yerolympos, 88-89.

⁴⁰⁹ Balta, Yilmaz, and Yaşar, "Tsamouria. Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia," Appendix II, 268.

⁴¹⁰ G. Kotsis, *Φιλιάτες*, 72-73.

⁴¹¹ Ali Damas, Agas (ağa) Takas. Ibid., 70-71.

⁴¹² Like the Taxiarches Church of Kayaköy. Source: LYKIA Institution.

money from poor Christians ostensibly for the church's construction. Additionally, the entire undertaking would be supervised by local authorities until completion, with the finished church reported to the vali of Yannina.⁴¹³ Notably, the church, in its initial phase, did not include a bell tower, which was added later.⁴¹⁴

Additionally, the Ottoman State was responsible for the construction of administrative buildings and their financial sustainability, issuing related decisions. Documents related to the governmental building (*hükümet konağı*) in Filiates highlight the involvement of the Ottoman State.⁴¹⁵ Additionally, a petition from local merchants in Sagiada after the earthquake of 1872, requesting to purchase State land, argued that this sale would be advantageous for the Ottoman State. They proposed that the funds from the sale could be invested in infrastructure, and the remaining money could be used to construct the local administrative building. After negotiations, the State agreed to sell the land, with the condition that it would first take care of the administrative building.⁴¹⁶

Moreover, under the State's responsibility was the provision for appropriate infrastructure. The correspondence related to the claims of the people from Sagiada is illustrative both of the role of the State as the ultimate authority for deciding on such topics, but also the level of local involvement in the process.

The petition submitted to the Ministry of Commerce and the Yiannina Governor prior to the earthquake of 1872 in Sagiada, requesting a macadamized road from Sagiada port to Yannina, acknowledges the significant impact of such infrastructure on other parts of Rumelia, which had greatly benefited from similar roads. The petition

⁴¹³ G. Kotsis, *Φιλιάτες*, 73.

⁴¹⁴ Two inscriptions mention the two building phases of the foundation of the church on the 20th of May, 1876 after the care and supervision of the exarchate of Giromeri Mr. prior Parthenios and other subscribers, and the erection of the bell tower on the 20th of May 1920 after the care of the church priors and the subscribers.

“ΕΤΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ 1876 ΜΑΪΟΥ 20, ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΥ ΕΞΑΡΧΟΥ Κ. ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΓΗΡΟΜΕΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΤΩΝ» and “ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΡΙΜΝΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΤΩΝ ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΤΟ ΚΩΔΩΝΟΣΤΑΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ 1920 ΜΑΪΟΥ 20.” (In the year 20 May 1876, this temple was erected from the foundations after the care and supervision of the patriarchal exarch Mr. Parthenios the prior of the Giromeri Monastery, and other donors) and (This bell tower was erected in the year 20 May 1920 after the activity and care of donors and ecclesiastic commissioners).

⁴¹⁵ BEO 638, 47846, H-17-12-1312; *DH.MKT. F. 216, Sh. 31, H-07-09-1311*; *TFR.I.YN.*, F. 6, Sh. 525, H-17-05-1321.

⁴¹⁶ *İ.MMS. / 43 – 1759 – 0, Tarih: H-08-01-1289.*

outlines practicalities, proposing that the State should provide building materials and funds, while local craftsmen would willingly undertake the construction. If construction masters/craftsmen were needed, their expenses could be covered by the treasury of the Yannina governorate. An engineer would be sent to conduct a study of the road project, also examining the condition of a previously built road near Sahora, with the aim of establishing a proper road network in Yannina.⁴¹⁷

The State's involvement in building activities related to the outpost and public works and buildings is also evident, while local merchants sought permission for buying land to construct houses, stores, and shops, or to repair the customs office. Lastly, foreigners operating in the outpost requested State intervention for damaged buildings used in their activities. A petition to the Foreign Ministry by the Lloyd Company's agency in the outpost of Sagiada sought renovation or reconstruction of the building where the company was located. The practicalities outlined in the petition defined the framework for the procedures: the company's personnel would temporarily stay in a timber barrack imported from Trieste, and the Ottoman State, through collaboration between the Foreign Ministry and the Austrian embassy, would issue official documents according to building regulations and charge the Lloyd Company for construction permits.⁴¹⁸

Interests and spheres of influence intertwined in a local level: the local Greek Orthodox Church, represented by either the Metropolis of Paramythia or the Exarchate of Giromeri, exerted authority over the religious spaces of the local Christians. Simultaneously, locals and foreigners were trying to ensure the smooth conduct of business affairs. Moreover, the Ottoman State played a pivotal role in decision-making processes, orchestrating interactions between various local and international petitioners. This dual influence—from bottom up initiatives to top-down decrees—highlighted the complex dynamics of governance within the region.

8.2 Circulating individuals

In contrast to the public buildings and spaces, the house architecture and the household domain little can be associated to the any legislation or intervention from the State,

⁴¹⁷ MKT. MHM. F. 142, Sh. 59, 5 Ra. 1279/ 31.08.1862.

⁴¹⁸ HR. TH. / 182 – 48/ H-12 ? 1312 (1896), 1; BEO / 823 – 62353/ H-6-08-1312 (1896).

primarily as there has not been any such available information so far, as well as the house owners seem they had the main word on how they would prefer to live. Since the end of the 19th century, house architecture and household spaces in Palia Sagiada present an undeniable plurality in stylistic preferences, while the whole settlement was known in the region for its wealthy houses.

Very characteristic is the little poem about the houses and their owners in Palia Sagiada written by the intellectual and journalist Georgios F. Vougidis during the 1930s within his satirical writings.⁴¹⁹ In his description of the '*salonia*' (living rooms) of the houses, Vougidis paints a picture of grandeur and wealth reminiscent of the homes of kings, with portraits adorning the walls and riches brought in by ships. This imagery likely drew from the prosperity of the region, highlighting its former glory.⁴²⁰ However, Vougidis also lamented the decline of Palia Sagiada into a place of misery during his time. The contrast between the lavish descriptions of the past and the unfortunate reality of the present would have served as a poignant commentary on societal and economic changes.⁴²¹

Overall, Vougidis' writings about Palia Sagiada and its houses provide a glimpse into the shifting fortunes of the region and the nostalgia for a bygone era of affluence. And what inspired Vougidis to talk about salons and portraits was D. Troubatas' portrait in his house in Palia Sagiada, which unfortunately totally collapsed three years ago.⁴²²

D. Troubatas during the late Ottoman period, like other individuals from Palia Sagiada, had strong connections to the West and the large urban centers of the Ottoman world. Corfu, was also a commercial link to the coast but most importantly, it was a daily destination for the people from Palia Sagiada from any social class to the extent they were culturally affiliated to Corfu more than to the other settlements of the hinterland.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ H. Delis and G.F. Vougidis, 1920: *Ano Kato: Satirikon Imerologion / Άνω Κάτω: Σατυρικών Ημερολόγιον*. Istanbul, Tipois Estias / Τύποις Εστίας.

⁴²⁰ Στὰ Σαγιαδινὰ σαλόνια/Λουδοβίκοι τόσοι ζοῦσαν/ μ'ανθοστήλια ἀπὸ μαόνι/ μὲ πορτραῖτα ποὺ μιλοῦσαν. Πλούτη πού 'φερναν βαπόρια/ στὴ Σαγιάδα τὴν πανώρια/ στὴ Σαγιάδα τοῦ Ἰονίου/ πέρασαν δροσιὰ Μαῖου. G.F. Vougidis, *Θεσπρωτικά. Τραγούδια του χωριού, του βουνού, και της στάνης* (Thesprotika. Songs of the village, the mountain, and the sheep shed (Patra: Kapafas, 1929).

⁴²¹ That can be explained also by the general political condition in the Greek Kingdom during that period, leading to a general financial crisis.

⁴²² Ethnographic workshop, "Narrating our village through its objects," 2022.

⁴²³ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 59. Like this, it is today as well.

The information presented so far, particularly about the affluent merchants and entrepreneurs from Palia Sagiada engaged in interregional and international activities, helps to explain the rich material culture within the settlement. However, it's important to note that this wealth was not limited to Sagiada alone. In the broader region of the three coastal *kazas*, Christian elites, especially from the mid-19th century onward, operated at a comparable level to the merchants from Sagiada, engaging in significant commercial activities.

The connections between the Epirotan coast and European centers involved the export of various goods such as acorns, vegetal dyes, processed wood, carpets, woolen socks, capes, and more.⁴²⁴ Additionally, goods were imported to Epirus from key European cities like Istanbul, Corfu, Trieste, and Marseille.⁴²⁵ The trade transactions reveal a fascinating network of Epirotans extending beyond the Ionian Islands to places like Leipzig, Vienna, Moscow, Trieste, Livorno, Venice, Naples, Budapest, and more. The outpost of Sagiada played an important role to this transactional network as one of the main regional outposts of Epirus, in the coast from Aghioi Saranta to Preveze.

Noteworthy families that thrived in such commercial activities during the 19th century were not coming only from Palia Sagiada of course, but from the other local settlements as well. One such was the Riggas family from Paramythia/Aydonat, known for their mansions visited by Boissonas. Siblings Georgios and Dimitrios Riggas were manufacturers and merchants, dealing in local cheese (μπάτζο-batzo) and vegetal dyes. They operated in the late 19th century, exporting their products to commercial houses in Trieste and Venice.⁴²⁶ Another prominent individual from Paramythia was Sotirios Boulgaris, a member of the Boulgaris family. Sotirios, the grandson of a street vendor, displayed talent in creating gold and silver jewelry. Seizing the opportunity, he moved with his family to Rome in 1881 and opened a shop, which later evolved into the renowned Bulgari jewelry brand. These examples highlight the economic dynamism and entrepreneurial spirit of Epirotans in establishing trade connections with various

⁴²⁴ E. Balta, Yilmaz, and Yaşar, "Tsamouria. Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia," 254.

⁴²⁵ Georgios Papageorgiou, "Τα πιστοποιητικά προέλευσης (Certificat's de Origine) των εμπορευμάτων ως πηγή της οικονομικής ιστορίας του Πασαλίκιου Ιωαννίνων (1811-1814) (Certificates of origins of the commodities as a source of the economic history of the Pashalik of Ioannina)" (1985); Eleni Giannakopoulou, "Ηπειρώτες Έμποροι Στην Ιταλία Κατά Το 18ο Αιώνα (Νέα Αρχαιακά Στοιχεία) (Epirotan Merchants in Italy during the 18th Century)," *The Gleaner* 21 (1997): 143–75.

⁴²⁶ The activities and social outreach of the family are stunning, yet, further research is needed for supporting different arguments, <http://arhontiko-riga.gr>

European cities.⁴²⁷

The movement of many Epirotans to places like Istanbul, Europe, or America, often resulting in permanent relocation, was frequently driven by opportunities in trade professions. Grigoris Tsogkas from Palia Sagiada (born 1886), studied in the school of Sagiada, later Corfu, he studied Law in Athens, and arrived in New York in 1912 from Patras, for business with the American Greeks there, without though staying permanently.⁴²⁸

Despite their physical distance from their places of origin, these individuals maintained strong connections with their home regions, particularly through family ties that served as the foundation for their business activities. Kokolakis emphasizes the significant contrast between those who successfully integrated into the labor division of large urban networks within the Ottoman Empire and those who struggled to make a living with limited productive resources. Additionally, the practice of using wealth earned abroad to construct grand family homes in one's birthplace was not uncommon among successful individuals Epirus during that era. These houses served as tangible symbols of their personal achievements and prosperity, showcasing their success to the local community. Legendary traditions and local literary productions often associated wealth and progress with ventures abroad, contrasting them with perceived poverty and stagnation at home.⁴²⁹

Istanbul emerged as a particularly popular destination for individuals hailing from the settlements of the *kaza* of Filiates. For example, Gerasimos Skandaleto from Sagiada often used to bring presents to his wife from Istanbul.⁴³⁰ Doupi brothers, Grigoris and Lolis, from Kokkinia found success as undertakers and later established bakeries in Galata, all while remaining engaged in livestock activities in the broader region of Kokkinia.⁴³¹ Families like Vougidis from Giromeri, Theologis (Figure 8.1-8.2) and Karampinas from Foiniki, and Vekkos from Xechoro maintained close family ties while operating bakeries, also in Galata. Another example is Mikroulis from Tsamanda,

⁴²⁷ NEO Magazine, "Sotirios Voulgaris: the Greek behind Bulgari," 24 March, 2020,

<https://www.neomagazine.com/2020/03/sotirios-voulgaris-the-greek-behind-bulgari/>

⁴²⁸ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 130.

⁴²⁹ M. Kokolakis, *Το ύστερο Γιαννιώτικο πασαλίκι*, 44-5.

⁴³⁰ Irene Vougidis, interview by the author.

⁴³¹ Information for Doupi family was provided by Marina Doupi, the daughter of Grigoris Doupi.

who studied at Halki Theological School. These instances illustrate the multifaceted connections between Epirotans and various locations, showcasing how familial and business networks extended across different regions and even continents.⁴³²

The various societies developed in the large urban centers played an important role in connecting individuals. For example, the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople (GPSC) played a crucial role in connecting its members from various backgrounds and origins in Istanbul during the late 19th century. Founded in 1861, the society quickly became a unifying platform that brought together artists, scientists, and entrepreneurs but also religious leaders, transcending the boundaries of the Greek Orthodox community. Its impact was significant, fostering a sense of community and collaboration among its diverse members. This matrix was impressive.⁴³³

As an extension of the GPSC was the Society for the Promotion of Education and Learning of Epirotans of Constantinople (Philekpaideutiki Etaireia), founded in 1872 by Epirotan already members of the GPSC.⁴³⁴ This society aimed to advance education in the Epirus region and became a key intellectual and educational force.⁴³⁵ Members like

⁴³² According to the information of the living descendant Sotirios Mikroulis, who kindly shared photographic material of the family and he allowed the architectural survey of the inn (under process). Konstantinos Mikroulis (1857, Tsamantas, Thesprotia -1939, Corfu) graduated in from the Halki Seminary. After pursuing a successful carrier in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, in 23rd of May 1900 was elected as a Metropolitan of Sozopoli and Agathoupoli, Bulgaria, Black Sea region. That period (1895-97 Ecumenical Patriarch was Anthimos VII (1827-32, Plisivitsa, Thesprotia, 1913, Antigone Island-Burgazadası, Istanbul). The Yannina yearbook of 1872-73 records Anthimos as the bishop of Paramythia/Aydonat, which bishopric of Paramythia promoted into a metropolis once he became the Patriarch. Mikroulis family was also one of the prominent merchant families of Filiates, pursuing milling activities in Bulgaria and holding one of the three inns of the town, having family connections to the Tsiropoulis family, holding the other inn.

⁴³³ Giannakopoulos in his dissertation about the Society, its role on Greek education and science as national politics in the Ottoman Empire, provides a list of its donors during the years 1910-1911, according to the 23rd periodical edition of GPSC; among others we see the names such as the Istanbulite bankers Zografos, Mavrogenis, Zarifis and Negrepontis as major donors (μεγάλοι-ευεργέται), the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Mavrogordatos, Rallis, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Iliaskos, Syggros, etc. Georgios Giannakopoulos, “Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1861-1922): Η Ελληνική Παιδεία Και Επιστήμη Ως Εθνική Πολιτική Στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (The Greek Philological Society of Constantinople (1861-1922))” (National Cappodistrian University of Athens, 1998).

⁴³⁴ Konstantinos Karapanos, a prominent figure from Epirus (1840-1914), exemplified the interconnectedness within the GPSC. A politician, banker, landowner, and archaeologist from Arta, Karapanos was not only a great donor to the society but also one of the founders of the Epirotan Society of Istanbul.

⁴³⁵ The founders of the society were: the Metropolitan Derkon Neofytos from Drymades, Pogoni, Christakis Zografos from Kestorati, Gjirokaster, Heracles Vasiades from Delvinaki, and Konstantinos Karapanos from Arta. “We are meant to make any possible effort to create Primary Schools and to spread education in Epirus” (Οφείλομεν ίνα πάσαν καταβάλωμεν προσπάθειαν εις σύστασιν Δημοτικών

Panagiotis Vekkos and Theologis actively participated in these societies, highlighting their commitment to educational and intellectual pursuits. The interconnected network in Istanbul was so extensive that events, such as the death of Sotirios Vekkos, had a profound impact on the entire community in Galata, underlining the close-knit relationships fostered within these organizations.⁴³⁶

Individuals from Palia Sagiada were also involved in such societies. The available information connects Gr. Tsogkas, Sp. Anagnostis, Chr. Pappas, Th. Tsamados to the Epirotan Society of Athens (Ηπειρωτική Εταιρεία/ Ipirotiki Eteria), which was founded in 25/03/1906. This Society had more of a nationalistic agenda. Nevertheless, its members were very active in building connections. Th. Tsamados in his interview to G. Tsogkas and M. Pasiakos during the 1970s still remembers the gatherings and meetings set in Tsogkas' house in Palia Sagiada, including entertainment with eating and dancing in the house's courtyard.⁴³⁷

The late 19th-century witnessed a dynamic movement of individuals from the Epirus region, both Christians and Muslims, who migrated to various places, built social networks, and established connections through platforms like Philological Societies or Clubs. These networks played a crucial role in creating bonds among merchants, entrepreneurs and other circulating individuals (artists, doctors, journalists) who shared common origins and experiences in the places they chose to immigrate. Simultaneously, these individuals maintained ties with their places of origin, and over time, they sought positions in the local intellectual and political life.

Σχολείων και διάδοσιν της παιδείας εις την Ήπειρον): from the speech of Vasiades: Yearbook of the *Society for the Promotion of Education and Learning of Epirotans in Constantinople*, first year 1872-73.

⁴³⁶ The greatest hit for Georgios was his father's death in 6/1/1902 in Galata, Istanbul. His very affecting letter towards his and his brother's wife staying in Filiates that period, announcing the event of the fathers' death, emphasized the impact of the unfortunate news to the whole community of Galata; the public speech at the day of the funeral given by the Metropolitan Konstantinos Mikroulis (1857, Tsamantas, Thesprotia -1939, Corfu) and the multitude of people attending the process. The newspaper *Tachidromos* (Ταχυδρόμος) from Istanbul wrote about the event:

“ It grieves us to announce the death, resulted by a chronic condition, of Sotirios, son of Nikolaos, Vekkos, an Epirotan man, known for his devoted-to-his nation (*filogeni*) feelings, and for his other virtues, emitting huge reputation and respect to the Epirotans living here (in Istanbul) and to many others. His early death casted a gloom over not only those who were close to him, but to all those who were happy to meet him. His funeral took place the day before yesterday, on Monday, 7 o'clock Turkish time, at the big street in Galata, in front of his Store. [...] a great number of his compatriots and not only, attended the ecclesiastic service; the deceased was removed to Şişli cemetery, where he was buried.” *Ταχυδρόμος, Εφημερίς εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* (Tachydromos, Newspaper in Constantinople), Edited by G.A. Vellis, Year V, no. 1085, Wednesday, 9.1.1902, 1. Translation from Greek by the author.

⁴³⁷ G. Tsogkas, *Η Σαγιάδα*, 131-133.

The mobility and interconnectedness were not limited to Christians alone. Abidin Dino (Dinozade Abidin paşa), born in Preveza and originally from Liopsi, neighboring to Palia Sagiada and whose family opulent house has been discussed in the previous chapter, is a notable example. Abedin Dino managed to receive a formal education and attain high positions within the Ottoman state apparatus. This shift in the political atmosphere during the 19th century allowed provincial notables, both Christians and Muslims, to become integral members of the Ottoman bureaucracy (Figure 8.3-8.4).⁴³⁸

The lower social hierarchy in the late 19th century also witnessed mobility, particularly evident in the case of *müderris* (religious scholars) appointed to medrese (religious schools) in Filat. The *salname* of 1872-3 provides insights into the interrelation between social structures and the individuals involved in these appointments. For instance, the yearbook registers two Muslim seminaries (*medrese*) in the *kasaba* of Filat, which were maintained by an endowment (*vakıf*).⁴³⁹ According to the *salname*, locals built one of the madrasas in the 1720s. To sustain the school and support the *müderris* teaching there, Koçlu Veysi Ağa, son of İbrahim, donated a *kışlak* (winter quarters or winter *çiftliks*) in Kastiri (likely present-day Kastri) as a *vakıf* in the 1740s.

Archival research reveals more information about one of these seminaries and its connection to the *vakıf*.⁴⁴⁰ A document details the appointment of Ahmed Tevfik Efendi as the *müderris* in one of the seminaries. Additionally, a petition inquiring about a position in Filat was submitted by Margılıçlı Yusuf, a high-ranking *medrese* student from the Ayak Kurşunlu medrese in Fatih (on the Golden Horn), on May 11, 1899. He expressed his desire to return to his region. Further research in the Prime Minister Ottoman Archive in Istanbul provides additional material about Ahmed Tevfik Efendi, indicating his appointments in Yannina and Thessaloniki as well.

Moreover, the region saw the influence of individuals such as a certain Veiz Bey, a patron associated with mosques and bridges in Filat and Doliani. Local studies credit him with these constructions, in combination with documents from the Vakıflar Genel

⁴³⁸ Vangelis Kechriotis, “Ρέκβιεμ για την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (Requiem for the Ottoman Empire),” in *Η συγκρότηση του Ελληνικού Κράτους (The formation of the Greek State)*, eds. Antonis Liakos and Efi Gazi (Athens: Nefeli, 2008), 35.

⁴³⁹ E. Balta, “Tsamouria,” 256.

⁴⁴⁰ The document catalog no and description from Yıldız Archive [Hamidian Yıldız Palace documents] Y.A.RES. 100: Yanya vilayeti dahilinde Filat kasabasında kain medrese müderrisliginin ba-berat Mehmed Tevfik Efendi'nin uhdasine tevcihi.

Müdürlüğü which mention Veisi Ağa, probably the same person as Veiz Bey, as the patron of a mosque in Mazaraki. Dated in 1217/1802, this information highlights the architectural mark Veisi Ağa left on the region at the end of the 18th century.⁴⁴¹

These circulating individuals, irrespective of their ethno-religious backgrounds, encountered the evolving late Ottoman and European urban environments, exposing them to new ideologies expressed through buildings and urban planning. It was not just architectural styles but also the spirit of the new milieu, characterized by capitalism, emerging national identities, unhindered mobility, and the expression of personal tastes, that left an impact. Those with the ability to travel could influence local development through their financial, intellectual, or political agency, as well as their decisions to distinguish themselves through visual and architectural manifestations.

8.3 “Who built the world?” – The travelling stone craftsmen

The construction process was a collaborative effort involving not only the owners and the Ottoman State but also the builders, who played a pivotal role, as the quality of the end product depended greatly on their talent and experience. When initiating the construction of a housing project, an agreement was made between the house owner and the master craftsman, known as the '*kalfa*,' or '*mastoras*' (κάλφας/μάστορας) who acted as the contractor. The *kalfa* had the responsibility of assembling a team of specialized craftsmen and artisans, including stone masonry builders, painters, carpenters, and others, to ensure the completion of the entire construction project. This collaborative effort brought together different skilled individuals to contribute to the construction process.⁴⁴²

The contract for the building undertakings in the Tasis family house, dated January 1872, provides valuable insights into the construction process.⁴⁴³ One crucial aspect of

⁴⁴¹ VGM.DEFTER 183-0/0020/145; VGM.DEFTER 583/0120/0151.

⁴⁴² To these craftsmen are attributed different names according to their specialization, e.g. *pelekanos* (πελεκώ= to curve) was the one who was undertaking the stone curving details. Nikos Kosmas, *To Ηπειρώτικο Λαϊκό Σπίτι* (The Folk House of Epirus) (Athens-Ioannina: Dodoni Publications, 1998).

⁴⁴³ “I, the craftsman (*mastoras*-μάστορας) Lambros from the kaza of Konitsa, the village Pyrsogianni, today gladly we agreed in Sagiada with Mr. Taflos and his brother Kotsias that I will build them a house building. We have to destroy the old house and rebuild it in a new structure according to the householders’ any desirable design at the time of the construction, at any height and length; and I am responsible to make stones for the two corners (κιοσίδες- *kōše*) of the windows (meaning door jambs) and doors, and bring white carved doors, Mr. Spyridon Skendos as craftsman (local from Sagiada), stones, sand and the necessary water, and whatever the craftsman needs. The foundations will be 11 *roupia* (1 rup= 1/8 of the cubit), while the masonry upper the foundation will be 1 *pratzo* (1 *brazzo*=75 cm). The craftsman promises to build the house until it is covered (with a roof) [...] For the stone of the best quality

the contract is the agreement that the new house would be constructed "according to the householders' any desirable design at the time of the construction, at any height and length" (το σπήτι το παλαιόν έχωμε να το χαλάσωμε και να το φκιάσωμεν εις νέαν οικοδομίν και εις όποιον σχέδιον γινή αρεστόν εις τον καιρόν της οικοδομής των οικοκυραίων, τόσο εις το ύψος όσο εις το μάκρος). The responsibilities were clearly outlined, with the owner taking charge of payments for materials, wages (in money and products), while the master craftsman, acting as a contractor, was obligated to provide materials and oversee construction based on agreed specifications until the completion of the house (Figure 8.5).

Despite potential adjustments due to subsequent events, such as earthquakes, this document illuminates the collaborative nature of building a house, where the owner's preferences played a role, and craftsmen were committed to fulfilling the employer's wishes. The contract emphasized the importance of maintaining the agreement, covering construction costs, and ensuring continuity with the same group of craftsmen throughout the project.

Noteworthy is the involvement of a local craftsman from Sagiada, mentioned in the contract, indicating the participation of Sagiada locals in larger craft communities, primarily from Mastorochoia (craftsmen villages) in Konitsa, Epirus. Local craftsmen like Petros Mandos, Poullos Papadimitriou, Diogenis Lioutsis, and Vaggelis Keros were part of this collaborative effort.

The traveling groups of craftsmen, known as 'synafia' (συνάφι-α) or 'bouloukia' (μπουλούκι-α) played a significant role in construction activities in Epirus and the broader Balkans. In particular, the term 'boulouki' is derived from the Turkish word 'bölük,' meaning brigades. These groups, with activities dating back to the 17th century and gaining prominence in the late 18th century, collaborated with local merchants and even sponsored public buildings.⁴⁴⁴

promise Mr. Taflos and Kotsias to pay Mr. Lambros for each *pratto* 100 para after properly calculated. [...agreements about the daily wages in money and foods of the involved workers/ craftsmen, as well as the timeline of the project]. Sagiada, 10 January 1872. Signed by Taflos Tasios and *mastorolambros* (Labros the *mastoras*/craftsman)."

Argyris Petronotis and Vasilis Papageorgiou, *Μάστοροι και χτίστες από τα Μαστοροχώρια της Κόνιτσας* (Craftsmen and builders from Mastorochoia in Konitsa) (Ioannina: Νομαρχιακή Αυτοδιοίκηση Ιωαννίνων, 2008), 265-266. Translation into English by the author.

⁴⁴⁴ Maurice Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders." *Muqarnas* (1988): 89; Suraiya Faruqi, *Artisans of empire: crafts and craftspeople under the Ottomans* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009), 162.

The involvement of these craftsmen in building activities was so extensive that it led to a local myth. According to the myth, when students were asked who built the world, they, influenced by the prominent presence of these craftsmen, would mistakenly answer with the name of the craftsmen group operating in their region instead of the expected "God built the world" response.

And of course, various regions attributed "the construction of the world" to different groups of craftsmen, with this myth reflecting the widespread influence and presence of these traveling craftsmen in diverse regions. For example, Vourbianites and Pyrsogiannites from Konitsa were credited by Epirotans, Lagkadinoi (from Langkadia) and Varvanites (Varvani) by Peloponnesians, Tiniakoi (Tinos Island), Andriotes (Andros) and Anafiotes (Anafi) by Athenians, Zoupaniotes in Greek Macedonia, Mitilinioi (Mitilini island) in Izmir, and Kallipolites in Thessaloniki (Aggelochori/Findikli in Gelibolu).⁴⁴⁵

The main group of the *bouloukia* consisted of members from the same family or settlement, and they undertook a diverse range of construction projects in different locations. The group had the flexibility to recruit additional craftsmen from local areas, expanding their workforce for specific projects. Oral testimonies suggest that this recruitment not only brought in additional labor but also facilitated the entry of the *boulouki* into the local market.⁴⁴⁶

Recruiting local craftsmen to join the larger group was advantageous for everyone involved in the construction of a house. Local craftsmen could enhance their skills by participating in larger-scale projects undertaken by the *boulouki*. The *boulouki* itself would gain a broader reputation due to the geographical diversity of its activities. Commissioners of housing projects benefited by having access to a skilled and experienced *boulouki* that could cater to their preferences and execute the construction effectively.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵ A. Petronotis and V. Papageorgiou, *Μάστοροι και χτίστες*, 82-84.

⁴⁴⁶ Such ideas are proposed after my interview with elderly local craftsmen from other settlement of the region. Sotirios Pappas, "About the craftsmen and their activities," interview by the author (19/08/2023).

⁴⁴⁷ Özlem Karakul, "Folk architecture in historic environments: Living spaces for intangible cultural heritage." *Milli Folklor-International and Quarterly Journal of Cultural Studies* 19 (2007): 151-163; Trevor Marchand, "Crafting knowledge: The role of 'parsing and production' in the communication of skill-based knowledge among masons," *Ways of knowing: anthropological approaches to crafting experience and knowledge* 18 (2007): 181-202; Trevor Marchand, "Muscles, morals and mind: Craft apprenticeship and the formation of person," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 56, no. 3 (2008): 245-271.

This collaborative model allowed for the exchange of expertise, skills, and experience among craftsmen from different regions, contributing to the success and efficiency of construction projects. The *bouloukia* network operated as a dynamic system where local craftsmen, the main group, and project commissioners found mutual benefits in working together.

Contracts between individuals and craftsmen provide evidence of the construction activities of craftsmen from the region of Konitsa, Epirus, in Thesprotia and the three *kaza* of Filiates, Paramythia, and Margaliç. ⁴⁴⁸ In general, it seems that craftsmen from Pysogianni and Vourbiani of Konitsa extensively operated in the coastal region. These craftsmen played a significant role in building some of the region's wealthiest houses, including the Vekkos House in Filiates, the Rigkas house in Paramythia, and the house of Jafer Ağa in Aetos (constructed between 1900-1905), all of which were built by stone craftsmen from Pysogianni. Moreover, the Giromeri Monasteri prior, Mr. Agapios from Palia Sagiada, also seen as the donor of the tempon of Aghios Georgios in Palia Sagiada (see Chapter 5), commissioned in 1827 the craftsmen Lambros, Ioannis and Xarisis from Pysogianni for the construction of the new gate of the Monastery premises. ⁴⁴⁹ Sagiada is mentioned again in contracts between the locals and three brothers Nikos (born 1839), Tolis (born 1848) and Dimitris Lindas (1856-1917). ⁴⁵⁰ And of course, the presence of these craftsmen expand to various projects in the main *kasabas* of the local *kazas*, Filat, Paramythia, and Margaliç, commissioned both by Christian and Muslim clients. ⁴⁵¹

Beyond residential buildings, these craftsmen were involved in constructing various types of structures, including bridges, mosques, churches, monasteries, mills, lighthouses, and other public projects, such as the mosque building in the neighboring to Palia Sagiada Liopsi, Kotsika, and Yianniari (Janjar/present-day Albania) by the very known craftsman Kyrkas Yiannis Pysos (1847-1913). ⁴⁵² These craftsmen adapted their

⁴⁴⁸ There is a contract about a construction project in Liopsi, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*. Moreover, the following projects were built by craftsmen from Konitsa: The house of Mamos Ağa in Argyrotopos, 1940-42; a house and the school in Kouremadi 1919, 1927 respectively; the house of Jafer Ağa in Aetos, 1900-1905; one of the houses of Riggas family (the doctor) in Paramythia. From the unpublished letter of Papageorgiou to Michalis Pasiaskos and A. Petronotis and V. Papageorgiou, *Μάστοροι Και Χτίστες*.

⁴⁴⁹ A. Petronotis and V. Papageorgiou, *Μάστοροι Και Χτίστες*, 200.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 201.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 203, 207.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 352.

styles to suit the diverse needs and preferences of their clients, showcasing their versatility in architectural projects.⁴⁵³ An interesting historical document from 1862 reveals that local builders from Sagiada could be employed in public projects, such as road construction, alongside appointed official engineers, discussed previously as an aspect of a local petition towards the Ottoman State for the construction of a new road. In any case, in later periods, local craftsmen from Thesprotia, like Georgios Troubatas from Sagiada, became contractors for public projects, demonstrating their increased autonomy and expertise in undertaking significant construction endeavors.

The Epirotan craftsmen exhibited remarkable mobility, freely traversing various regions and leaving their distinctive visual imprint on the architectural landscape. Their influence extended across the Balkan Peninsula, Western Anatolia, the Middle East, and even as far as Sudan.⁴⁵⁴ Double or triple-row stone arches with bands of smaller stones or bricks,⁴⁵⁵ ceramic bands in the corners of the houses or the chimneys⁴⁵⁶, or interesting samples of stone-curving, attested to their presence, or at least their influence, in different geographies including the region of Arcadia and Kynouria in Peloponnese, in Macedonia, in Spetses Island.⁴⁵⁷ Open to foreign influences and yet preserving their local know how, they collaborated with craftsmen from other regions of the Balkans and Anatolia (e.g. Kayseri and Konya) contributing to the unity of the building culture in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean during the late Ottoman period.⁴⁵⁸

These craftsmen were receptive to foreign influences while maintaining their local expertise. Their adaptability allowed them to quickly assimilate new techniques and decorative programs, applying structural, decorative, and architectural innovations based on their clients' preferences. Despite varying client budgets, spatial requirements,

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 332, 336, 397.

⁴⁵⁴ N. Kosmas, *Το Ηπειρώτικο Λαϊκό Σπίτι*, 11.

⁴⁵⁵ In the houses in Kynouria, ceramic bands in-between the arches of the outside doors of the houses, remind of the motifs the Epirotan craftsmen were using. Dimitris Filippidis, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Kynouria*, ed. Dimitris Filippidis (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 1986), 28-29, 31-32.

⁴⁵⁶ The Epirotan craftsmen worked also in the villages of Arcadia, leaving their mark with the motifs they were used repeatedly, for example in Kalavryta, Vytina, and Stemnitsa. A. Petronotis, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Arcadia*.

⁴⁵⁷ Marianna A. Filindra, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Spetses*, ed. Dimitris Filippidis (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 1986).

⁴⁵⁸ For example, the sticking resemblance of Sirince in Izmir region and Berat in Albania, or the tower-like structures in Doganbey similar to the houses in Epirus. Also: M. Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders," 89.

and plot sizes, both the craftsmen and their clients were familiar with typological issues and different house details, contributing to the flexibility and adaptability of Epirotan craftsmanship.⁴⁵⁹

The role of craftsmen in the application of neoclassicism or eclectic forms in the large, rich houses of Thesprotia is significant, especially considering the limited knowledge of formally trained architects operating in the region during the 19th century. While architects with academic backgrounds were active in local centers like Yannina and Corfu, information on architects in Thesprotia primarily begins after the region's integration into the Kingdom of Greece, with figures like Klouvatos in Filiates.

The 19th-century institutionalization of the architectural profession, while licensed architects receiving official training, did not diminish the importance of established stone craftsmen or professionals. These craftsmen, often illiterate, continued to play a crucial role in the construction industry, corresponding to the new demands.⁴⁶⁰ They maintained their identity as craftsmen, *mastores*, or passed down family traditions in construction. Moreover, this period saw the emergence of certified architects within families with a construction background, fostering a close collaboration between the new, academically trained professionals and the experienced craftsmen.⁴⁶¹

In rural areas of Epirus, the building process remained firmly in the hands of craftsmen. The collaboration between formally trained architects and experienced craftsmen proved mutually beneficial. Craftsmen expanded their expertise by working with architects or being influenced by advancements in construction practices. As a result, craftsmen adapted to late 19th-century developments, incorporating new structural and architectural elements into their designs to meet the evolving demands for

⁴⁵⁹ After my personal interview with Mr. Sotirios Pappas (1930-), a stone masonry master-craftsman coming from Xechoro, a village close to Filiates. Together with his brother Kostas, they have commissioned projects in the region of Filiates, Kefalonia, Athens, Spetches Island, Hydra Island, etc. Also see Y. Kizis, *Πηλιορείτικη Οικοδομία*, 154-55.

⁴⁶⁰ While previously the title of the architect was attributed to the specialists involved mainly in imperial projects, during this later period, architects commissioned a range of both private and public projects of different scales, expressing different stylistic preferences. For more on the institutionalization of the profession of the architect see Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Urban Texture and Architectural Styles after the Tanzimat," in *The Economy and Society on Both Shores of the Aegean*, ed. L. Baruh-Tanatar and V. Kechriotis (Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2010).

⁴⁶¹ For example, many early/middle 19th century buildings in Karaköy, Istanbul, bear the name of their builder as Kalfa, will in the later examples, there is a clear demonstration of the main architect in many apartment buildings etc. in Galata and Pera. An interesting example is the history of the Balyan Family, which starts with Bali the Mason, a masonry craftsman from Karaman, central Anatolia (late 17th-early 18th centuries).

more comfortable and modern spaces.

The church of Aghios Georgios in Pyrsogianni serves as a remarkable example, even though it's not a residential structure. The original 18th-century church was demolished in 1897, and the construction of the new church took place in 1903-1904 on the same site. Local craftsmen were extensively involved in the project, generously donating their services without receiving monetary compensation.

The initiative for collecting funds to build the church was led by the local community representative (*muhtar*) and the priest, Papa Charalambos Paschos (1854-1926). The fundraising efforts extended beyond local boundaries, reaching as far as Sudan and Ethiopia (Abyssinia). Notably, Papa Charalambos Paschos, departing from a family of craftsmen, also contributed his volunteer labor to the construction. The resulting church features two symmetrical flanking bell towers on the main façade, creating an impressive visual resemblance to the Metropolis of Athens (Figure 8.6-8.7). The latter was constructed between 1842 and 1862 by prominent architects. This architectural pattern, applied by craftsmen from Pyrsogianni, continued to influence the design of other churches built in the region during subsequent periods.⁴⁶²

The Epirotan craftsmen, staying true to their established techniques, adeptly integrated architectural novelties into familiar motifs. This natural evolution led to the seamless incorporation of academic features into the local architectural vocabulary, resulting in a fusion of Epirotan house architecture with influences from elsewhere. A notable example of this synthesis can be observed in the roof cornices and courtyard gates present in every house, not only in Sagiada but also across rural spaces. These distinctive elements extended beyond residential structures to include features in fountains and other public buildings.

Arched lintels, often arranged in two or even three rows resting on door jamb capitals, were frequently surrounded, or accentuated by additional structures such as symmetrical arched niches, pediments, and cornices. These forms served as a direct translation of new knowledge into the vernacular, giving academic styles a distinctly local touch. Simultaneously, they became part of the shared language, a *lingua franca*, used by Epirotan craftsmen in their diverse regional activities.

⁴⁶² A. Petronotis and V. Papageorgiou, *Μάστοροι Και Χτίστες*, 174-175, 179, 424.

In the late 19th century, the frontier Ottoman province of the coastal Epirus operated under a centralized administration. Elected representatives from various communities, such as those in Palia Sagiada, formally presented their settlements' needs to the authorities. They advocated for rights and privileges including improved infrastructure and equal rights for non-Muslims. The state, led by its official bureaucrats, ensured that the legislative framework comprehensively addressed various aspects of public life. This framework included managing calamities like earthquakes and fires, overseeing the construction of public buildings and infrastructure, responding to petitions from non-Muslim citizens and foreign investors, and handling uprisings and other social issues.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims actively asserted their established rights and pursued new aspirations. Christians, in particular, developed extensive business and social networks that spanned the Ottoman Empire and reached into Europe. By accumulating wealth they secured provisions for their families back home and emerged by engaging in local intellectual and political circles. Along with their wealth, these influential individuals brought forth new ideas and preferences, strongly influencing self-representation through architecture.

At the heart of this architectural evolution were the itinerant stone craftsmen. These skilled artisans played a crucial role in shaping the region's aesthetic and structural landscape. They expertly merged incoming architectural trends with the local architectural idiom, creating an eclectic mix of styles that predominantly featured neoclassical elements. Utilizing established local building techniques and traditional plan typologies, these craftsmen introduced innovations that were always tailored to the specific needs of their clients. Their craftsmanship not only met the practical demands of construction but also served as a canvas for cultural expression, reflecting a sophisticated blend of tradition and modernity in the built environment.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

This dissertation explored the abandoned settlement of Palia Sagiada in coastal Epirus, present-day Thesprotia. It delved into the late Ottoman period when the settlement was regenerated after the devastating earthquake of 1872, examining the expressions of late Ottoman urbanism in this frontier area.

That period witnessed a modernization process, or institutional and social transformation that took place in the Empire affecting its official bureaucratic apparatus, the relationship with the various populations with its domain, as well as visual transformations in cityscapes. Capital circulation, and new ideas shaped intellectual and cultural life. These modern, or urban, tangible and intangible concepts penetrated the Ottoman world in multiple ways. The frontier coast of Epirus, though lacking densely inhabited settlements, was part of this modernization project, albeit struggling to match infrastructural developments for interconnection with elsewhere in the Empire.

The case study of Palia Sagiada provides rich material for examining the aforementioned concepts within the local context of the Epirotan coastal frontier. The dynamic interplay between established or local customs and late Ottoman modernity is clearly evident. This interplay manifests in both private and public spaces, highlighting individual choice and identity, as well as in the shaping of societal norms. Moreover, it is apparent in the collaborative efforts among various stakeholders in public affairs, and finally, it is reflected through architecture and its evolving social identities. In essence, local modernity transcends mere imitation of trends; rather, it represents a novel notion within established and emerging spatial practices, rendering Palia Sagiada as a microcosm expressing its unique version of modernity.

Palia Sagiada's development and existence were intricately linked to its coastline. As part of a cluster of settlements that delineated commercial routes to the inland regions, it primarily thrived within a coastal landscape encompassing salines, plains, and an outpost. The salines and outpost held significant economic and social connections with Palia Sagiada, contributing to its overall socio-economic fabric.

However, the coastline served primarily as a business hub rather than a residential area; it functioned as an economic resource and social nexus situated apart from the main settlement, physically and visually detached from the coastline. Consequently, the coastal area never evolved into a separate settlement, likely due to unfavorable hygiene conditions resulting from surrounding marshes and inadequate infrastructure.⁴⁶³

Studying the abandoned Palia Sagiada as part of an Ottoman archaeology project aligns with theoretical considerations in this field. Extensive fieldwork, historical research, and ethnographic inquiries through the Summer '22 workshop: “Palia Sagiada: Narrating our Village through its Objects,” offered an interdisciplinary perspective that helped to reconstruct the architectural and social identities of the abandoned space. Employing ethnography in Palia, which involves gathering oral histories and engaging local communities, has offered valuable insights regarding the use of the settlement’s private and public domains.

The research findings are detailed and discussed throughout the chapters of this dissertation. The study begins by contextualizing the settlement within its geographical and historical backdrop—a contested late Ottoman frontier characterized by competing claims from various local and international stakeholders. Following this, the analysis explores the physical attributes and functional dynamics of both private and public spaces in Palia Sagiada, predominantly relying on material evidence complemented by folklore and historical narratives. Lastly, the dissertation synthesizes insights derived from the architectural milieu of the region and the contributions of individuals involved in the construction process, drawing upon fieldwork, examination of private archives, and reference to secondary sources.

The private spaces in Palia Sagiada, that said the houses and households compose an important part of this research. These stone structures, ingeniously adapted to the steep topography of the area, feature several floors, multileveled and multifunctional courtyards, often reminiscent of the local tower houses that were once prevalent along the coastal region, reflecting the historical context of belligerent conditions among the local land aristocracy. One prevalent architectural type observed in Epirus, Albania, and the Peloponnese at least since the 18th-century, is the oblong, two-storey house, known

⁴⁶³ In other cases, such as in the Muğla region in Turkey, there is a similar association between the two locations, the coastal Fethiye and the mountainous Kayaköy. However, in that case, the merchants of the region appear having two residences, both in the coast for their business and in the mountain resulting from the development of the outpost into a settlement, supported of course by the related infrastructure.

as the ‘*anogokatogo makrinari*,’ which persisted even after the earthquake in Palia Sagiada. Over time, modifications were made to provide a more comfortable entrances to the local houses, resulting in the addition of a lobby around the stair leading to the upper floor. This feature is particularly pronounced in larger houses, which incorporate a central circulation space reminiscent of the *krevata* or *hayat*, whether open or enclosed. Such architectural compositions, characterized by L and II-shaped layouts, coupled with the advent of more comfortable upper floors featuring ample windows for improved light and air conditions, evoke similarities with the houses found in 19th-century urban centers across the Balkans and Western Anatolia, with notable references to the grand mansions of Yannina.

Late 19th-century architectural developments in coastal Epirus reflect a region in flux, where long established building forms including defensive mechanisms gradually gave way to more elaborate and comfortable living spaces. This transformation, documented through both material remains and historical accounts, showcases the region's integration into a broader architectural and cultural milieu of change.

The most distinctive house in Palia Sagiada is the Tsogkas's house, notable for being the largest and most opulent house of the settlement. This house embodies a unique blend of the local lifestyle, the *aderfomoirio* concept, where a house is equally shared between male siblings' families, alongside architectural forms that exhibit influences from urban architecture, incorporating neoclassical and eclectic features. Additionally, drawing visual parallels with architectural productions in the Town of Corfu during the French and British occupations, as well as Rasim Pasha's Yannina during its transformative period under licensed architects and engineers, Tsogkas's house stands out as a testament to similar architectural innovations within Palia Sagiada, even though there is no evidence of any architect being commissioned for the house. Lastly, the integration of commercial spaces, such as a shop on the ground floor, represents another novel aspect introduced in the later period, reflecting evolving uses and functions within the houses of Palia Sagiada.

At the heart of this architectural landscape were the itinerant stone craftsmen. These skilled artisans played a crucial role in shaping the region's aesthetic and structural landscape. They expertly merged incoming architectural trends with the local architectural idiom, creating an eclectic mix of styles that predominantly featured neoclassical elements. Utilizing established local building techniques and traditional plan typologies, these craftsmen introduced innovations that were always tailored to the

specific needs of their clients. Their craftsmanship not only met the practical demands of construction but also served as a canvas for cultural expression, reflecting a sophisticated blend of tradition and modernity in the built environment.

The spatial organization within these households further highlights the social structures and familial hierarchies prevalent during that era. Extended and interconnected households reflect a complex web of family relations, based on a patriarchal organization, as well as social obligations, encapsulating a microcosm of the broader societal framework.

The groups of these households created clusters within the three main neighborhoods of Palia Sagiada, Pazara, Mesomahalas, and Lagkada, in other words, neighborhoods within neighborhoods that blurred the boundaries between the public and private domains as the transition from the one household to the other did not always involve the public street.

These sub-neighborhoods were diverse and heterogeneous architectural and social spaces. The variety of architectural styles, combining various typologies in a small group of houses is remarkable. These range from the typical rural to eclectic, urban forms. However, the variety in architectural opulence does not only imply diversity in the households' income, but mainly the ability to choose and adopt new ways of living, cultivated elsewhere. The household clusters in Palia Sagiada were diverse microcosms, each with its own dynamics.

Transitioning from the residential subgroupings to the broader neighborhoods, the analysis has illuminated the complex fabric of public life of the settlement, drawing attention to the dual function of spaces and institutions that shaped daily interactions and community dynamics in the late 19th century.

Central to the public spheres was the market street, a vibrant artery of the settlement, reconstructed post-1872 earthquake to mirror modernization efforts characteristic of large Ottoman urban centers during the Tanzimat era. This street, with symmetric fronts, and a standardization in dimensions, was not merely a conceptualized architectural space but a dynamic scene for the weekly multi-regional commercial fair, daily leisure, and vibrant social and political engagements, particularly in the coffeehouses. The civic center, anchored by the market street, encompassed key institutions like the main church of Aghios Georgios and the public square, forming a hub that hosted significant community functions. This area was complemented by other notable structures such as the now-demolished school, the nearly vanished *milikon*, the

hostel for the authorities, and Tsogka's mansion, all contributing to a rich urban landscape that facilitated diverse public and private interactions.

Moreover, the religious spaces within the settlement, particularly the churches and threshing floors, illustrated the dual nature of such sites. They were platforms for expressing community identity and power through architectural patronage, and at the same time, they remained deeply connected to the natural landscape, embodying both the spiritual and protective roles attributed to them. The discussion also highlighted the *piadi*, a crucial water source situated near the settlement's entrance, which transcended its utilitarian function to become a symbolic and social landmark. This fountain, associated with purification rituals and social interactions, particularly among the youth unmarried girls who had the opportunity for outdoor socialization, underscoring the multifunctional role of the settlement's public spaces.

The exploration of Palia Sagiada's public spaces and institutions revealed a complex interplay between urban planning, social interaction, and cultural expressions, especially during the special occasions and celebrations. Self-representation went hand in hand with communal representation during festivities, mainly the religious celebrations, the *giortes* and *panigyria*. These events transformed communities into hosts, responsible for the appearance of their settlement to visitors. In turn, visitors sought to represent their families or origins by actively participating in the festivities. During these occasions, the boundaries between private and public spheres within the settlement dissolved once again. The primary focus continuously shifted from the privacy of households to the public streets and squares, and back again as households held feasts to honor saints or celebrate events like marriages. These communal gatherings provided opportunities for individuals to encounter each other casually, strengthen social bonds, and even assert or express political opinions.

In the late 19th century, the frontier Ottoman province of the coastal Epirus operated under a centralized administration. Elected representatives from various communities, such as those in Palia Sagiada, formally presented their settlements' needs to the authorities. They advocated for rights and privileges through petitions and the local press, including requests for improved infrastructure and equal rights for non-Muslims. The state, led by its official bureaucrats, ensured that the legislative framework comprehensively addressed various aspects of public life. This framework included managing calamities like earthquakes and fires, overseeing the construction of public buildings and infrastructure, responding to petitions from non-Muslim citizens

and foreign investors, and handling uprisings and other social issues.

People in Palia Sagiada actively claimed their rights and pursued new aspirations. As part of a general spirit and opportunity for circulating, they developed extensive business and social networks that spanned the Ottoman Empire and reached into Europe. By accumulating wealth, they secured provisions for their families back home and emerged by engaging in local intellectual and political circles. Along with their wealth, these influential individuals brought forth new ideas and preferences, while architecture became a strong tool for self-representation.

The architectural landscape of Palia Sagiada provides rich historical insights, reflecting the socio-economic and modern cultural dynamics of its time. The houses, with their robust construction and elaborate designs, not only speak to the craftsmanship and aesthetic preferences of their builders and owners but also to the functional adaptability required by the users. These structures, now ruins standing in varying states of decay in a continuously disappearing built landscape, once symbolized the prosperity and self-sufficiency of the families within this tight-knit community.

This work has revealed the heritage and cultural values, of an abandoned settlement, helping to appreciate Palia Sagiada as a multifaceted and dynamic site with significance beyond its physical structures, encompassing both tangible and intangible dimensions of cultural heritage.⁴⁶⁴

- **Architectural Heritage:** Palia Sagiada demonstrates a rich architectural heritage, characterized by its stone, tall houses with courtyards, eclectic compounds, and public spaces. These structures reflect a blend of local building know-how with influences from Ottoman urban centers and the Ionian Islands. This architectural diversity contributes to the cultural identity of the settlement and serves as a tangible link to its historical development.
- **Community Identity and Social Fabric:** The settlement's architecture and urban layout are indicative of its strong sense of community identity and social cohesion.

⁴⁶⁴ ICOMOS: [Charters and other doctrinal texts - International Council on Monuments and Sites \(icomos.org\)](https://www.icomos.org/publications/Charters_and_other_doctrinal_texts_-_International_Council_on_Monuments_and_Sites.pdf)

D. Özkut, "Preserving and documenting the Cultural Heritage," ARCC Conference Repository, 2009.

Retrieved from <https://arcc-journal.org/index.php/repository/article/view/866>

The interconnected households and communal spaces fostered close-knit relationships among residents, creating a vibrant social fabric that persists to this day. This communal aspect of Palia Sagiada's heritage underscores the importance of intangible cultural values and traditions.

Moreover, the case study of Palia Sagiada in relation to its surroundings highlights the role of the region as a multicultural frontier zone with diverse social actors, a dynamic that has been reshaped within the contemporary national boundaries.

- **Historical Significance:** Palia Sagiada's history, particularly as a border Ottoman province and its connections to larger regional and international networks, imbues it with historical significance. The settlement's strategic location and its interactions with various cultural, religious, and political influences over the centuries contribute to its value as a site of historical interest and research.
- **Cultural Landscape:** The natural landscape surrounding Palia Sagiada, including its proximity to the sea, the estuaries of the Kalamas River, the former salines-today NATURA biotope, and the rugged terrain of the region that provided the main building material, the limestone, adds to its cultural significance. The interaction between human settlement and the natural environment has shaped the cultural landscape of the area, influencing architectural styles, agricultural practices, and social customs.
- **Intangible Cultural Heritage:** In addition to its tangible architectural heritage, Palia Sagiada is also rich in intangible cultural heritage, including celebratory practices, rituals, and oral histories passed down through generations. These intangible aspects of the settlement's heritage contribute to its cultural vitality and resilience, providing insights into the ways of life and cultural expressions of its former residents. At the same time, this heritage serves as a reference point for the community of the new settlement of Sagiada, providing a source of self-definition and pride for their origins, while inspiring and setting an example for the continuity or evolution of cultural practices.

This interdisciplinary research has aimed to contribute to the architectural history, urban

studies, and Ottoman-Greek studies by exploring the late Ottoman period's multicultural interactions and architectural innovations in the contested Greek-Albanian border region through the case-study settlement of the abandoned Palia Sagiada. Further research and comparative projects on the other settlements in the region with distinctive spatial and ethnoreligious characteristics from Palia Sagiada, despite the geographical proximity, will contribute to enhance our understanding of the region's historical, architectural, and cultural heritage, transcending ethnic, religious, or social distinctions.



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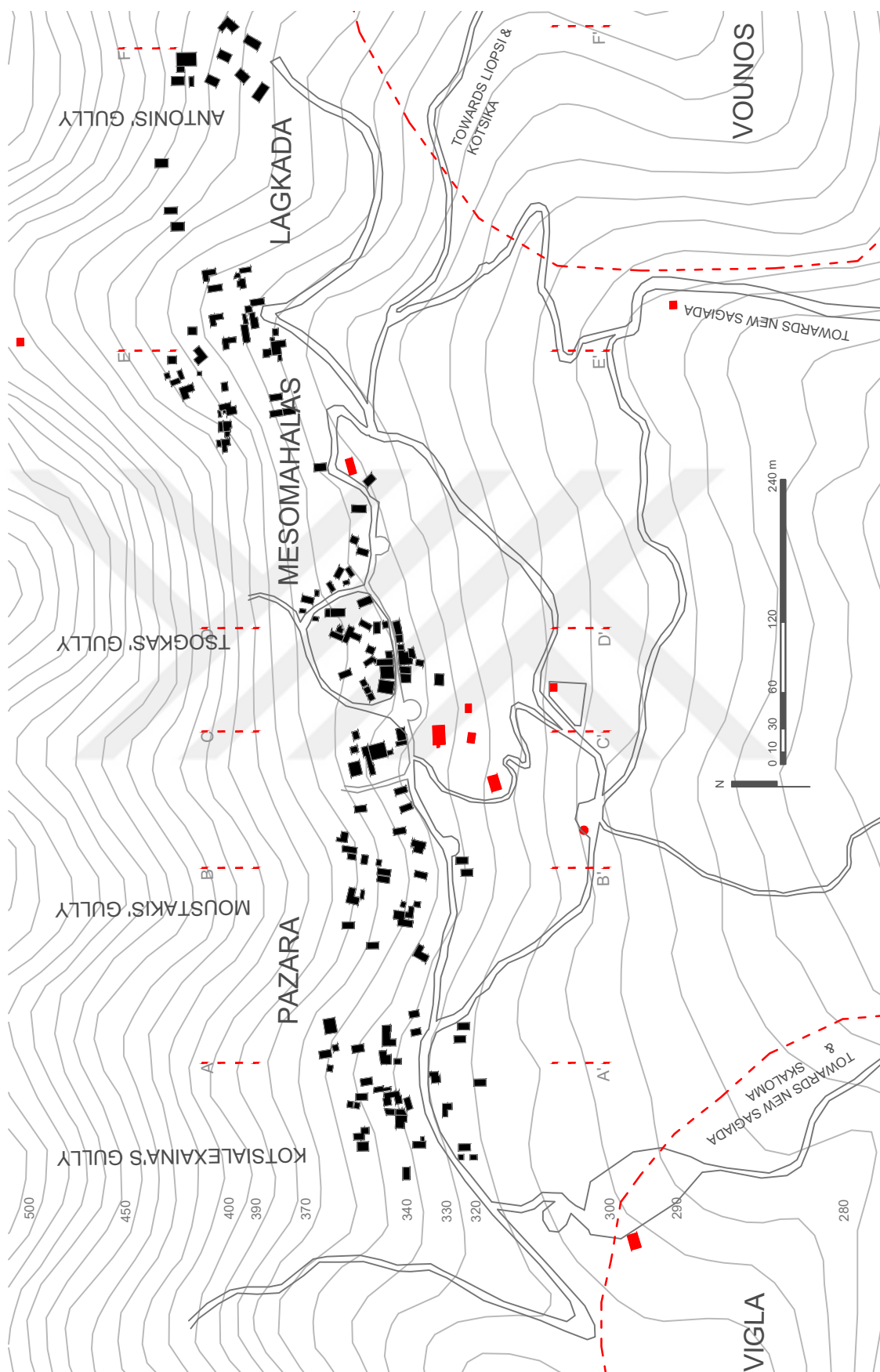
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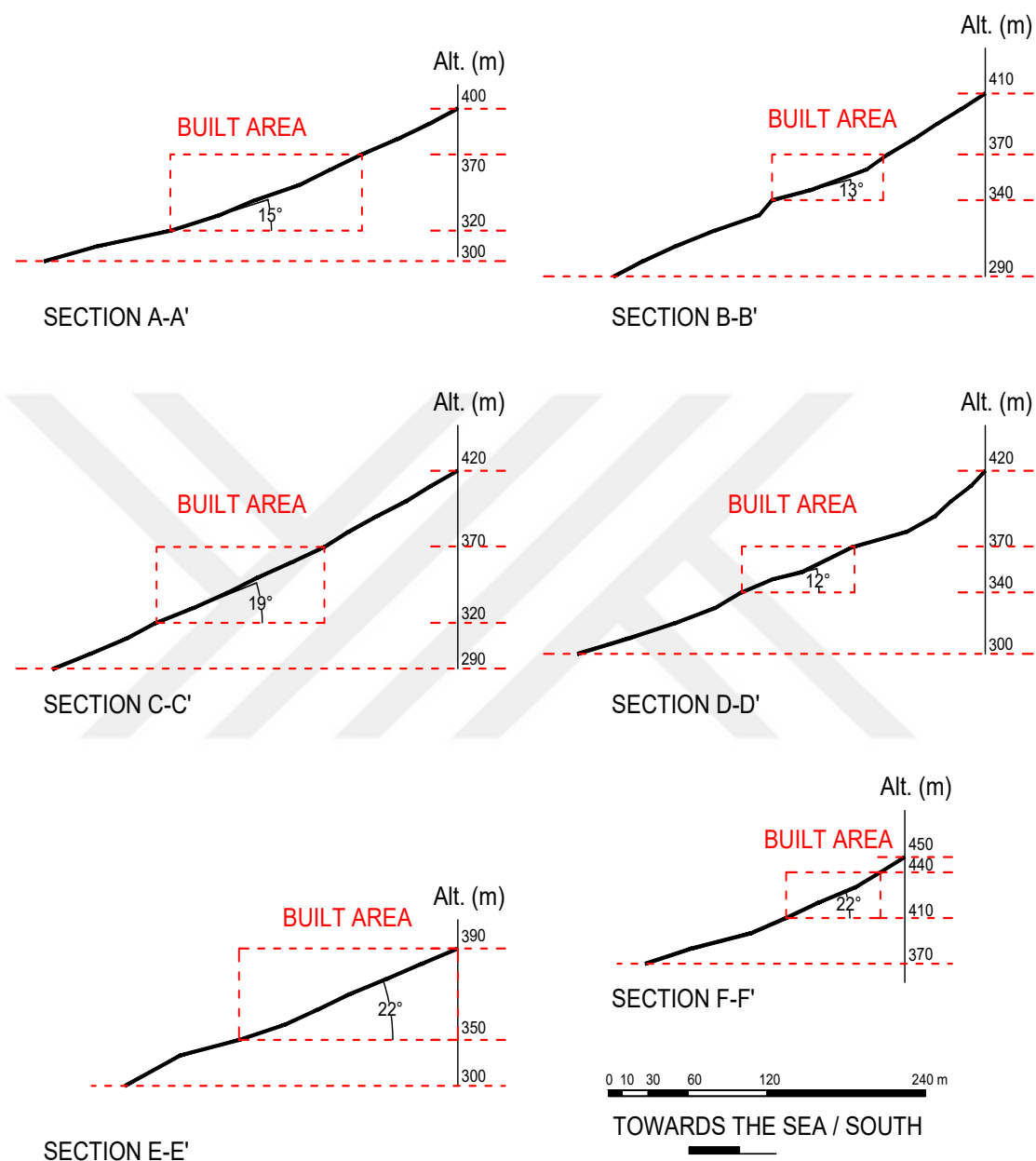


Appendix A: Drawings and survey data

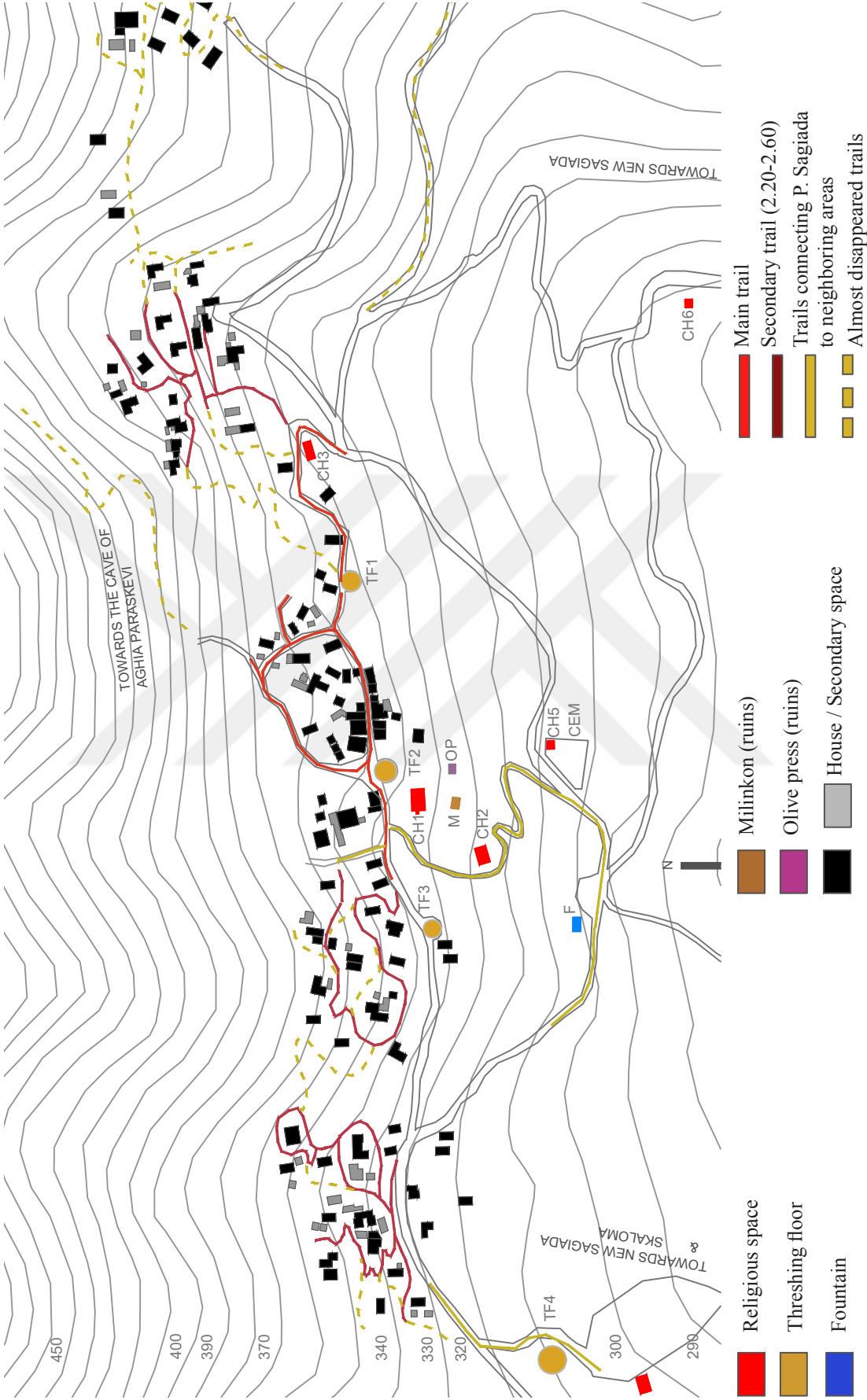




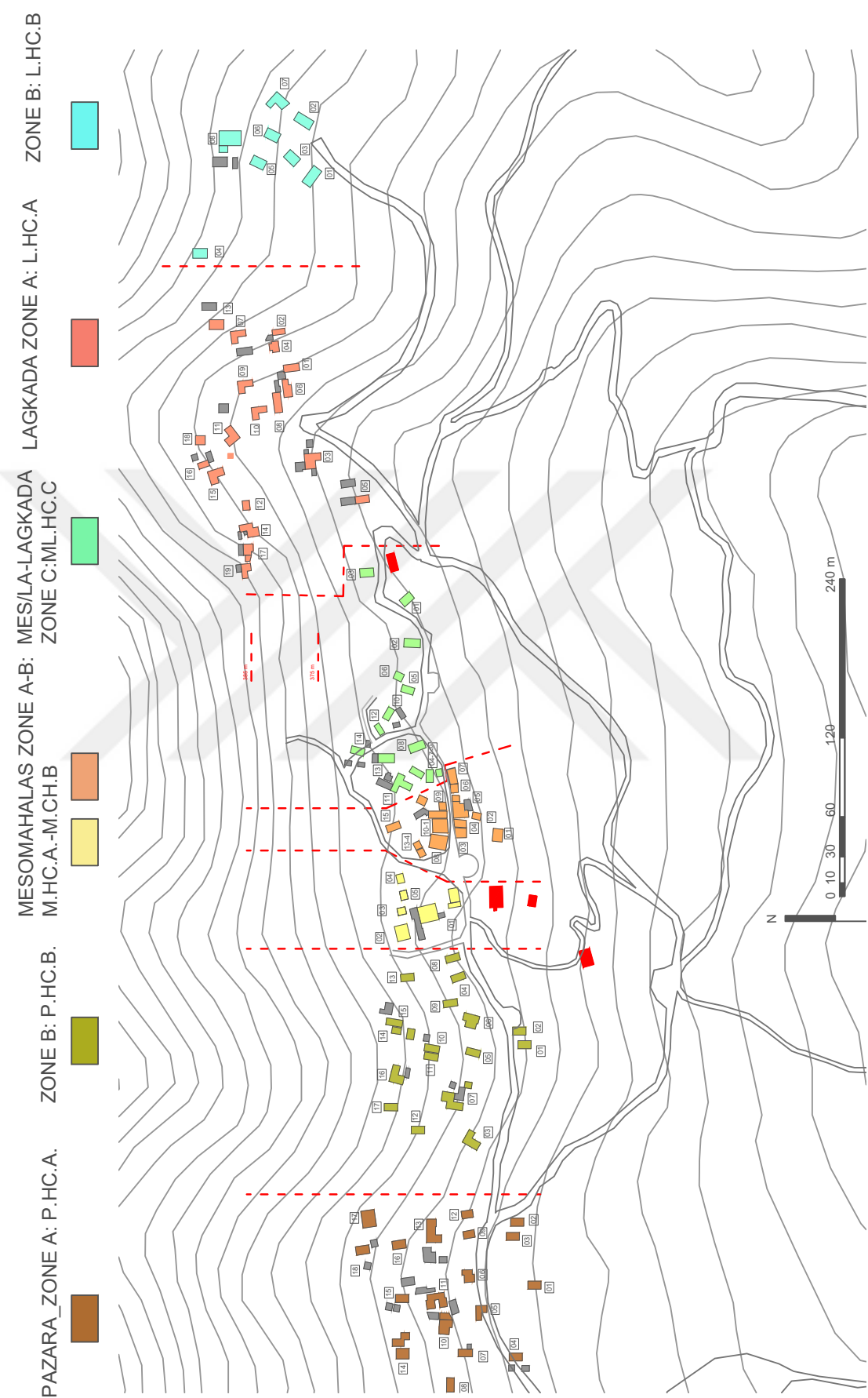
Map 1: Topographic plan of Palia Sagiada and topographic sections



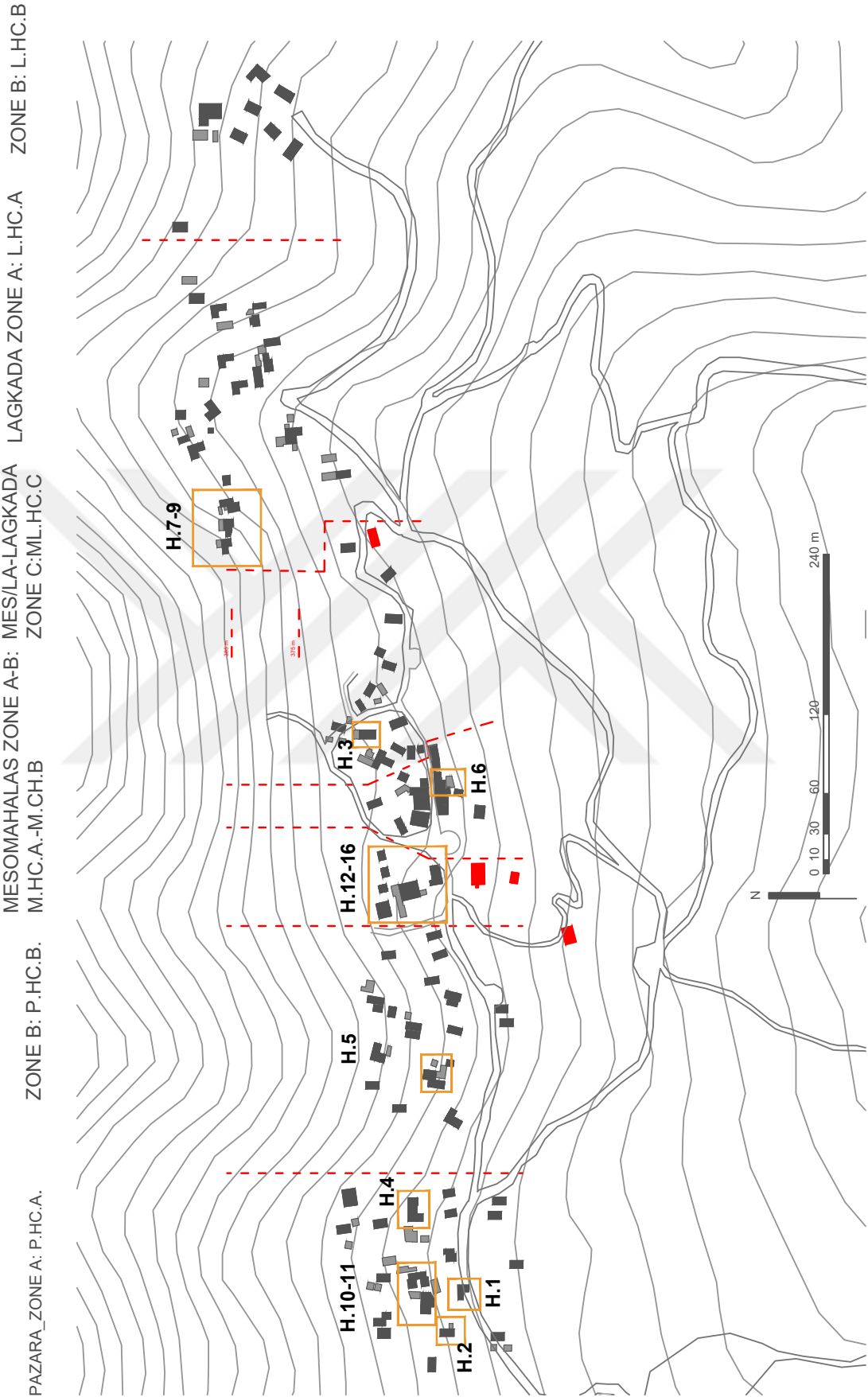
Map 1: Topographic plan of Palia Sagiada and topographic sections



Map 2: Topographic plan with the trail network and landmarks



Map 3: House codification into neighborhoods



Map 4: Households as case-studies

COORDINATES						COORDINATES					
BUILDING TYPE/CODE	ZONE	ACCESSIBILITY	LONGITUDE	LATITUDE	EL/TION	BUILDING TYPE/ USE	ZONE	ACCESSIBILITY	LONGITUDE	LATITUDE	EL/TION
HOUSES											
PHC.A.01	ZONE P.A		20.197457°	39.636957°	326	PHC.B.08	ZONE P.B		20.200404°	39.637283°	351
PHC.A.02			20.198013°	39.637052°	328	PHC.B.09			20.199941°	39.637343°	354
PHC.A.03			20.197835°	39.637093°	329	PHC.B.10			20.199534°	39.637489°	361
PHC.A.04			20.196885°	39.637034°	331	PHC.B.11			20.199457°	39.637514°	361
PHC.A.05			20.197240°	39.637272°	340	PHC.B.12			20.198684°	39.637731°	363
PHC.A.06			20.197518°	39.637389°	340	PHC.B.13			20.200432°	39.637616°	366
PHC.A.07			20.196979°	39.637360°	343	PHC.B.14			20.199813°	39.637598°	368
PHC.A.08			20.196559°	39.637439°	345	PHC.B.15			20.199991°	39.637614°	368
PHC.A.09			20.197781°	39.637509°	345	PHC.B.16			20.199197°	39.637709°	369
PHC.A.10			20.197405°	39.637583°	347	PHC.B.17			20.198831°	39.637888°	371
PHC.A.11			20.197405°	39.637583°	347						
PHC.A.12			20.197926°	39.637486°	347	M.HC.A.01	ZONE M.A		20.201397°	39.637426°	353
PHC.A.13			20.197850°	39.637725°	354	M.HC.A.02			20.201467°	39.637447°	354
PHC.A.14			20.197023°	39.637714°	357	M.HC.A.03			20.201268°	39.637564°	358
PHC.A.15			20.197354°	39.637793°	358	M.HC.A.04			20.201388°	39.637716°	364
PHC.A.16			20.197729°	39.637873°	359	M.HC.A.05			20.201150°	39.637738°	365
PHC.A.17			20.198122°	39.638055°	365	M.HC.A.06			20.201277°	39.637751°	366
PHC.A.18			20.197792°	39.638182°	374						
PHC.B.01	ZONE P.B		20.199667°	39.636915°	335	M.HC.B.01	ZONE M.B		20.201961°	39.637163°	345
PHC.B.02			20.199839°	39.636931°	337	M.HC.B.02			20.202130°	39.637316°	351
PHC.B.03			20.198545°	39.637324°	341	M.HC.B.03			20.201916°	39.637384°	356
PHC.B.04			20.200179°	39.637208°	348	M.HC.B.04			20.202024°	39.637407°	357
PHC.B.05			20.199547°	39.637218°	348	M.HC.B.05			20.202145°	39.637434°	357
PHC.B.06			20.199808°	39.637243°	350	M.HC.B.06			20.202288°	39.637463°	357
PHC.B.07			20.199046°	39.637377°	350	M.HC.B.07			20.202363°	39.637476°	357
PHC.B.07B			20.198882°	39.637483°	355	M.HC.B.08			20.201910°	39.637520°	357
						M.HC.B.09			20.202213°	39.637536°	358

Table 1: House codification with coordinates

COORDINATES				COORDINATES		
BUILDING TYPE/CODE	ZONE	ACCESSIBILITY	LONGITUDE	LATITUDE	EL/TION	
HOUSES						
M.HC.B.10	ZONE M.B		20.202116°	39.637530°	358	
M.HC.B.11			20.202032°	39.637528°	358	
M.HC.B.12			20.202274°	39.637610°	360	
M.HC.B.13			20.201896°	39.637681°	363	
M.HC.B.14			20.201896°	39.637681°	364	
M.HC.B.15			20.201994°	39.637724°	365	
ML.HC.C.01	ZONE ML.C		20.203758°	39.637706°	353	
ML.HC.C.02			20.203414°	39.637683°	355	
ML.HC.C.03			20.203878°	39.637812°	356	
ML.HC.C.04			20.202596°	39.637627°	359	
ML.HC.C.05			20.203118°	39.637716°	359	
ML.HC.C.06			20.203218°	39.637786°	360	
ML.HC.C.07			20.202550°	39.637684°	362	
ML.HC.C.08			20.202735°	39.637785°	364	
ML.HC.C.09			20.202511°	39.637747°	364	
ML.HC.C.10			20.202916°	39.637914°	367	
ML.HC.C.11			20.202339°	39.637875°	370	
ML.HC.C.12			20.202808°	39.637981°	370	
ML.HC.C.13			20.202577°	39.637989°	372	
ML.HC.C.14			20.202546°	39.638093°	375	
L.HC.A.01			20.204942°	39.638162°	359	

COORDINATES				COORDINATES		
BUILDING TYPE/ USE	ZONE	ACCESSIBILITY	LONGITUDE	LATITUDE	EL/TION	
HOUSES						
L.HC.A.06	ZONE L.A		20.204801°	39.638217°	363	
L.HC.A.07			20.205168°	39.638433°	367	
L.HC.A.08			20.204337°	39.638314°	374	
L.HC.A.09			20.204544°	39.638443°	377	
L.HC.A.10			20.204424°	39.638425°	378	
L.HC.A.11			20.204686°	39.638552°	380	
L.HC.A.12			20.204044°	39.638378°	381	
L.HC.A.13			20.205613°	39.638866°	382	
L.HC.A.14			20.203871°	39.638385°	384	
L.HC.A.15			20.204459°	39.638578°	385	
L.HC.A.16			20.204598°	39.638608°	385	
L.HC.A.17			20.203735°	39.638387°	386	
L.HC.A.18			20.204697°	39.638689°	386	
L.HC.A.19			20.203574°	39.638386°	387	
L.HC.B.08	ZONE L.B		20.206611°	39.638059°	379	
L.HC.B.06			20.206932°	39.638131°	385	
L.HC.B.01			20.206712°	39.638249°	387	
L.HC.B.07			20.206111°	39.638884°	389	
L.HC.B.02			20.206647°	39.638419°	390	
L.HC.B.05			20.206864°	39.638360°	392	
L.HC.B.04			20.207119°	39.638294°	393	
L.HC.B.03			20.206797°	39.638630°	400	

Table 1: House codification with coordinates

	COMPOUNT		MATERIALS AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS						PLAN SURFACE			FACADES		
	HOUSE CODE(I)	CONDITION	MAIN BUILDING MATERIALS	NEW MATERIALS	STRUCTURAL SYSTEM	LEVELS	HEIGHT (m) (remaining)	MAIN WALL THICKNESS W1/W2/W3 (cm)	FINAL PLAN TYPE	HIGH/TED BASE SURFACE (m2)	COVERED SURFACE (m2) S1/S2/S3	WINDOW TYPE/EXT.	ENTRANCE/ ORIENT.	MAIN FACADE/ORIENT.
HOUSEHOLD 1	P.HC.A.05	M/P	SW/LM	...	T/L/ST/M	2	4	L1:68 L2:64	AK,O	68	136	LA-L	E	S
HOUSEHOLD 2	P.HC.A.07	P	SW/LM	...	T/L/ST/M	2	3-4	L1:70 L2:64	AK, L-SHAPE	61	122	LA-L	W	S
HOUSEHOLD 3	M.HC.C.13	M/P	SW/LM	CI	T/L/ST/M	2	4.7	L1:68 L2:64	AK, TWIN	85	170	LA-L	W	S
HOUSEHOLD 4	P.HC.A.13	M/P	SW/LM	CI/C	T/L/ST/M	3	7.8	L1:70 L2:68 L3:64	KH, II-SHAPE	152	344	LA-L	S/W	S
HOUSEHOLD 5	P.HC.B.07	M/P	SW/LM	CI	T/L/ST/M	3	8	L1:70 L2:68 L3:64	KH(A) (L-SHAPE) AK (C)	126	279	LA-LD	S/E	S
HOUSEHOLD 6	M.HC.B.05	M/P	SW/LM	CI	T/L/ST/M	2	5	L1:68 L2:64	KH	117	234	LA-L	E/N	N
HOUSEHOLD 7	L.HC.A.14	M/P	SW/LM	...	T/L/ST/M	2	4.5	L1:68 L2:64	AK	103	180	LA-L	E/W	S
HOUSEHOLD 8	L.HC.A.17	P	SW/LM	...	T/L/ST/M	2	5	L1:68 L2:64	KH (LOBY)	78	135	LA-LD	S	S
HOUSEHOLD 9	L.HC.A.13	P	SW/LM	...	T/L/ST/M	2	3	L:68	AK	71	112	LA-L	W	S
HOUSEHOLD 10	P.HC.A.10	P	SW/LM	CI	T/L/ST/M	3	8	L1:70 L2:68 L3:65	AK/KH (LOBY)	122	300	LA-L	W/N	S
HOUSEHOLD 11	P.HC.A.11	M/P	SW/LM	CI	T/L/ST/M	3	8	L1:70 L2:68 L3:65	AK	134	328	LD	W	S

Table 2: Houses: survey data

HOUSEHOLD	COMPOUNT	COURTYARDS' BASIC CHARACTERISTICS			BUILDING STRUCTURES/ CLOSED SPACES			SURFACES (M2)			
		LEVELS	ENTRANCES (I)	WALL HEIGHTS (m)	NUMBER	LEVELS	POSSIBLE USE	HOUSE (2)	COURTYARD SPACES (OPEN)	COURTYARD SPACES (COVERED)	TOTAL
HOUSEHOLD 1	PHC.A.05	2	3	2.5-3.0	2	1	S/F	68	320	...	388
HOUSEHOLD 2	PHC.A.07	2	2	2.5, NO WALLS	...	...	...	61	292	13	292
HOUSEHOLD 3	M.HC.C.13	2	3	2.0-3.0	4	1	L/K/S/F	85	324	51	460
HOUSEHOLD 4	PHC.A.13	3	2	2	4	1	K/S/F	152	273	120	545
HOUSEHOLD 5	PHC.B.07	3	3	2	4	1	K/S/L/(F)	126	278	41	430
HOUSEHOLD 6	M.HC.B.05 ONE EXTRA, ONE-ROOM, ANOGOKAT OGO, M.HC.B.02 32m2	2	2	1.8	3	1	K/L/S/SH	117	161 122	121	360
HOUSEHOLD 7	L.HC.A.14	3	2	0.7	3	1	F/L/S	103	...	...	240/870
HOUSEHOLD 8	L.HC.A.17	4	2	...	...	...	F/L/S	135	227	...	362/870
HOUSEHOLD 9	L.HC.A.19	2	2	1.5	...	...	...	71	91	...	168/870
HOUSEHOLD 10	PHC.A.10	2	2	2.5	2	1	S/K	122	126	39	300/936
HOUSEHOLD 11	PHC.A.11	3	3	3	5	2	S/K/F/HOUSING	134	276	226	636/936

ABBREVIATIONS

CONDITION

M: Medium
P: Poor
VP: Very poor

MAIN BUILDING MATERIALS & STRUCTURAL SYSTEM

C: Concrete
S: Stone masonry
W: Wood/Timber
LM: Lime mortars
CI: Cast iron

TL/ST/M: Timber laced stone masonry

PLAN TYPE

AK: Anogokatogo

O: Oblong

TWIN: Twin house/seperated into two

L-LOBBY: L-shaped with a lobby

KH: Krevata/hayat

FACADES

BS: Mortars on both sides

NR: No remaining information

LA: Lowered arch

LA-L: Lowered arch and horizontal lindel

USES

SH: Shop/house with a shop

K: Kitchen

S: Secondary space

F: Furnace

L: Lavatory

H: Housing

Table 3: Housing compounds with courtyards and other spaces: survey data

COMPONENT		MATERIALS AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS								PLAN SURFACES (m2)				FACADES					ABBREVIATIONS
HOUSE CODE	CONDITION	MAIN BUILDING MATERIALS	NEW MATERIALS	STRUCTURAL SYSTEM	LEVELS	MAX REMAINING HEIGHT (m)	MAIN WALL THICKNESS (m)	SEC/RV WALL THICKNESS (cm)	PLAN TYPE	HIGH/TED BASE SURFACE	COVERED SURFACE	TOTAL	MORTARS	WINDOW SIZES (EXTERIOR)	DOOR SIZES (EXTERIOR)	MAIN FACADE ORIENTATION	EXTRAS	CONDITION	
HC-A	M/P	S/W/LM	CI	TL STM	3+BASE	9.90	L1:NA L2:0.68 L3:0.64 L4:NA	L2:0.52	O/TWIN	78	178	612	BS	LA-L: 0.85X1.40 LA-L: 2.50X1.15	LA-L: 2.50X1.15	S/W/E	B/ND	M: Medium P: Poor VP: Very poor	
HC-B	M/P	S/W/LM	-	TL STM	2	4.50	L1:0.64 L2:0.58	-	L- LOBBY	-	114	228	BS	LA-L: 0.68X1.20 LA-L: 1.90X0.93	LA-L: 1.90X0.93	E	-	S: Stone masonry W: Wood/Timber LM: Lime mortars CI: Cast iron	
HC-C	M/P	S/W/LM	-	TL STM	2	4.68	L1:0.68 L2:0.64	-	O	-	33.8	67.6	BS	LA-L: 0.85X1.40 LA-L: 0.80X1.70	LA-L: 0.80X1.70	S	PA	TL ST M: Timber laced stone masonry	
HC-D	VP	S/W/LM	-	TL STM	2	2.10	L1:64 L2:0.58	-	O	-	34.2	68.4	NR	NA	NA	S	-	PLAN TYPE	
HC-E	VP	S/W/LM	-	TL STM	2	2.20	L1:70 L2:0.58	-	O	-	39	78	NR	NA	LA-L: 0.80XNA	S	-	O: Oblong	

HH 12

HH 13

HH 14

HH 15

HH 16

(Left) Table 4: Households 12-16 (M.HC.A.01-05):

Main houses: survey data

HOUSE CODE	COURTYARDS' BASIC CHARACTERISTICS					BUILDING STRUCTURES/ CLOSED SPACES			SURFACES				
	LEVELS	ENTRANCES	WALL HEIGHTS (m)	HOUSE POSITIONING	OUTDOOR CONFTION	NUMBER	LEVELS	POSSIBLE USE	HOUSE	COURTYARD AREA	USEFUL OPEN SPACE	CLOSED SPACES	TOTAL
HC.A	3	3	1.70-2.00	WITHIN	Y	6	1 or 2	SH-K-S	178	942	689	253	1120
HC.B	2	2	2.00 min	PART W	Y	3	1	F-L-S	114	195	148	47	309
HC.C	1	-	0.50	PART S	-	-	-	-	33.8	100.7	100.7	-	134.5
HC.D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34.2	-	-	-	-
HC.E	1	1	1.80-2.00	PART N/W	Y	2	1	K-S	39	170	137.5	32.5	209

HH 12

HH 13

HH 14

HH 15

HH 16

(Right) Table 5: Households 12-16 (M.HC.A.01-05):

Courtyard spaces: survey data

ABBREVIATIONS

CONDITION

M: Medium

P: Poor

VP: Very poor

MAIN BUILDING MATERIALS & STRUCTURAL SYSTEM

S: Stone masonry

W: Wood/Timber

LM: Lime mortars

CI: Cast iron

TL STM: Timber laced stone masonry

PLAN TYPE

O: Oblong

TWIN: Twin house/separated into two

L-LOBBY: L-shaped with a lobby

FACADES

BS: Mortars on both sides

NR: No remaining information

LA: Lowered arch

LA-L: Lowered arch and horizontal intel

NA: Not accessible

HOUSE POSITIONING:

WITHIN: The courtyard surrounds the house

PART W/S/N: The house is part of the wall

premises on the west/south/noth respectively

USES:

SH: Shop/house with a shop

K: Kitchen

S: Secondary space

F: Furnace

L: Lavatory

COMPOUNT			MATERIALS AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS						
CODE	BUILDING CODE/ TYPE	LOCATION NEIG/HOOD	CONDITION	DIMS/ SURFACE (m)	MAIN MATERIALS	WALL THICKNESS (CM)	NEW MATERIALS	SPECIAL ELEMENTS/ DECORATIONS	NOTES
CH1	Aghios Georgios	Mesomachalas main church	Medium / Good	10.90 x 10.00	TLSM	65	Cast iron rod		
CH2	Aghios Nikolaos	340m	Poor	3.70 x 7.60	TLSM	68		Ancient ruins, rock, 2-3 gaves	
CH3	Aghios Dimitrios	Lagkada	Poor	17.80 x 5.10	TLSM	64		Acoustic jars, frescoes, decorated gate, bell	Architectural 2 phases
CH4	Aghios Spyridonas	Pazara	Very poor/ interior not accessible	12.00 x 5.60	TLSM gray stonestabs (foof)	62			
CH5	Aghia Kyriaki	Cemetery	Very poor	6.00 x 5.40	TLSM	...			
CH6	Aghios Vimos	E 275m	Very poor	7.40 x 4.50	TLSM	65			2 graves
TF1	Nousias' threshing floor	Lagkada			Stone pavement				
TF2	Threshing floor of the church			Diameter 20m	Stone pavement				
TF3	Fragkos' threshing floor	Pazara	Poor	Diameter 15m	Stone pavement				
TF4	Threshing floor of Aghios Spyridonas			Diameter 18m	Stone pavement				
TLSM: Timber Laced Stone Masonry									

Table 6: Public spaces: survey data

HOUSE TYPOLOGIES IN PALIA SAGIADA

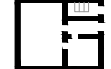
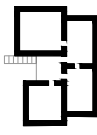
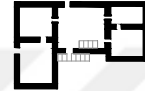
MAIN TYPOLOGY	SUB-CATEGORY	GROUND FLOOR	UPPER LEVEL	APPROX. SURFACE
ENCLOSED SINGLE-LEVEL Note: This type of buildings mainly refer to secondary courtyard structures				45-55 m2
ANOGOKATOGO MAKRINARI (Two-storey oblong shaped)	One room house Note: Usually this alteration is located parallel to the ground gradient			45-55 m2
	Two-room house			60-65 m2
	Aderfomoirio			80-85 m2
	Three or four-room alteration			60-65 m2
	L-shaped alteration			68-105 m2
	House with a workshop			75 m2
HOUSE WITH A KREVATA-HAYAT	House with a lobby at the short direction			75-80 m2
	Anogokatogo with a lobby			
	L-shaped with an enclosed krevata-hayat			145 m2
				115 m2

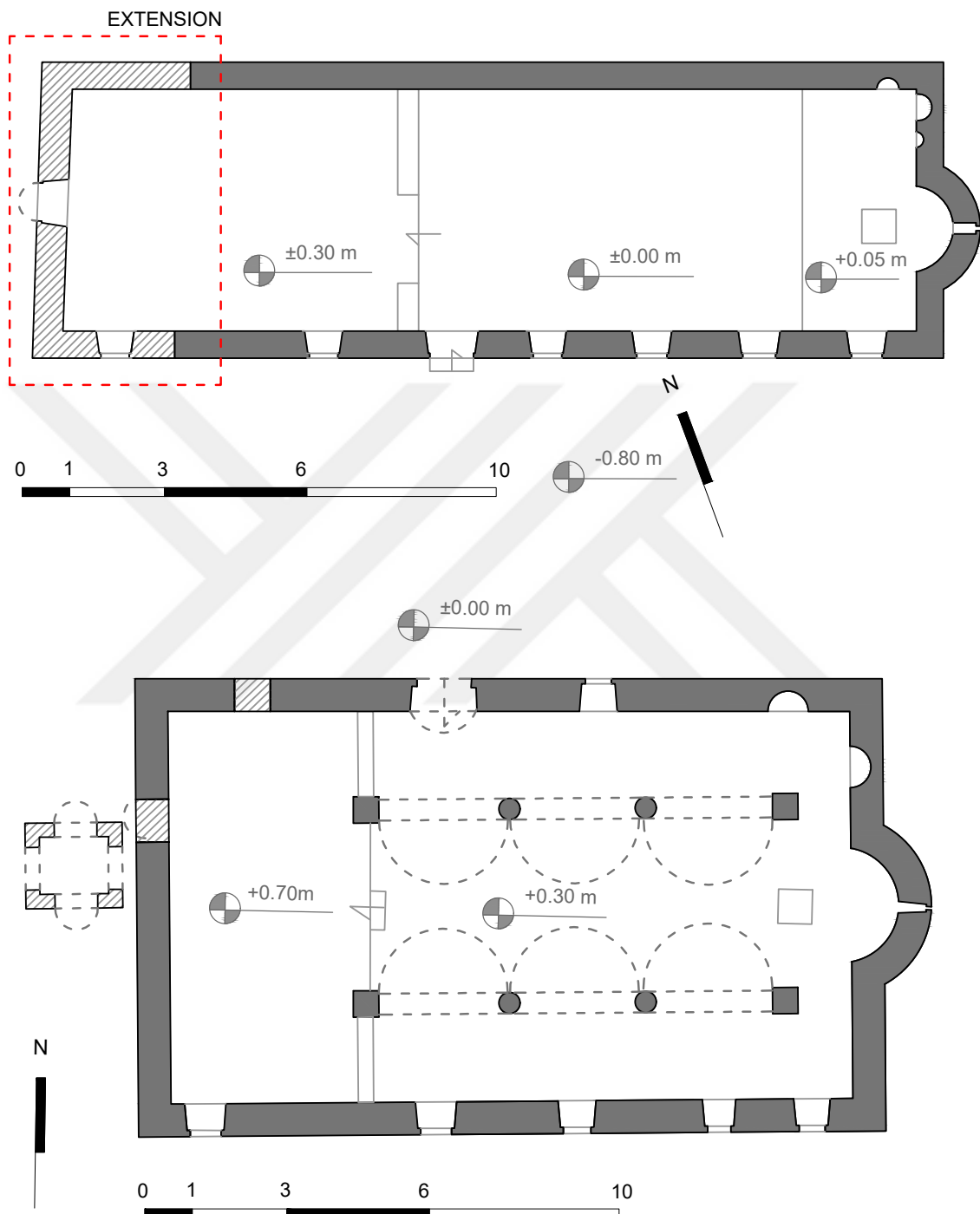
Table 7: House typologies in Palia Sagiada

HOUSE TYPOLOGIES IN PALIA SAGIADA

MAIN TYPOLOGY	SUB-CATEGORY	GROUND FLOOR	UPPER LEVEL	APPROX. SURFACE
		0 6 12		
HOUSE WITH A KREVATA-HAYAT	Π-shaped with an open krevata-hayat			130-150 m2
	Π-shaped with an enclosed krevata-hayat			
	Twin-shop houses			125-130 m2

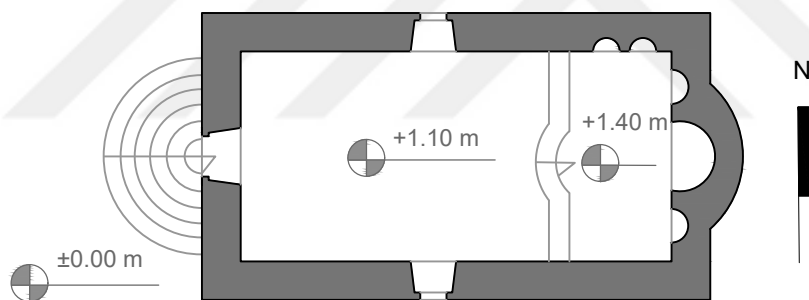
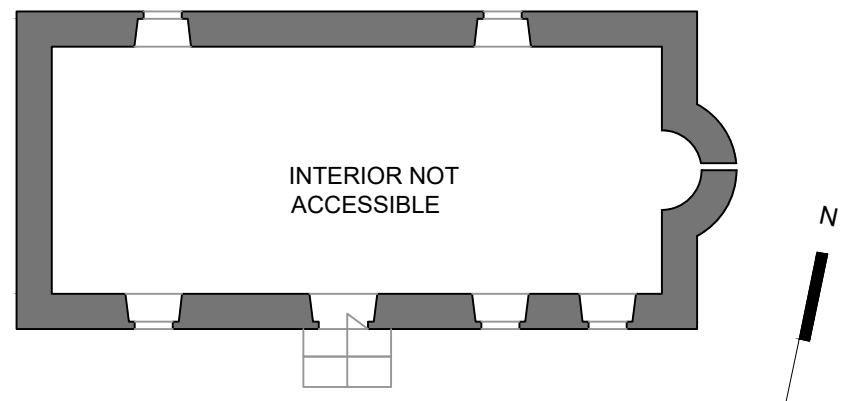
NOTE: The Tsogkas mansion (Household 12/ M.HC.A.01) does not fall in the above categories. For this will be a special mention.

Table 7: House typologies in Palia Sagiada



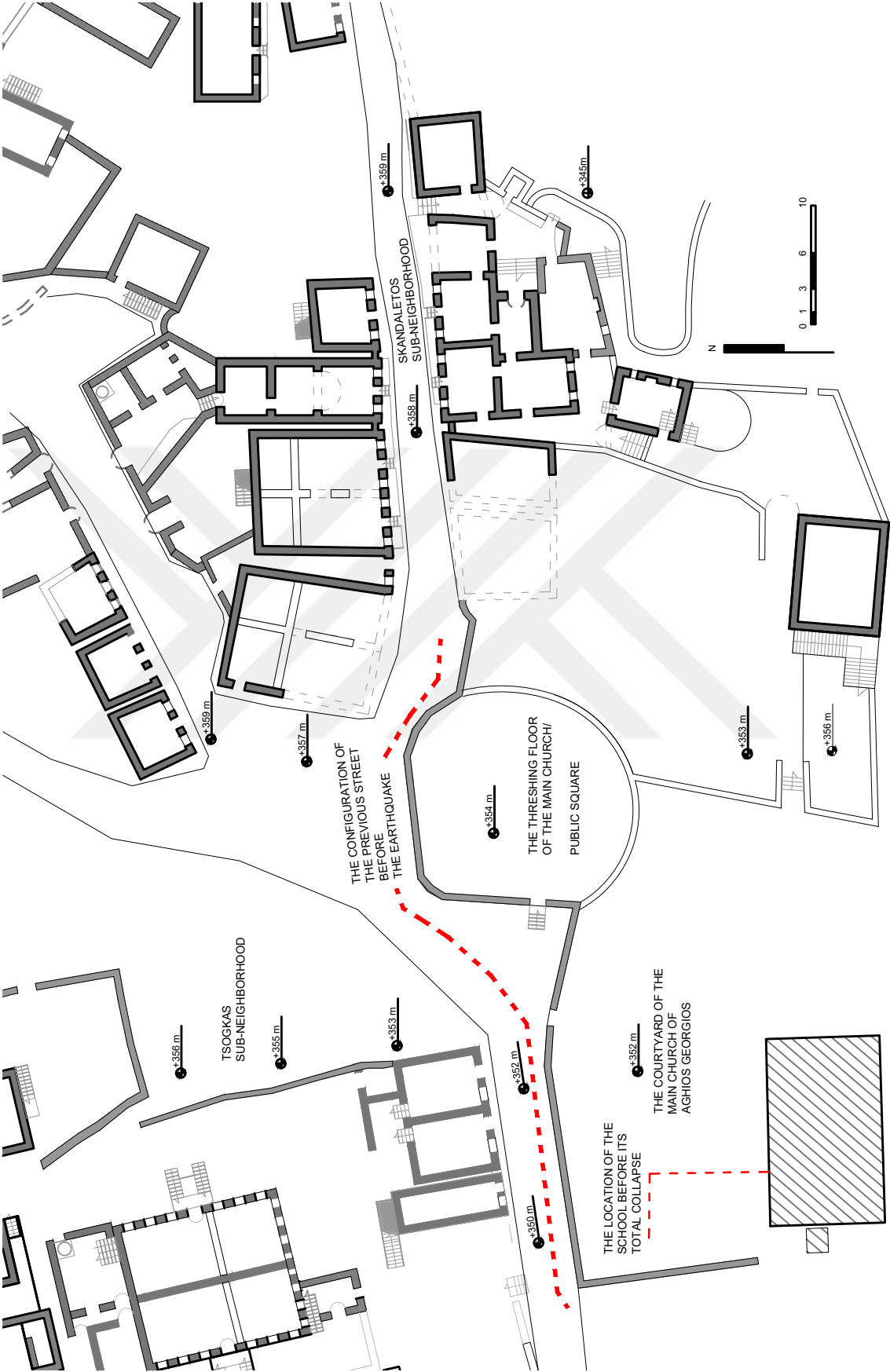
(Above) Drawing 2: Aghios Dimitrios church: ground-floor plan

(Below) Drawing 1: Aghios Georgios church: ground-floor plan

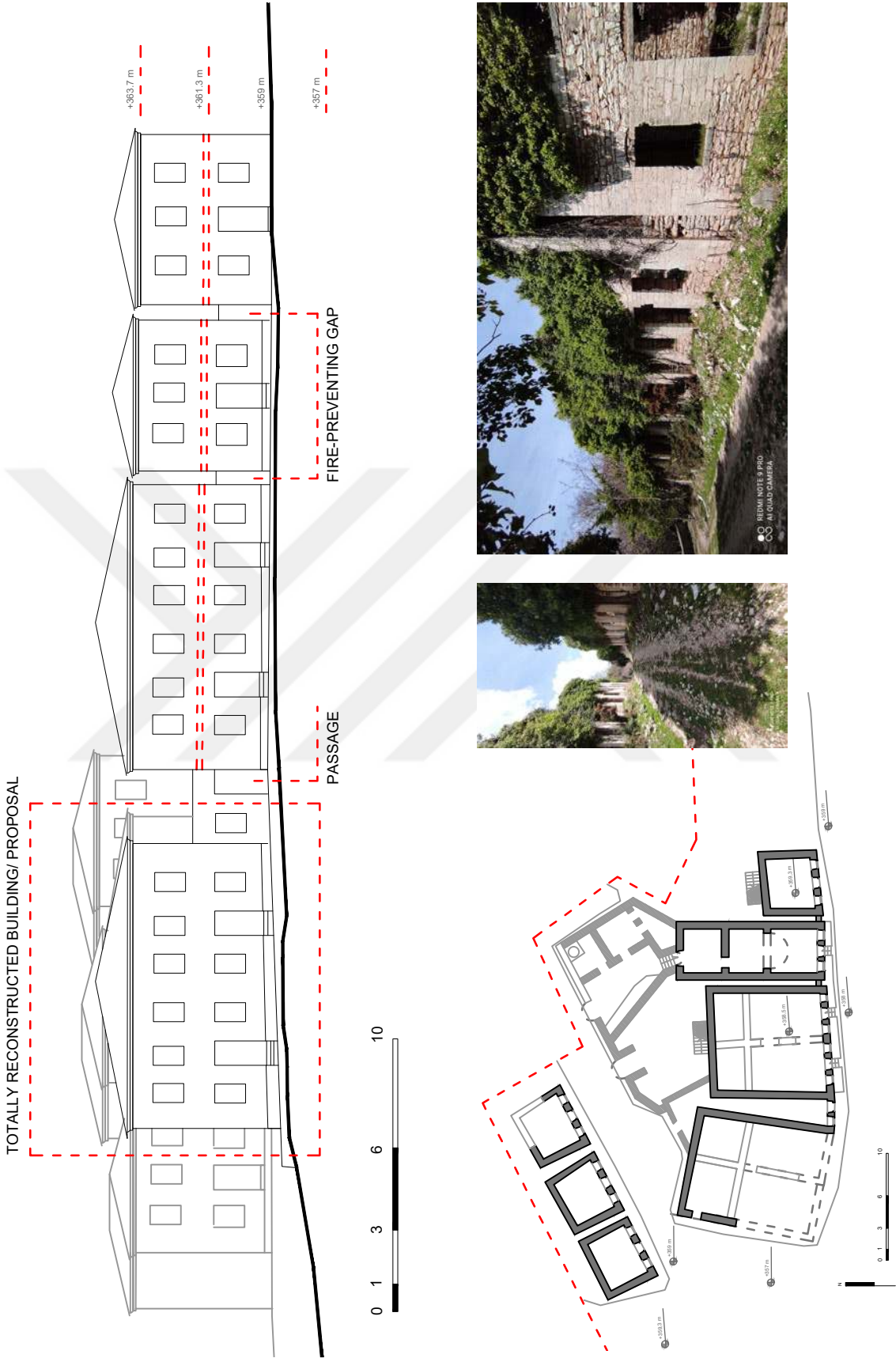


(Above) Drawing 3: Aghios Spyridonas church: ground-floor plan

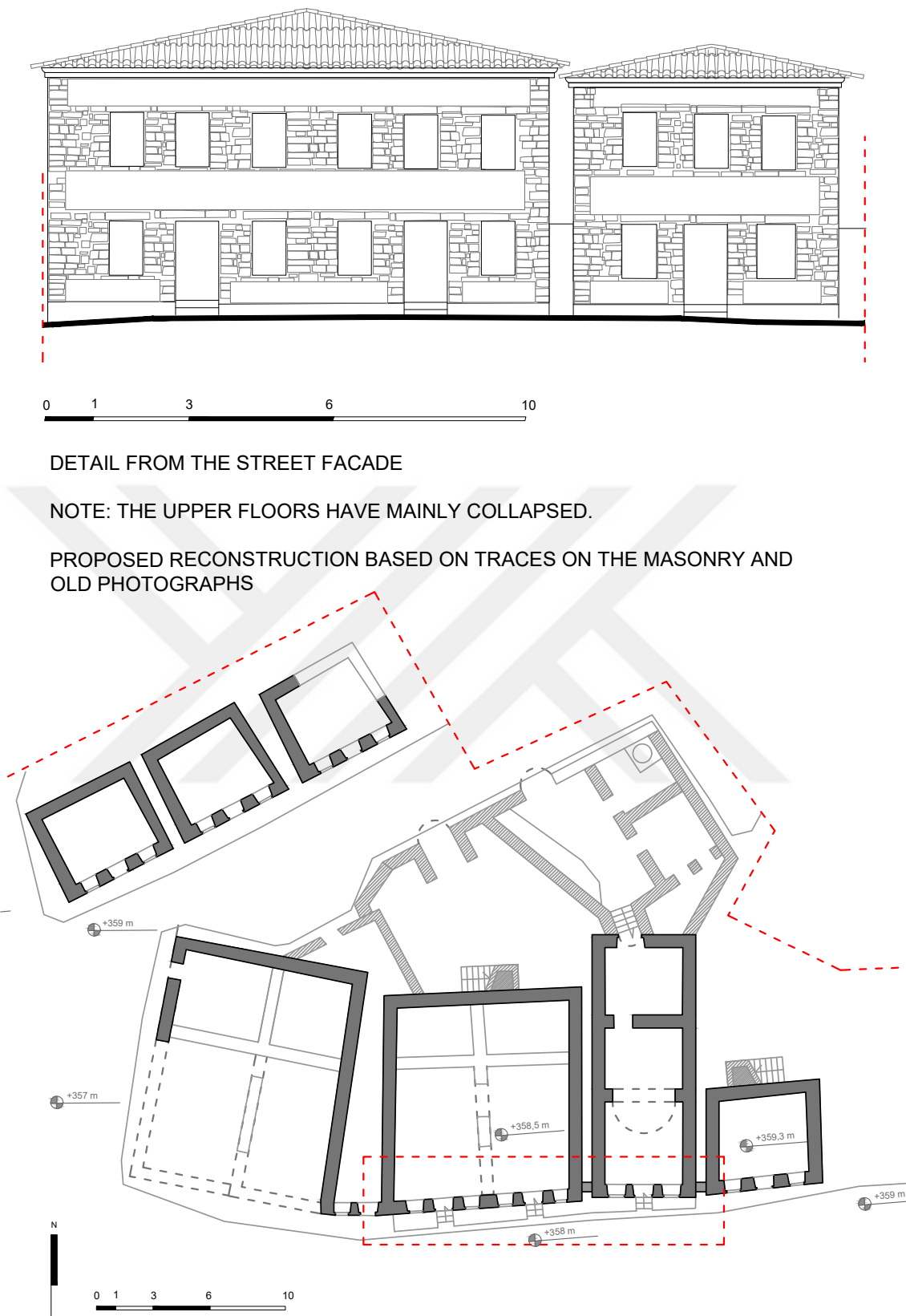
(Below) Drawing 4: Aghios Nikolaos church: ground-floor plan



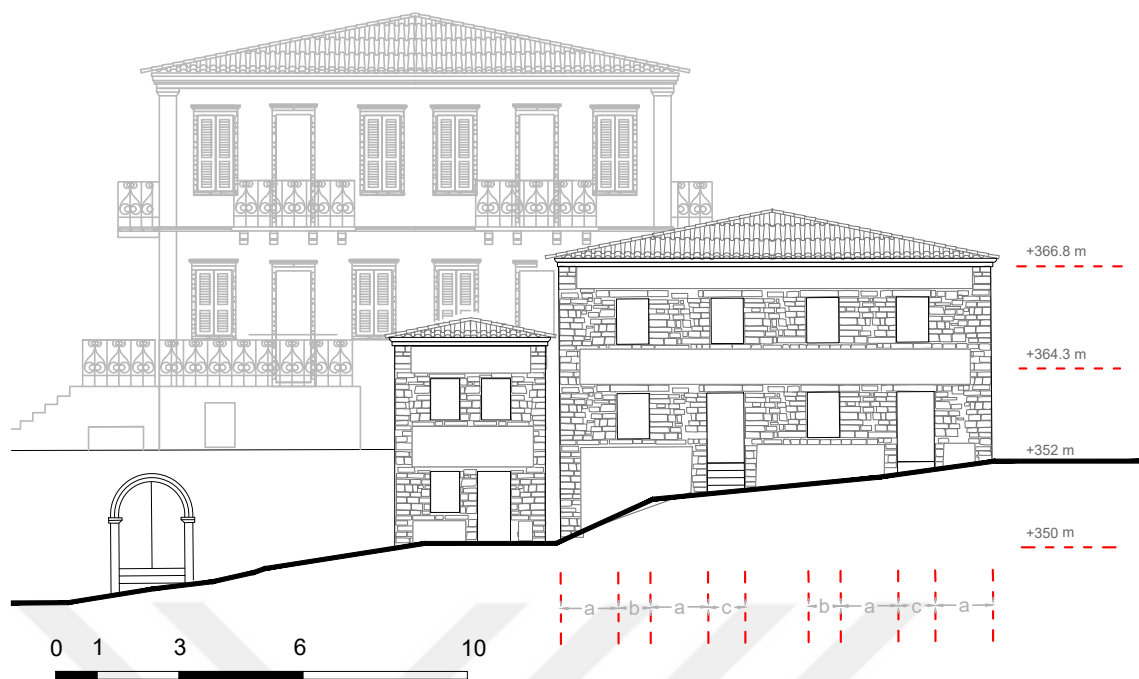
Drawing 5: Mesomahalas:layout of the market street area



Drawing 6: Mesomahalas-market street:
Representation of the north facade



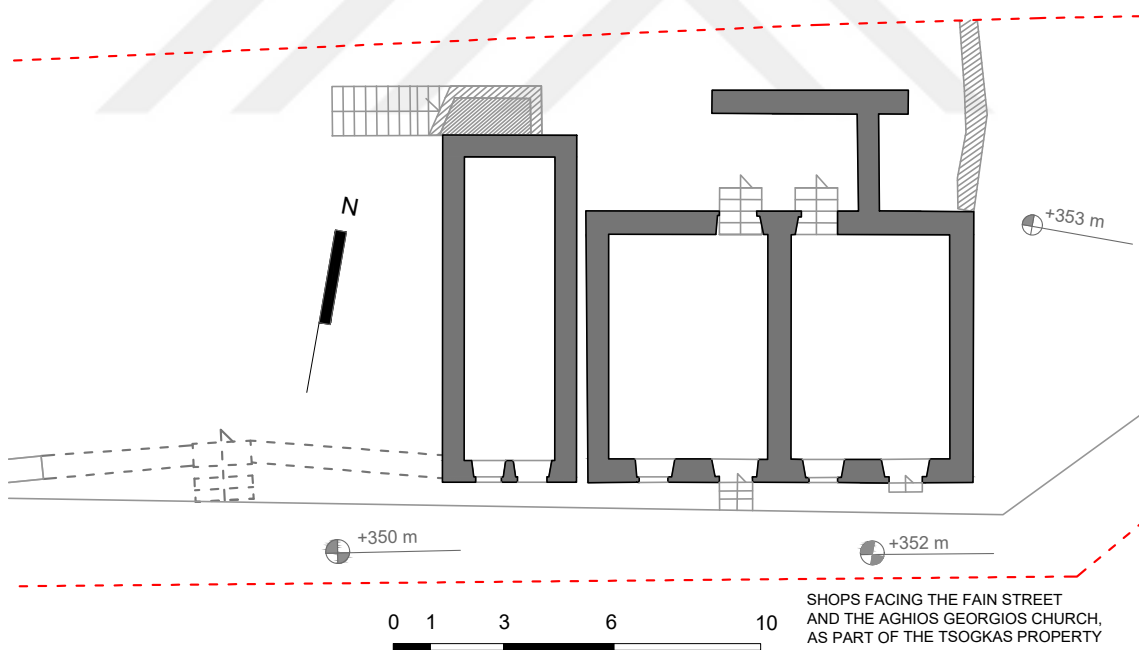
Drawing 7: Mesomahalas-market street:
Representation of the north facade (detail)



SOUTH FACADE FROM TSOGKEIKA/ TSOGKAS' SUB-NEIGHBORHOOD

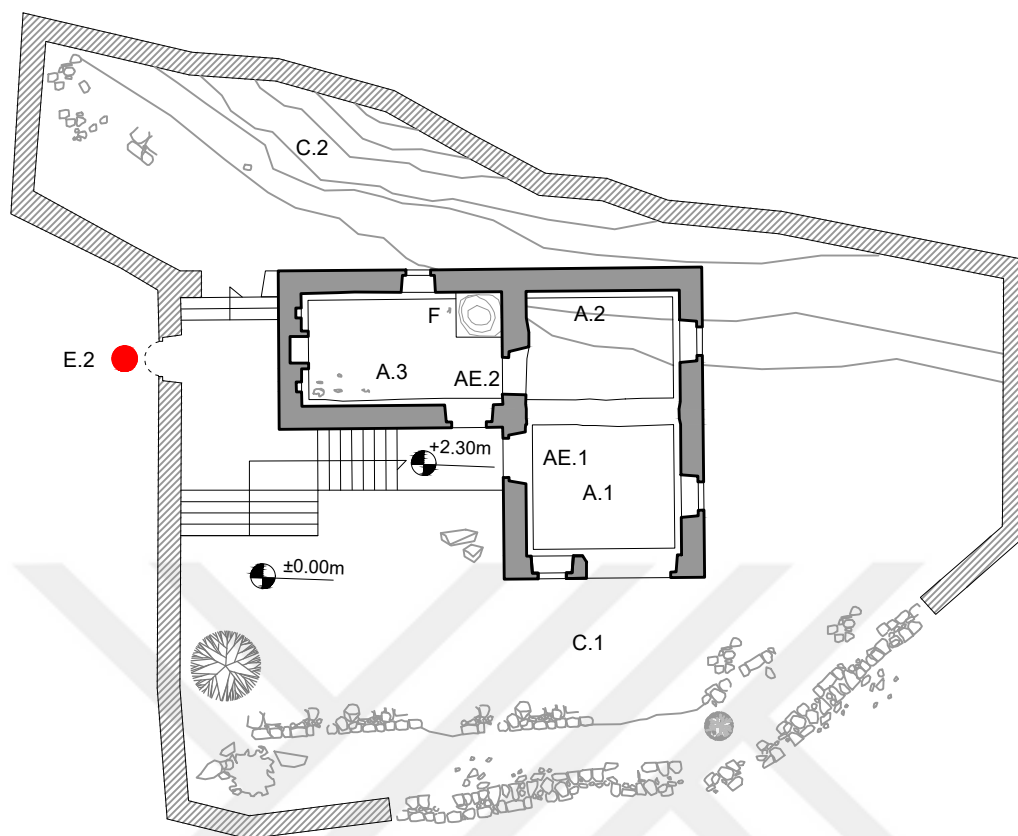
NOTE: THE UPPER FLOORS HAVE MAINLY COLLAPSED.

PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON TRACES ON THE MASONRY AND OLD PHOTOGRAPHS

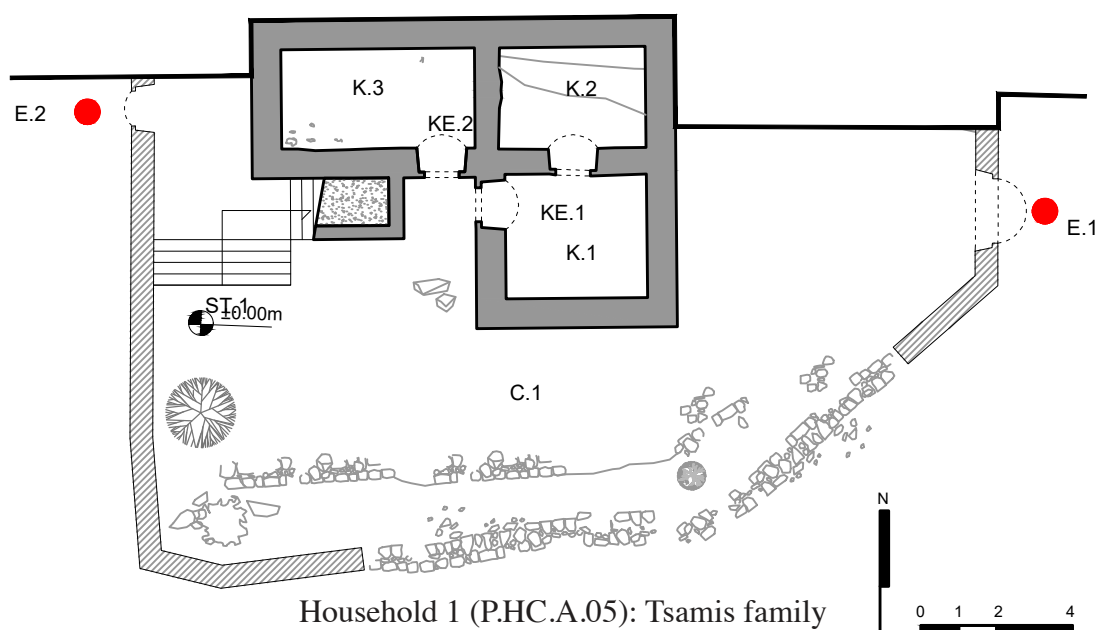


SHOPS FACING THE FAIN STREET
AND THE AGHIOS GEORGIOS CHURCH,
AS PART OF THE TSOGKAS PROPERTY

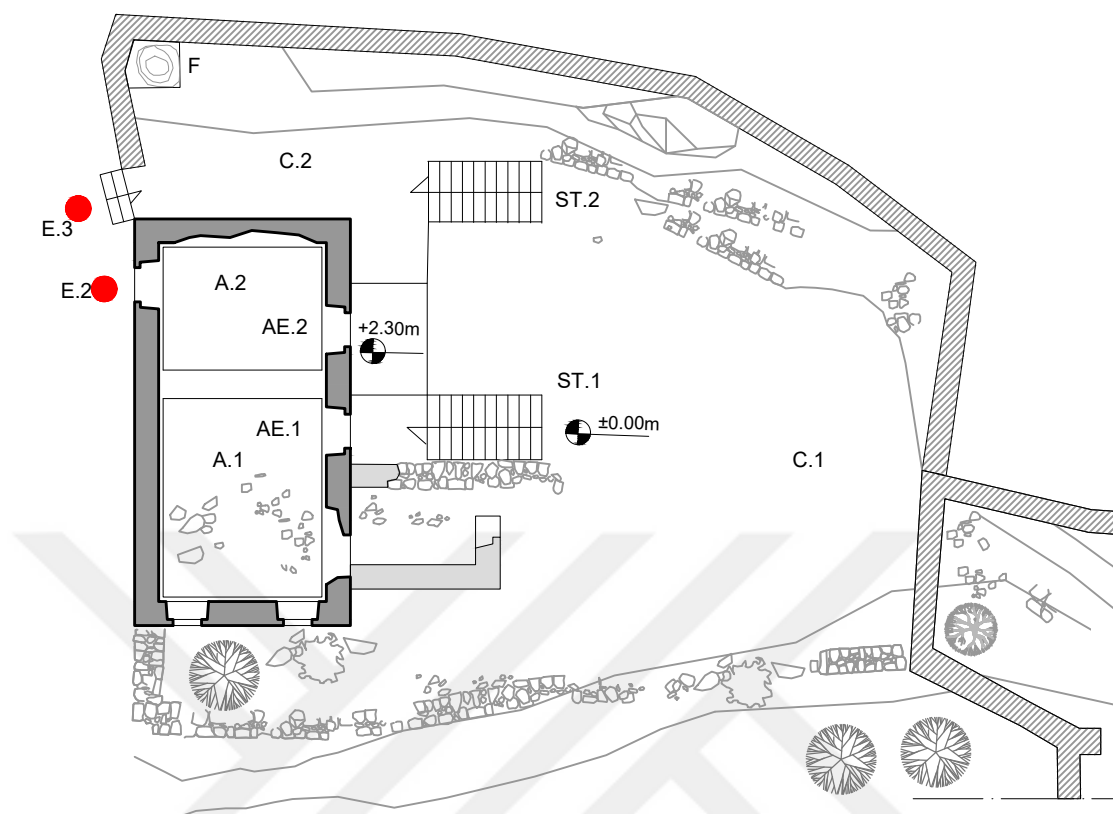
	PHASE 1
	PHASE 2
	PHASE 3
	PHASE 4
	BLOCKED OPENINGS
	COURTYARD WALLS
	COURTYARD STRUCTURES
	ACCESS FROM THE PUBLIC SPACE
B:	BUILDING
E:	ENTRANCE
K:	KATOI
A:	ANOI
A.E.:	ENTRANCE TO THE ANOI
K.E.:	ENTR. TO THE KATOI
ST.:	STAIR
M.E.:	MAIN ENTRANCE
L:	LAVATORY
H:	KREVATA-HAYAT/HALL
C:	COURTYARD
S:	SECONDARY SPACE
F:	FURNACE



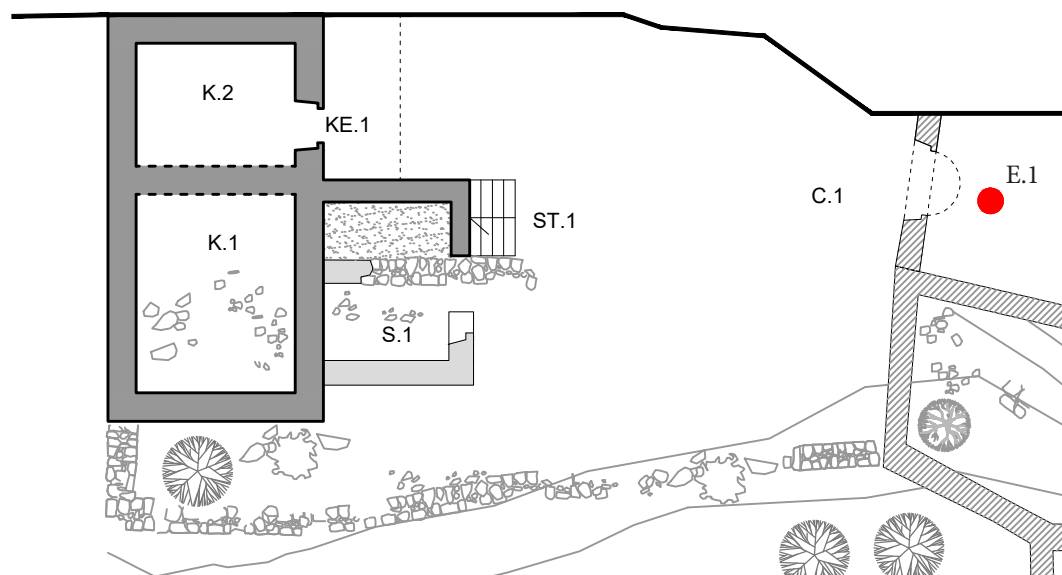
Drawing 11: Household 1 (PHC.A.05):
anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 2)



Household 1 (PHC.A.05): Tsamis family
Drawing 10: Household 1 (PHC.A.05):
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



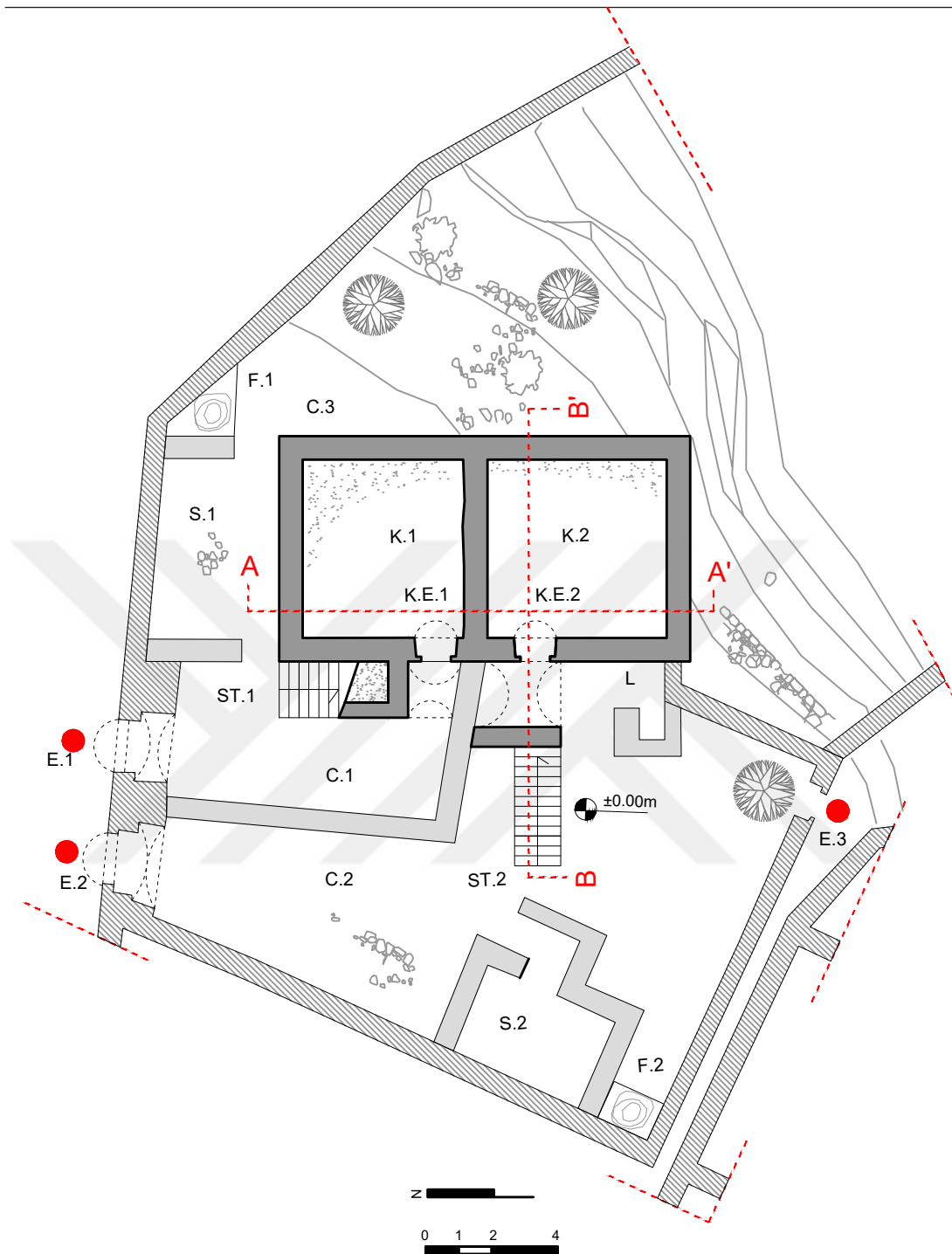
Drawing 13: Household 2 (PHC.A.07):

anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 2)

Household 2 (PHC.A.07): Yiatsis family

Drawing 12: Household 2 (PHC.A.07):

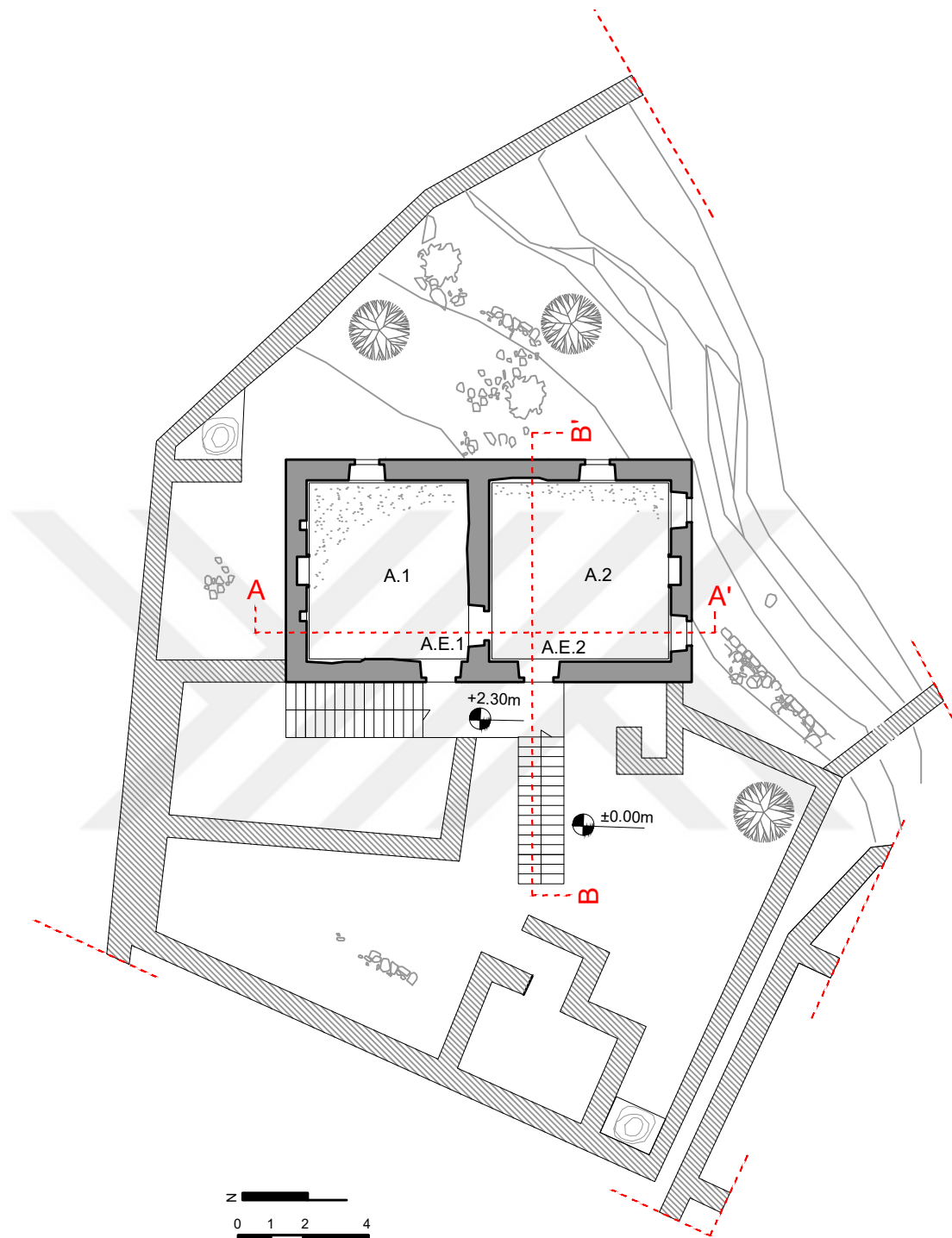
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



Household 3 (M.HC.C.13): Yiannopoulos family

Drawing 14: Household 3 (M.HC.C.13):

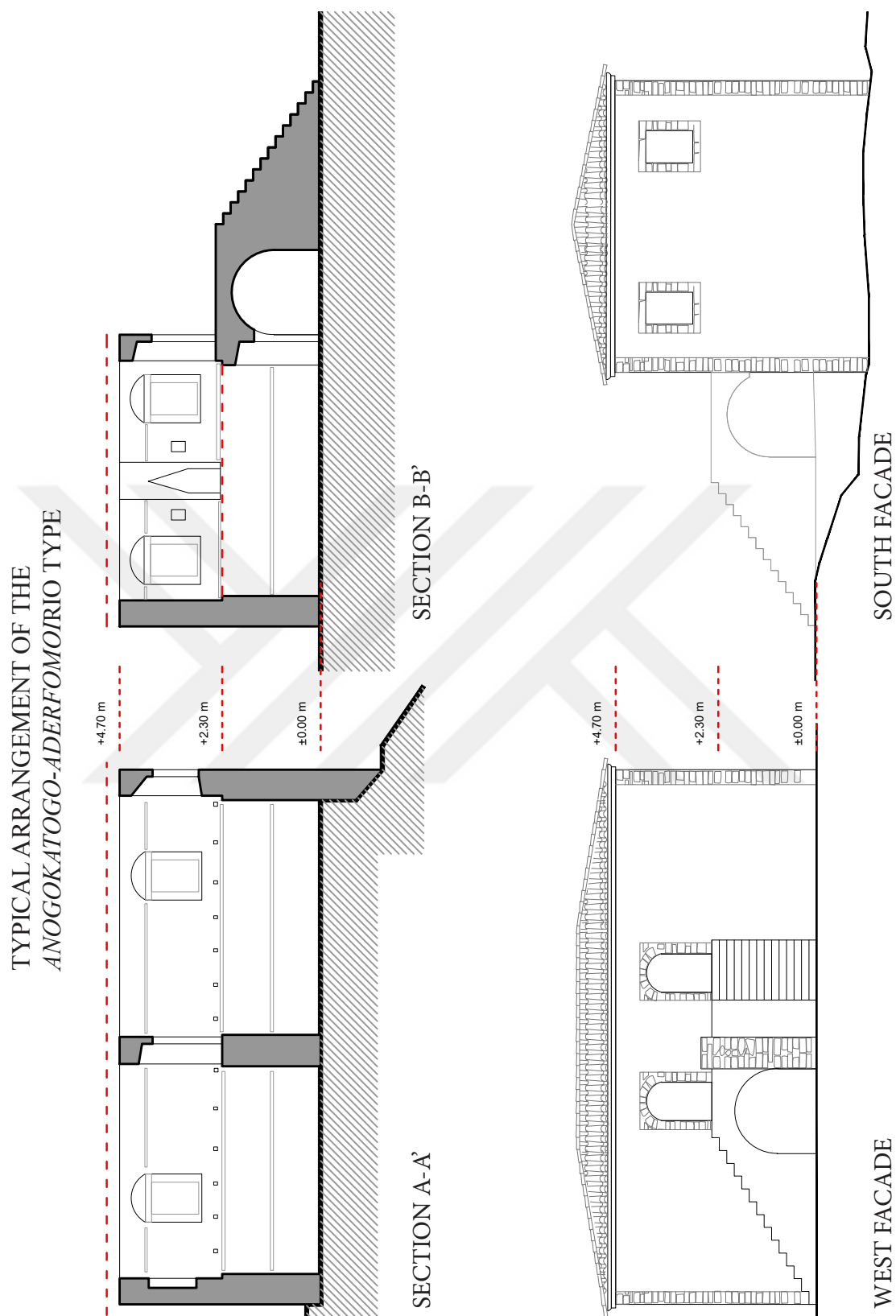
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



Household 3 (M.HC.C.13): Yiannopoulos family

Drawing 15: Household 3 (M.HC.C.13):

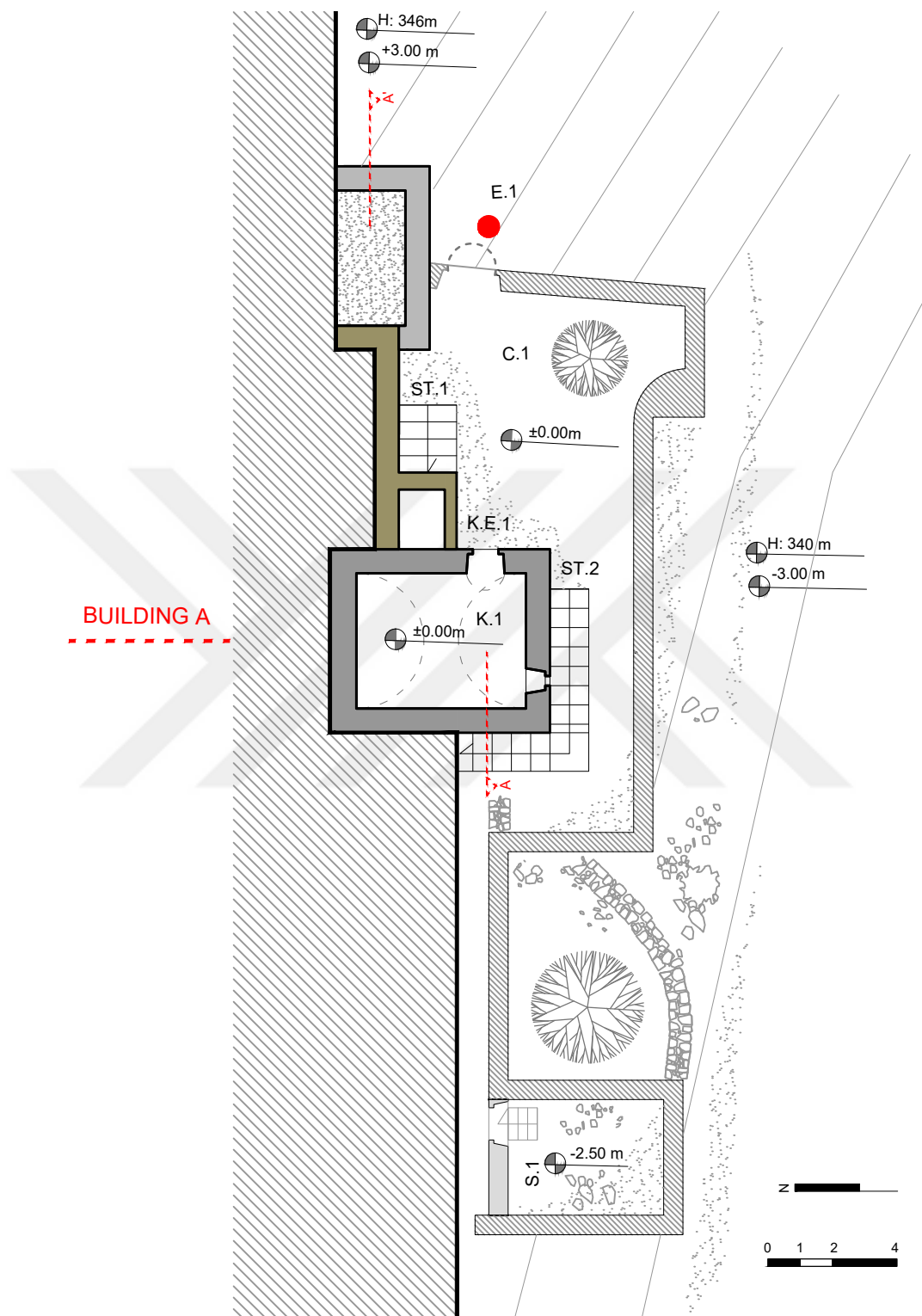
anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 2)



Household 3 (M.HC.C.13): Yiannopoulos family

Drawing 16-Drawing 19: Household 3 (M.HC.C.13):

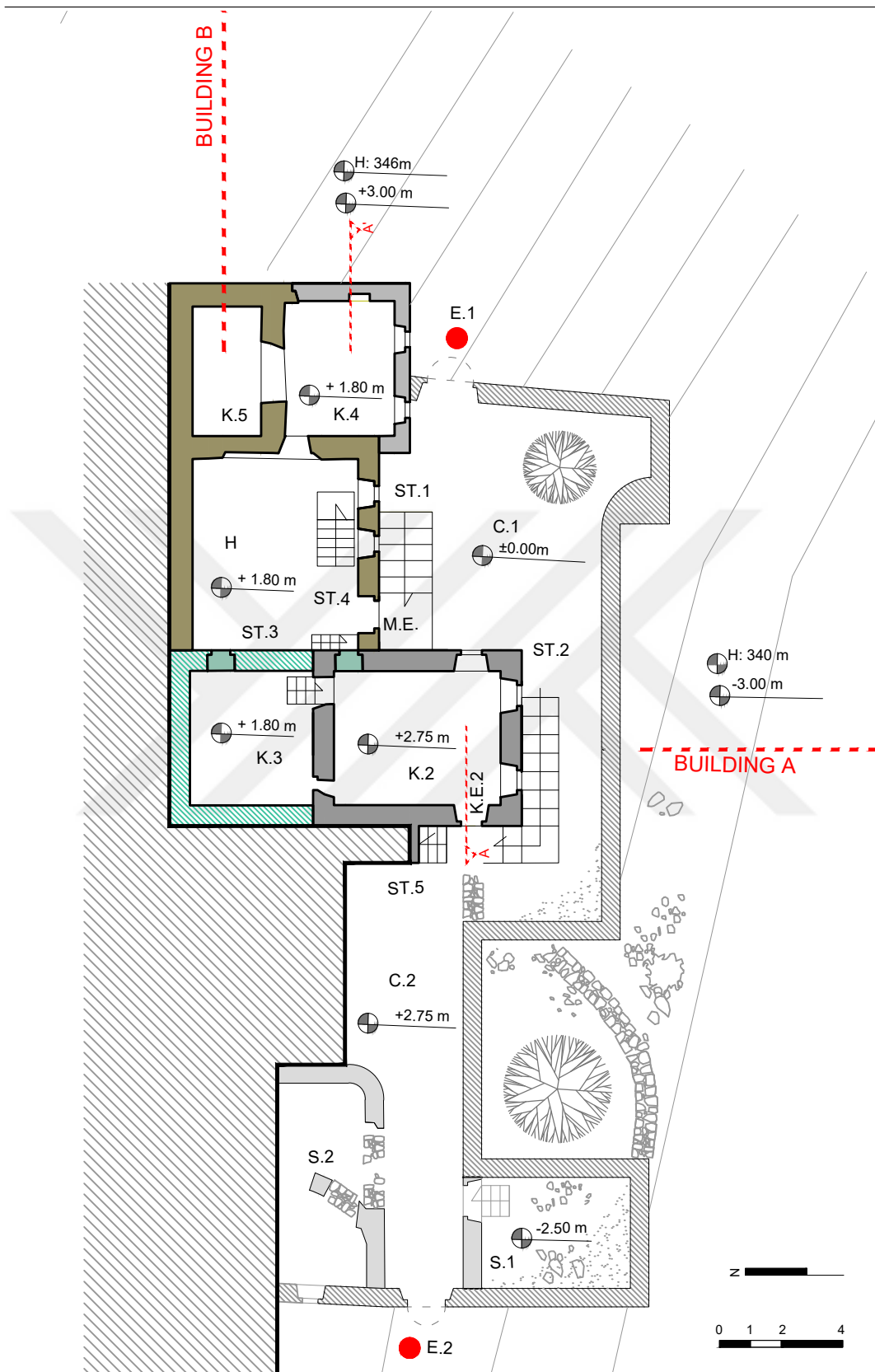
Facades and Sections (representation of the initial facade)



Household 4 (PHC.A.13):Tasis family

Drawing 20: Household 4 (PHC.A.13):

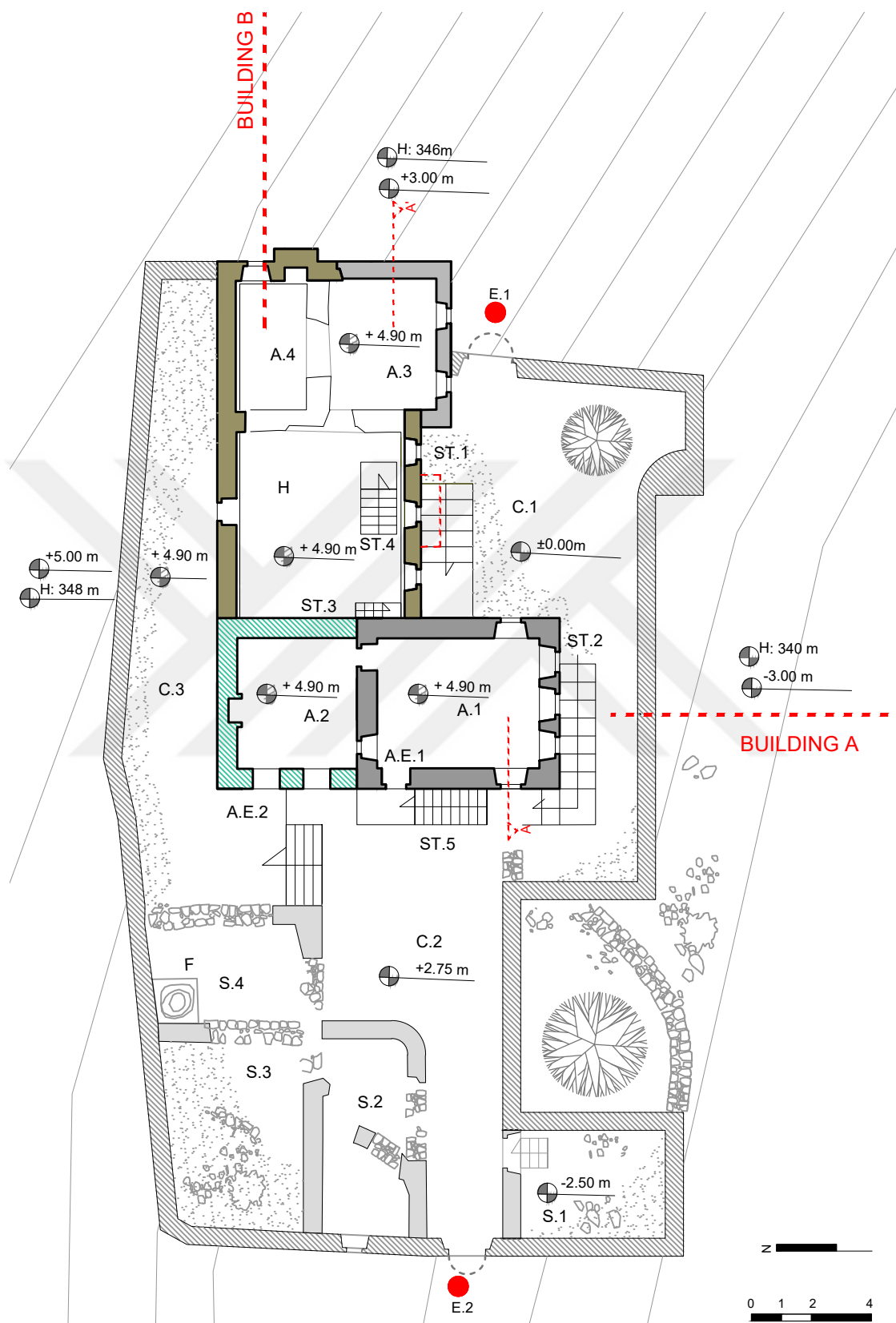
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



Household 4 (PHC.A.13):Tasis family

Drawing 21: Household 4 (PHC.A.13):

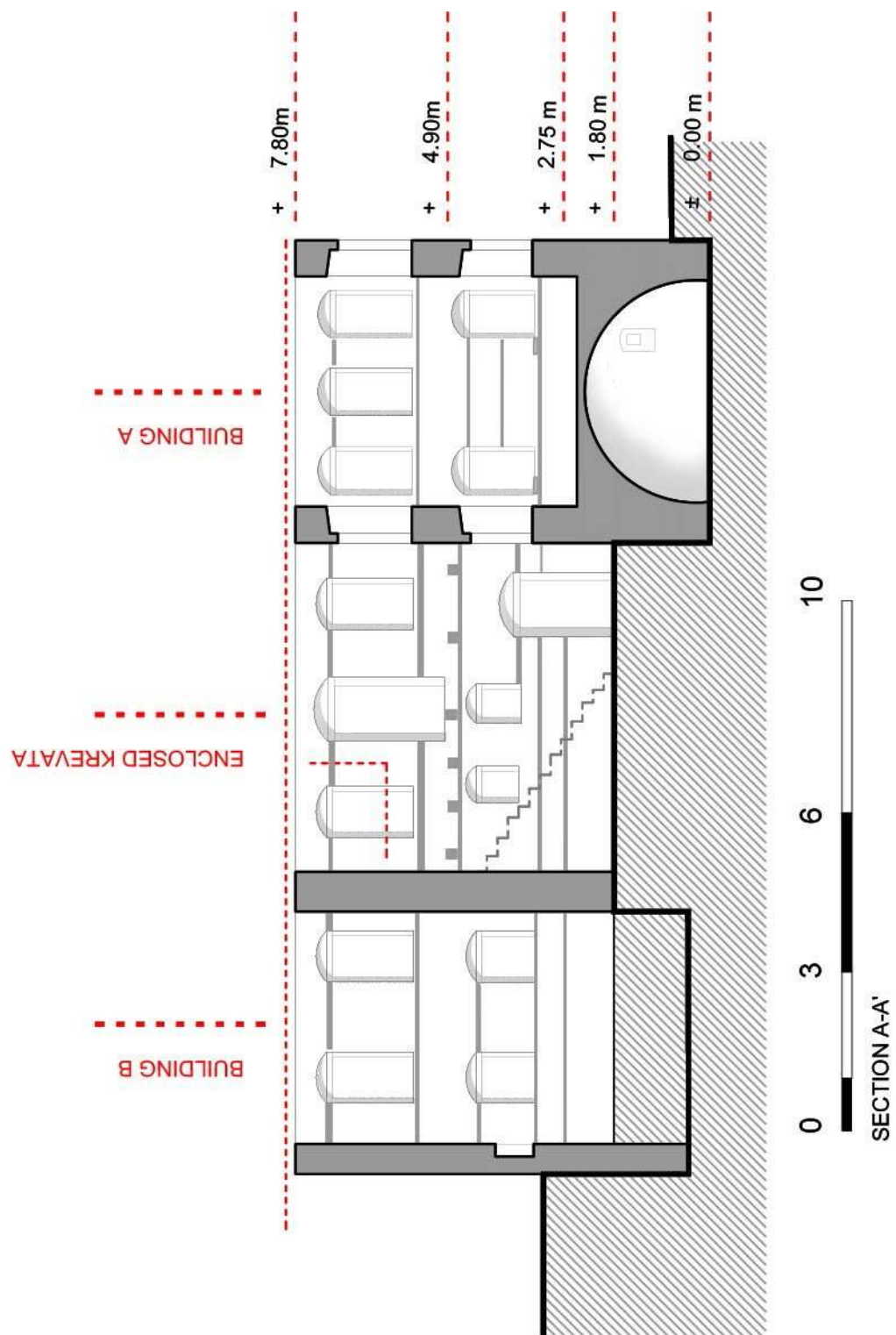
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 2)



Household 4 (PHC.A.13):Tasis family

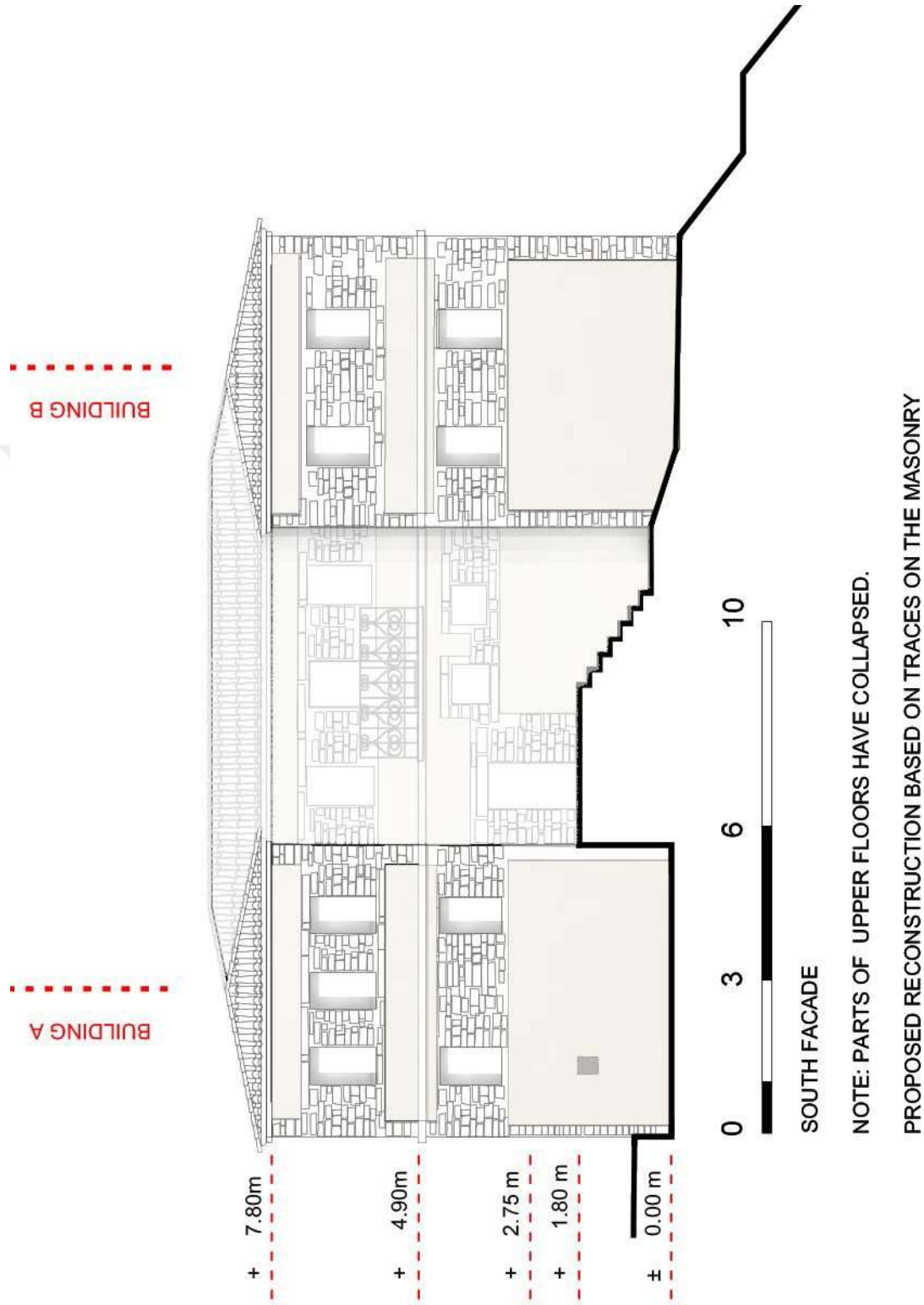
Drawing 22: Household 4 (PHC.A.13):

anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 3)

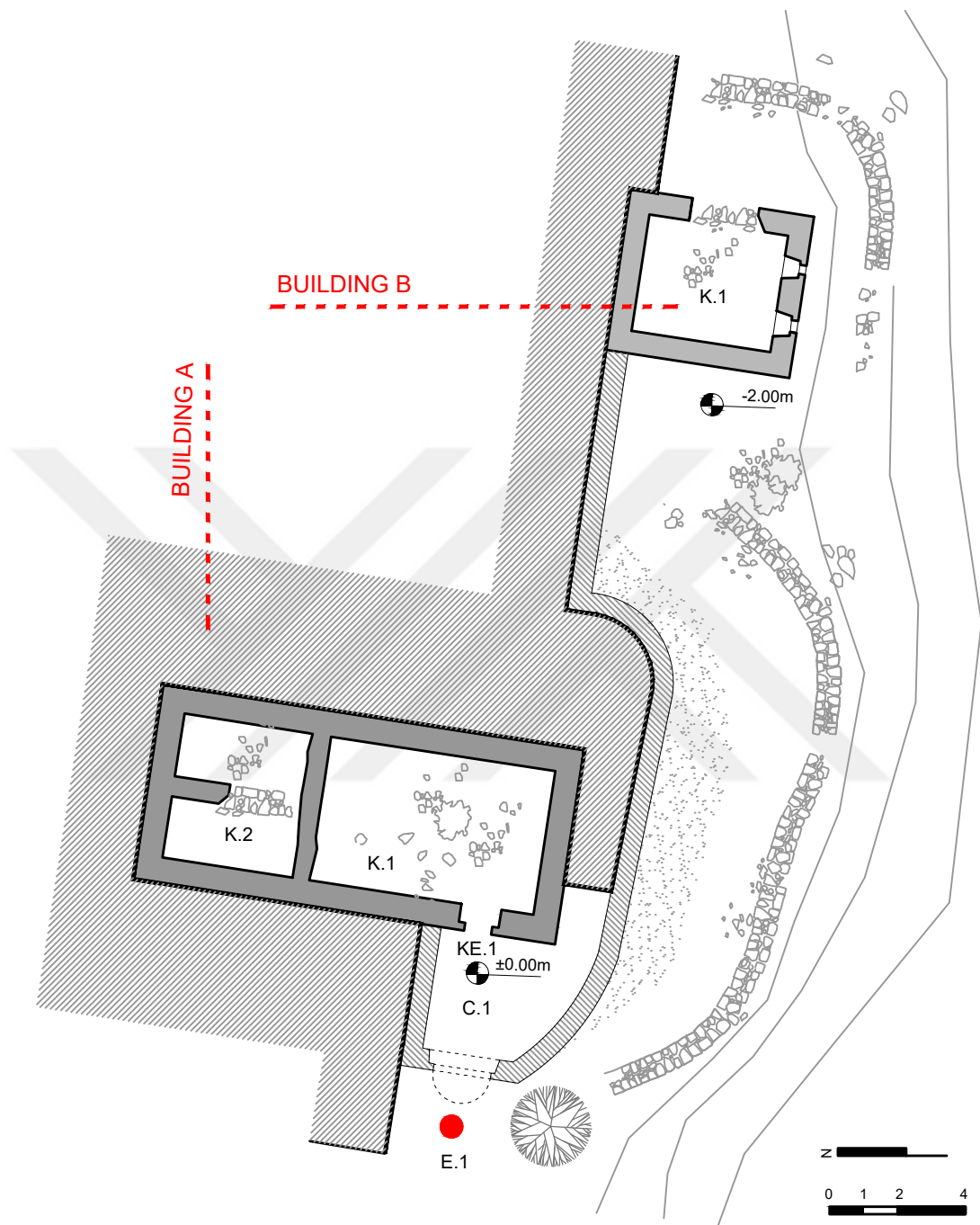


Household 4 (PHC.A.13):Tasis family
 Drawing 23: Household 4 (PHC.A.13): section A-A'

NOTE: Some parts of the section are reconstructions based on masonry traces



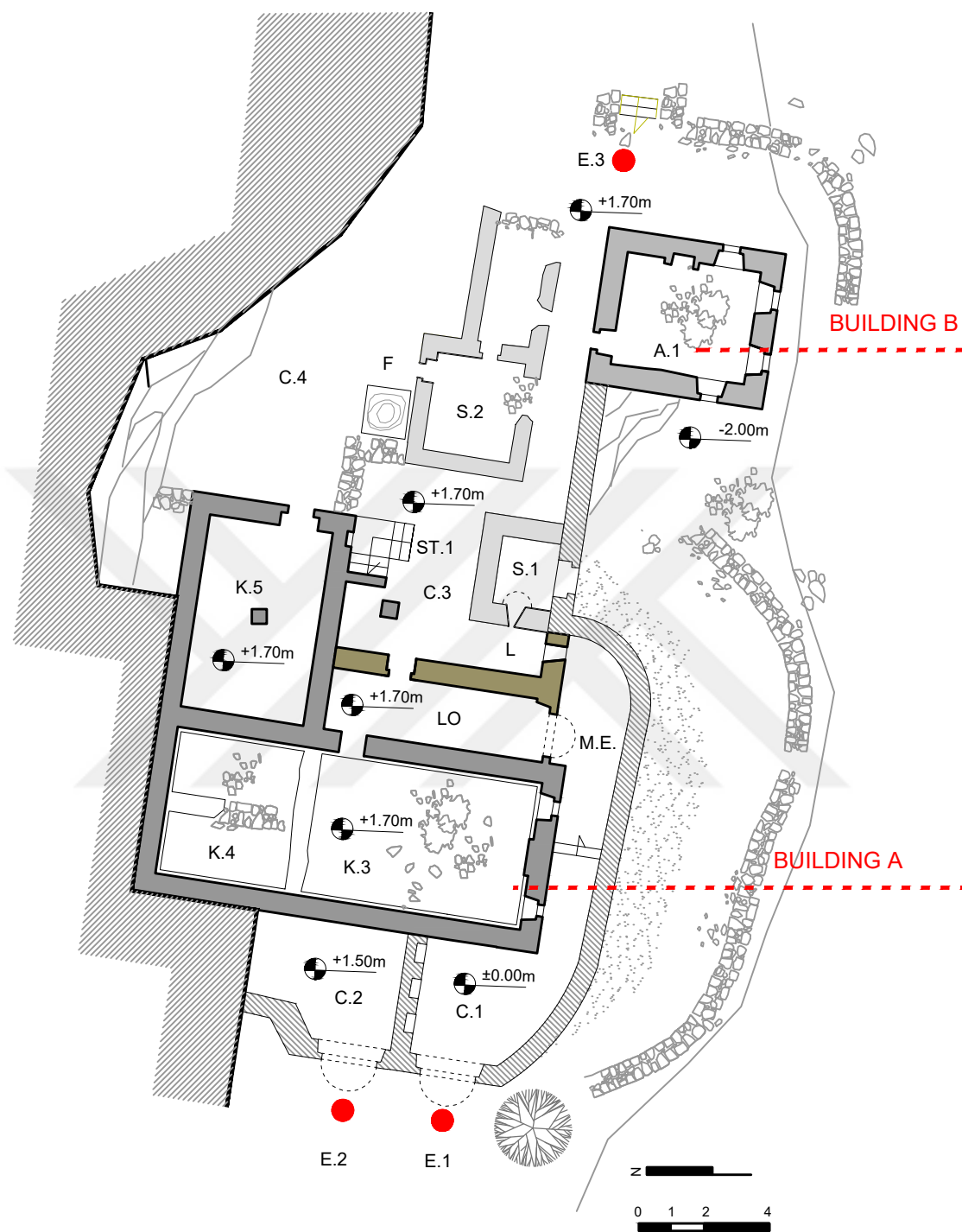
Household 4 (PHC.A.13):Tasis family
Drawing 24: Household 4 (PHC.A.13): south facade
(representation of the initial facade)



Household 5 (P.HC.B.07):Skendos family

Drawing 25: Household 5 (P.HC.B.07):

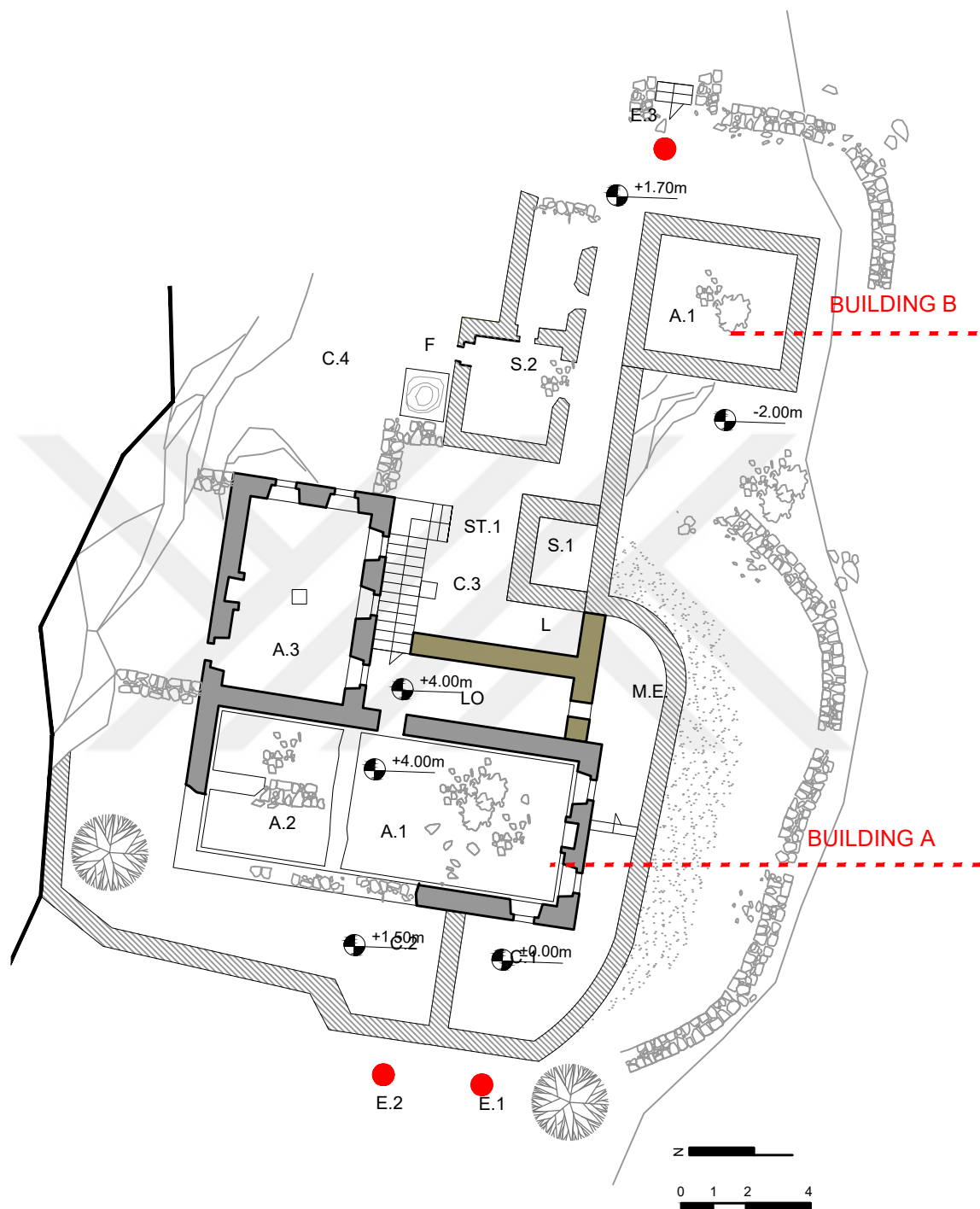
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



Household 5 (PHC.B.07):Skendos family

Drawing 26: Household 5 (PHC.B.07):

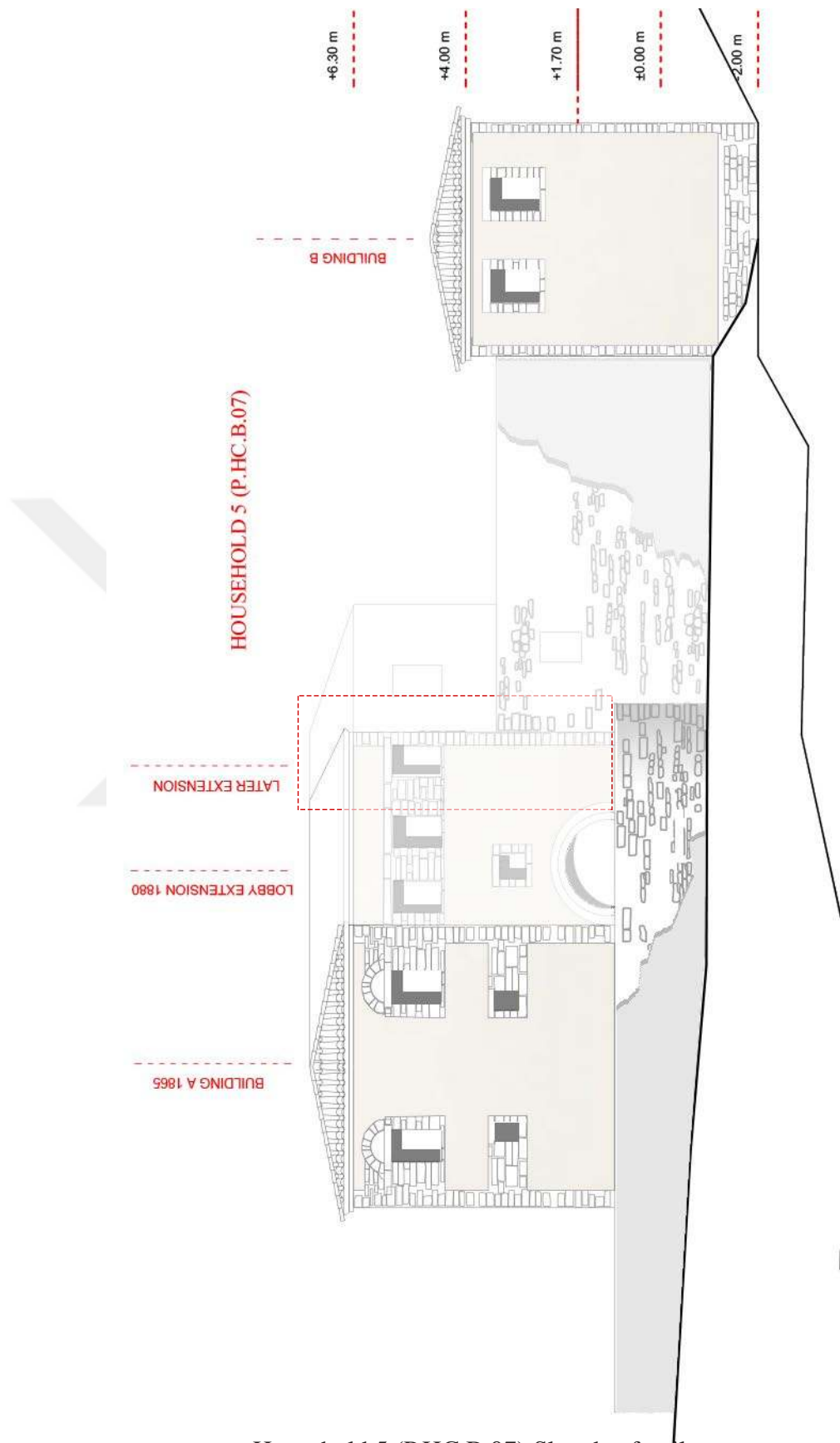
katoi/ anoi (Level 2)



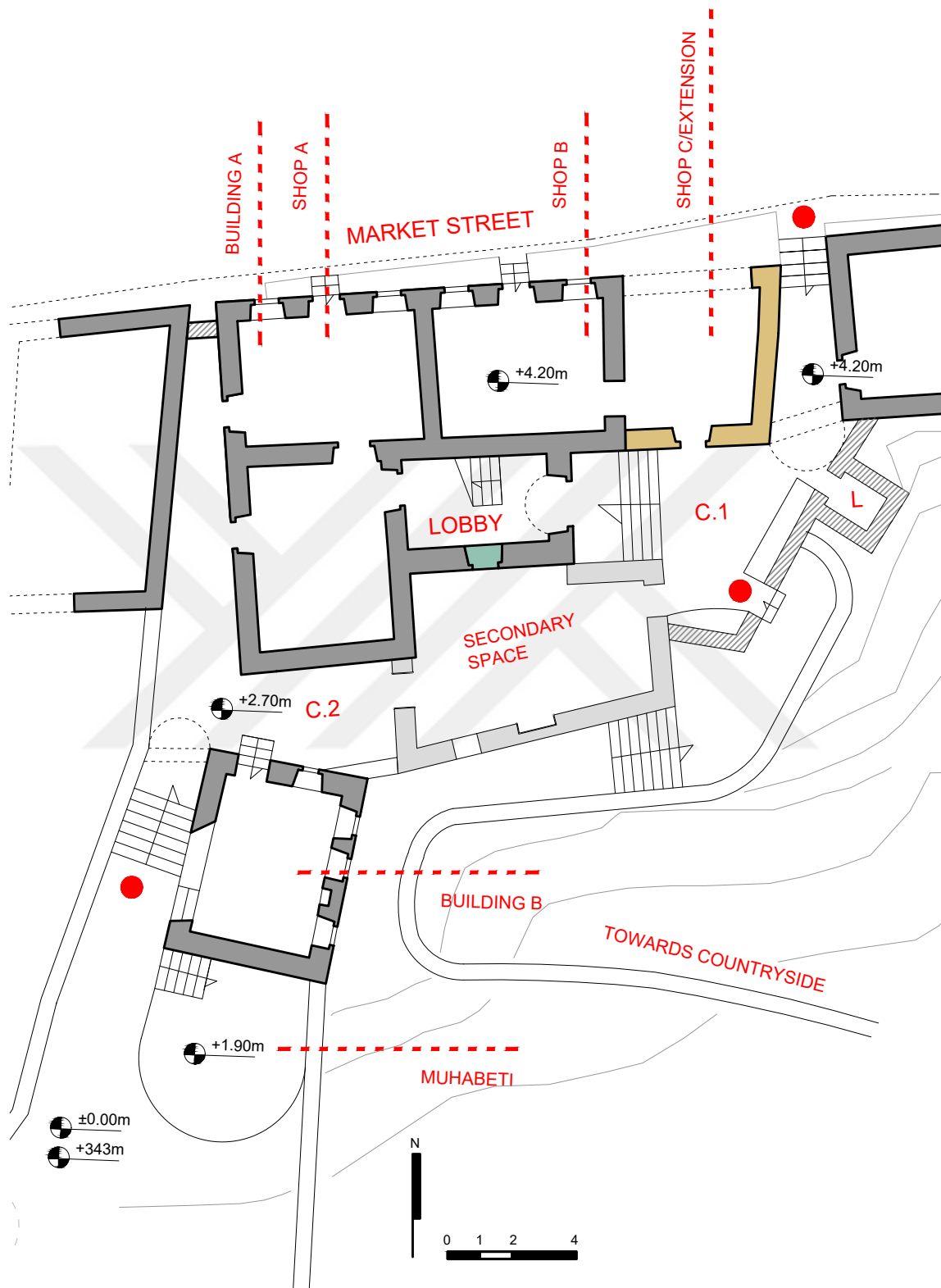
Household 5 (PHC.B.07):Skendos family

Drawing 27: Household 5 (PHC.B.07):

anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 3)



Household 5 (P.HC.B.07):Skendos family
 Drawing 28: Household 5 (P.HC.B.07): south facade
 (representation of the initial facade)

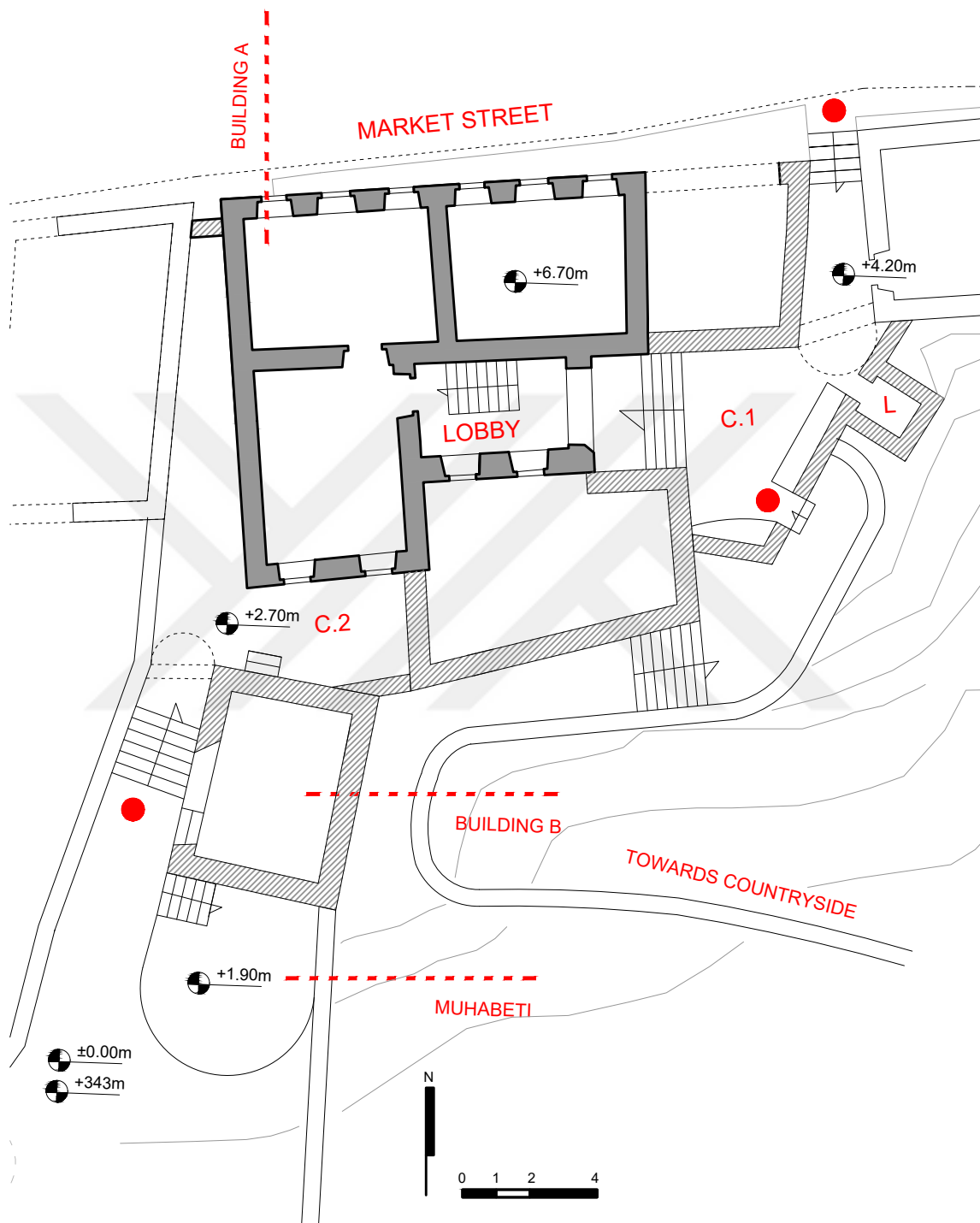


Household 6 (M.HC.B.05):Skandaletos family

Drawing 29: Household 6 (M.HC.B.05):

katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)

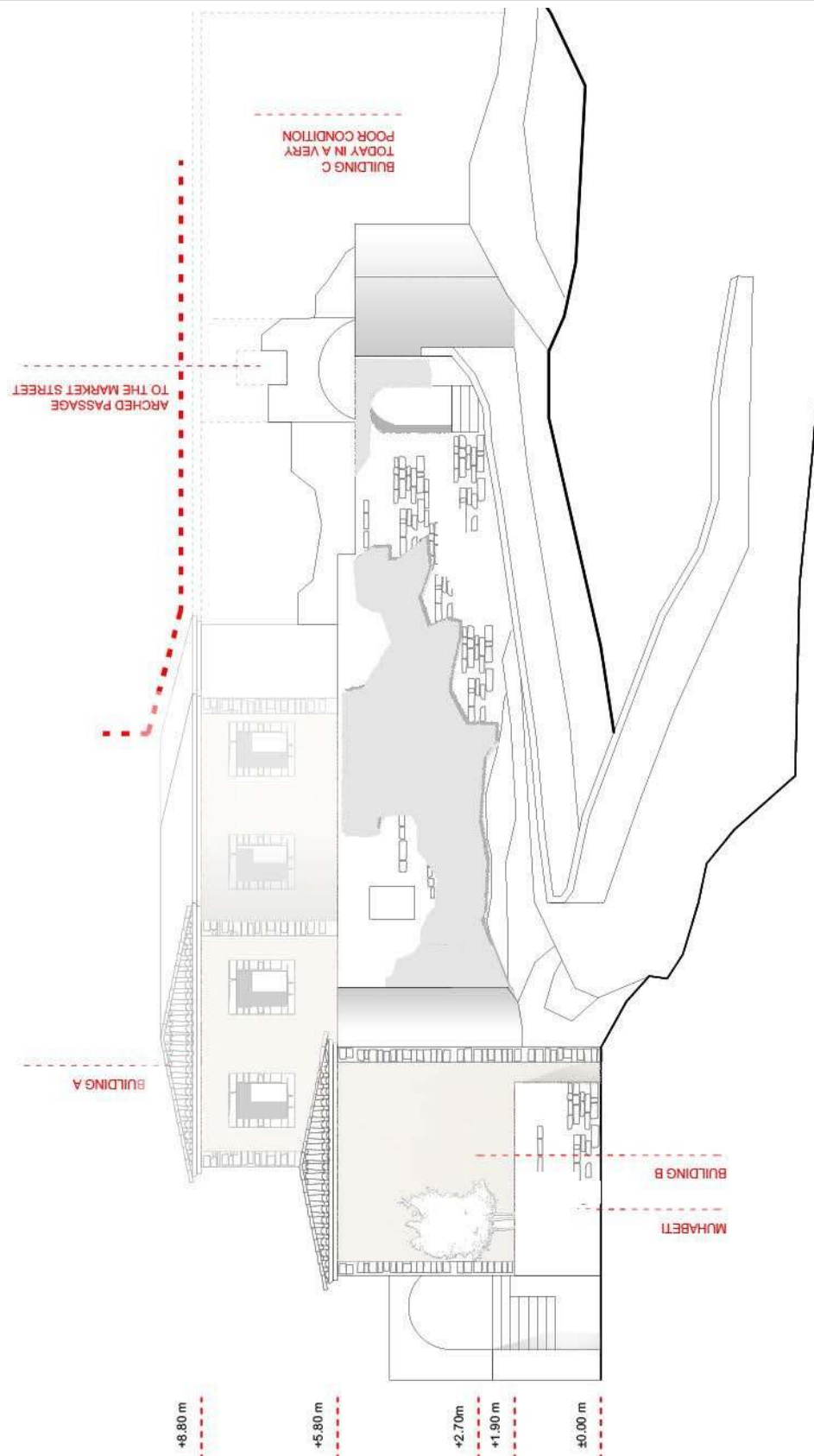
*NOTE: For Building B this drawing represents its upper-floor's plan (Level 2)



Household 6 (M.HC.B.05):Skandaletos family

Drawing 30: Household 6 (M.HC.B.05):

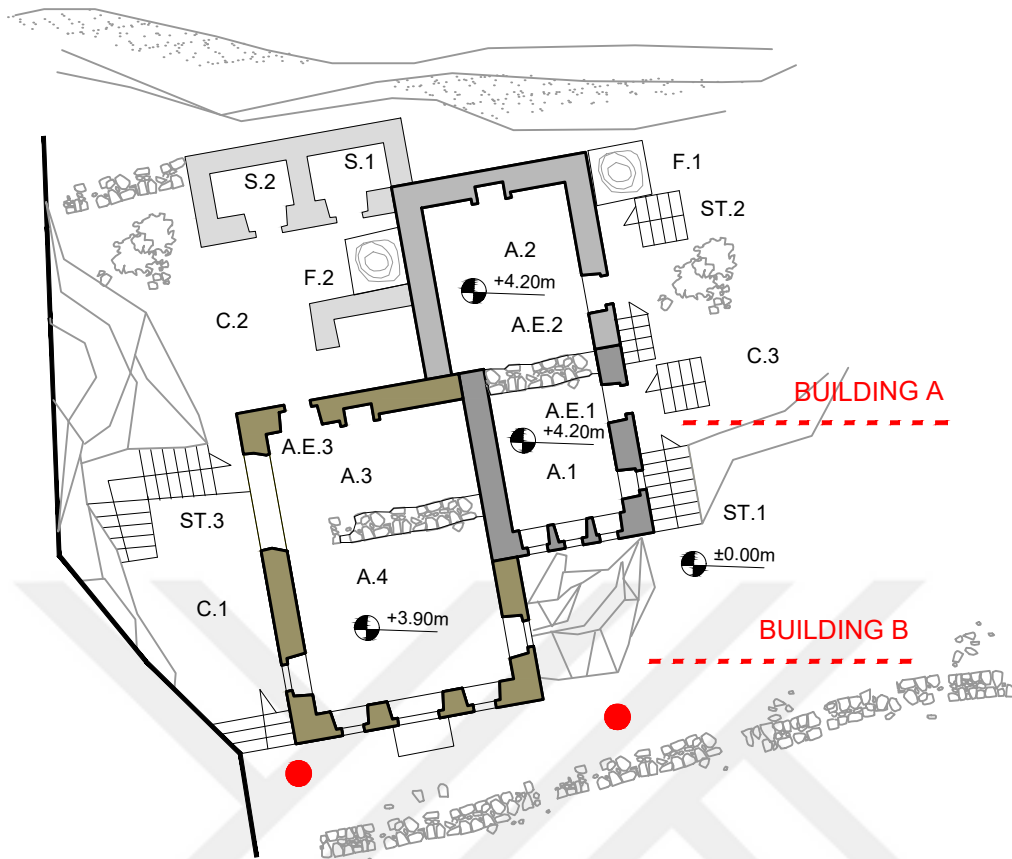
anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 2)



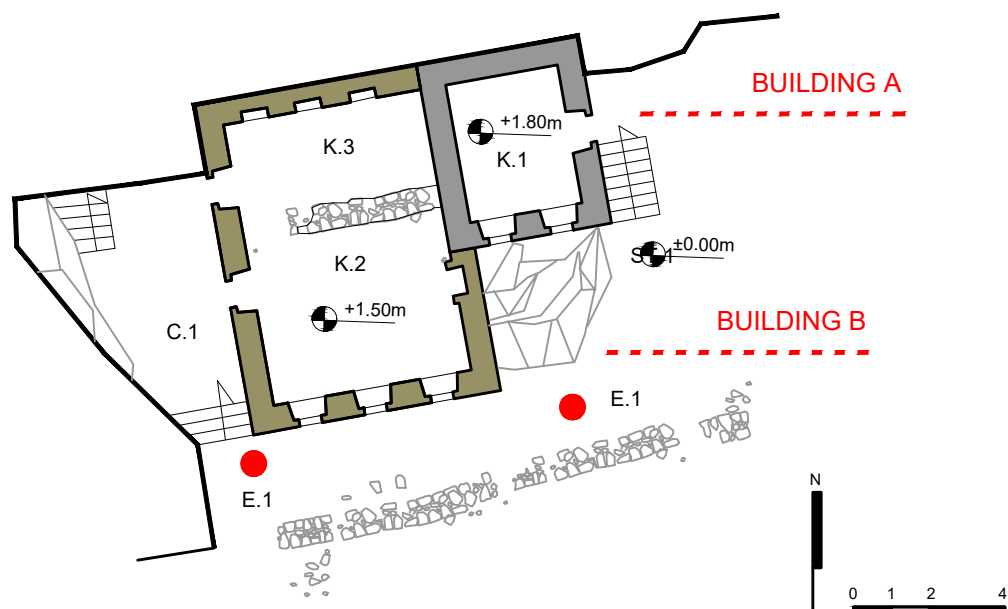
Household 6 (M.HC.B.05):Skandaletos family

Drawing 31: Household 6 (M.HC.B.05):

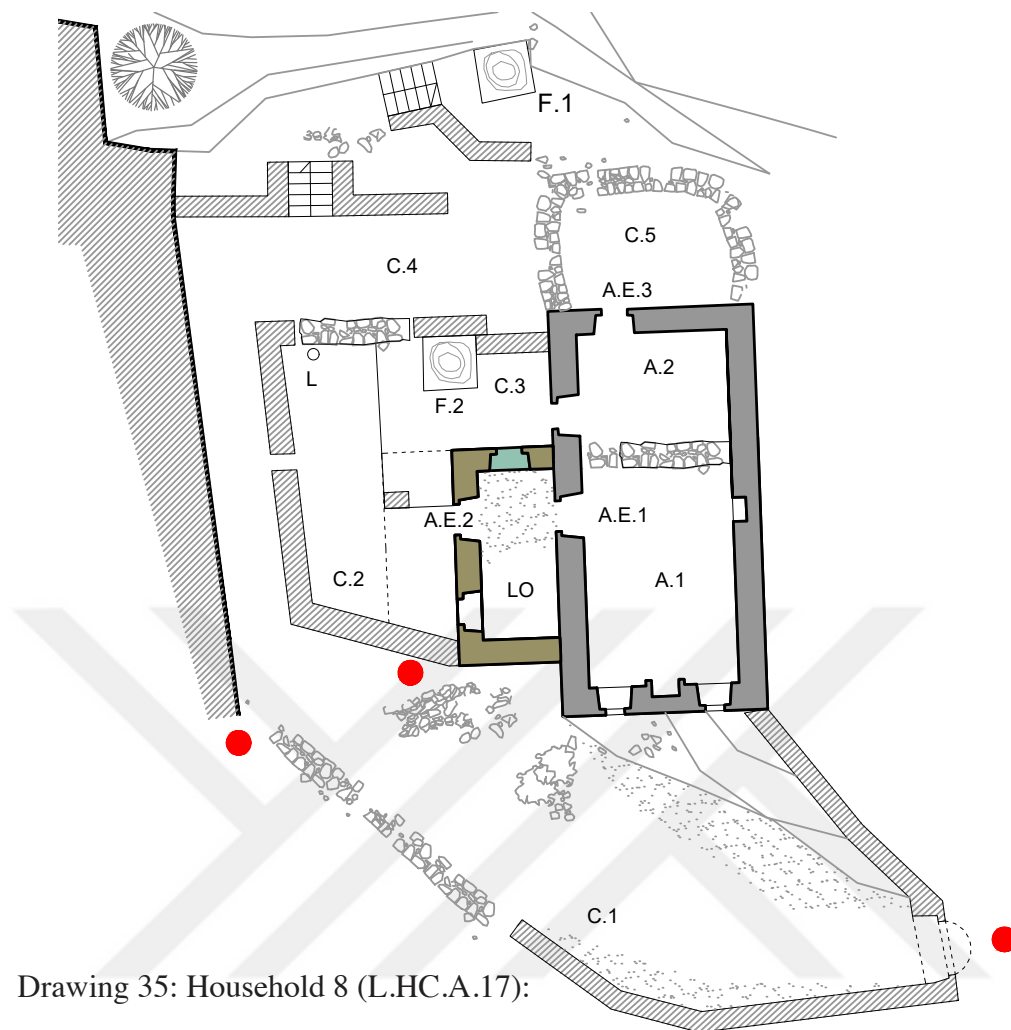
south facade (from the countryside)/ representation of the initial facade



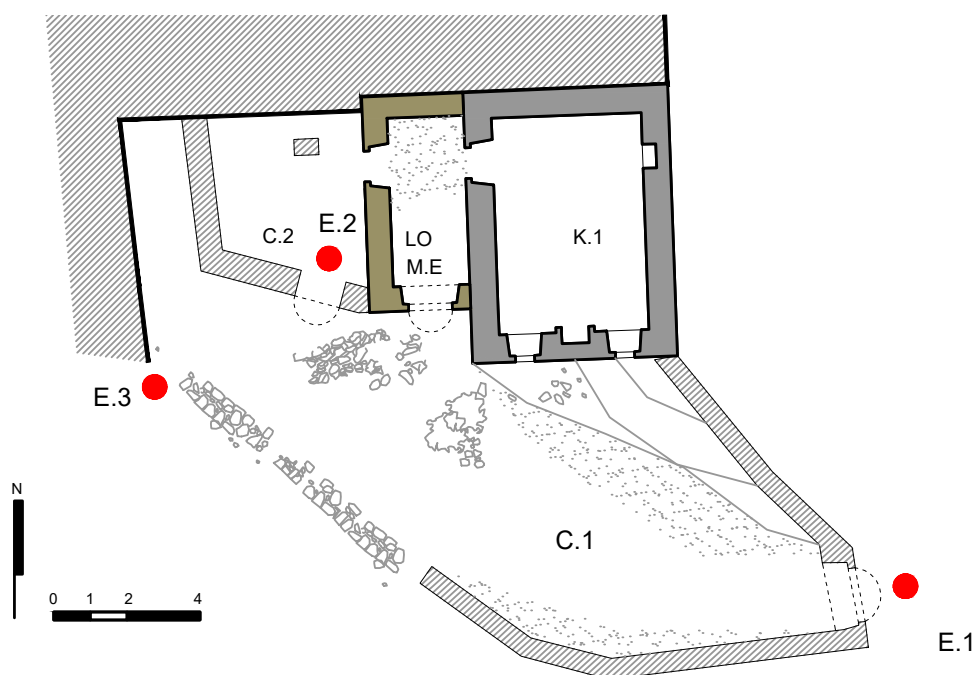
Drawing 33: Household 7 (L.HC.A.14):
anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 2)



Households 7-9: Magkouratika
Drawing 32: Household 7 (L.HC.A.14):
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)

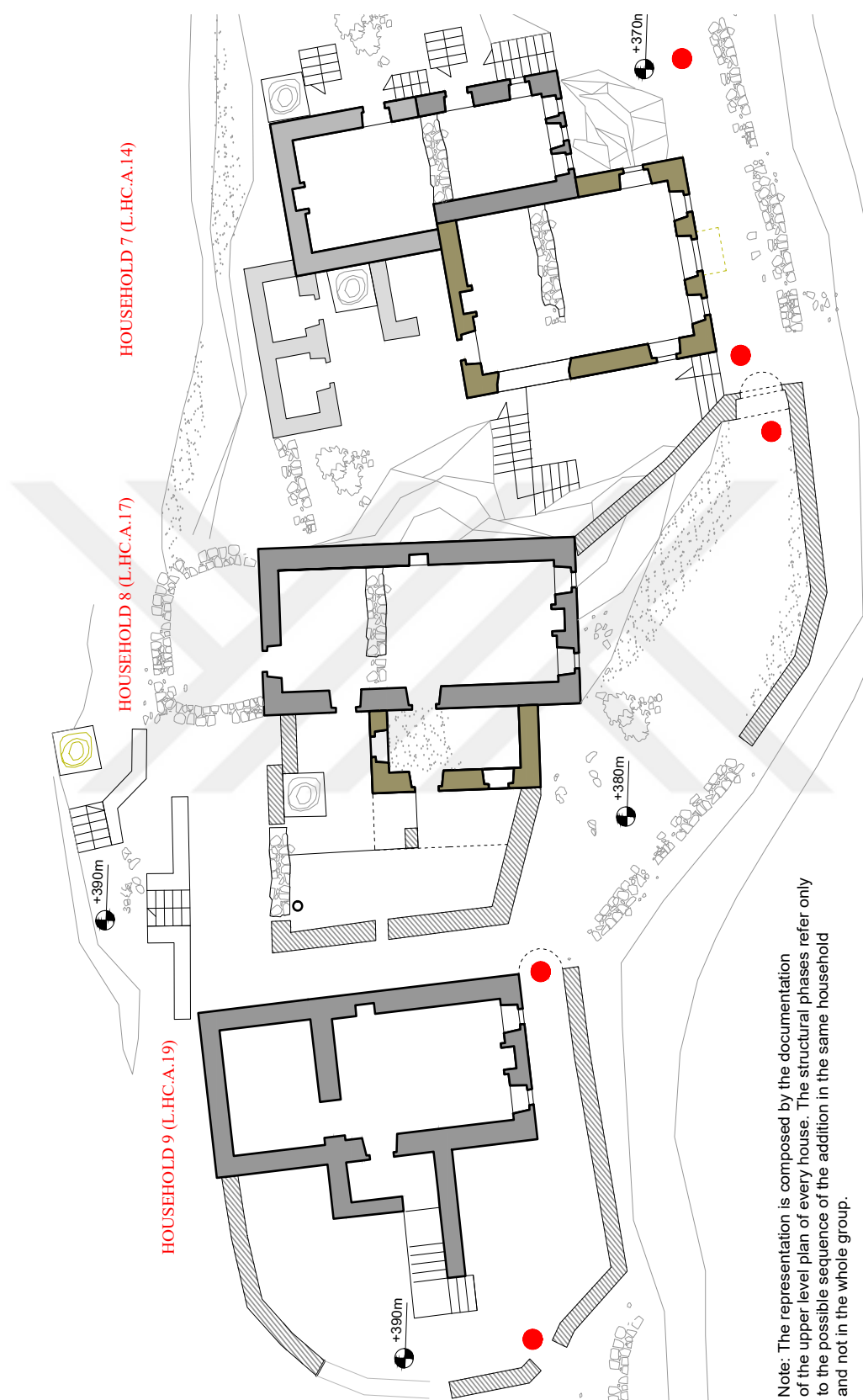


Drawing 35: Household 8 (L.HC.A.17):

anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 2)

Drawing 34: Household 8 (L.HC.A.17):

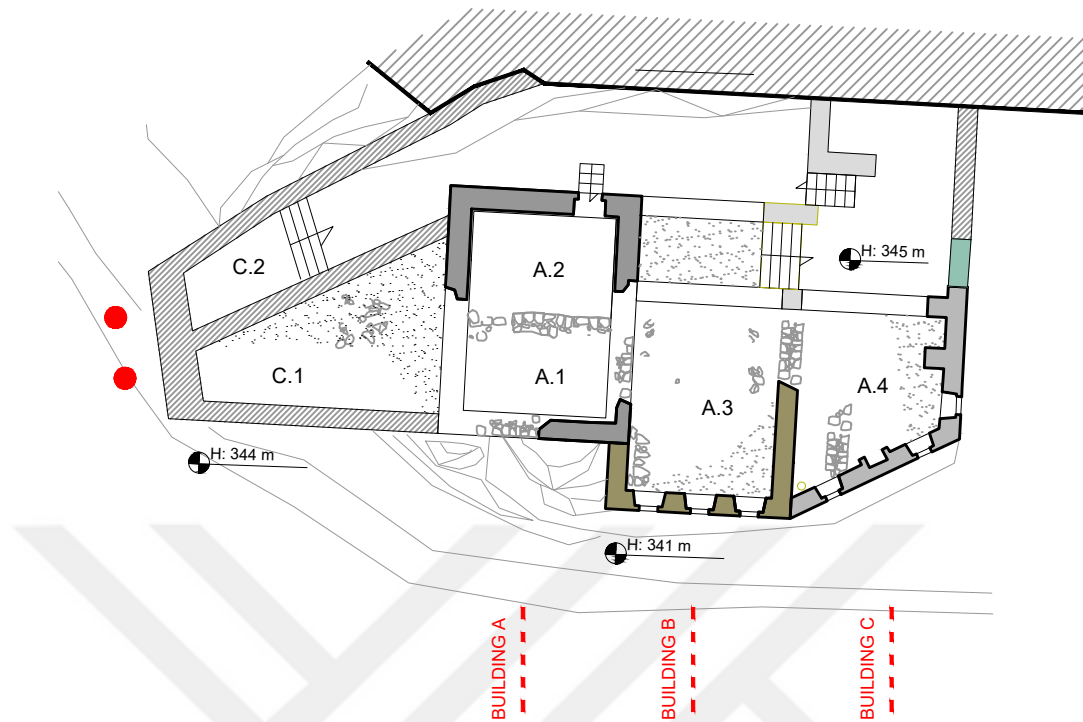
katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



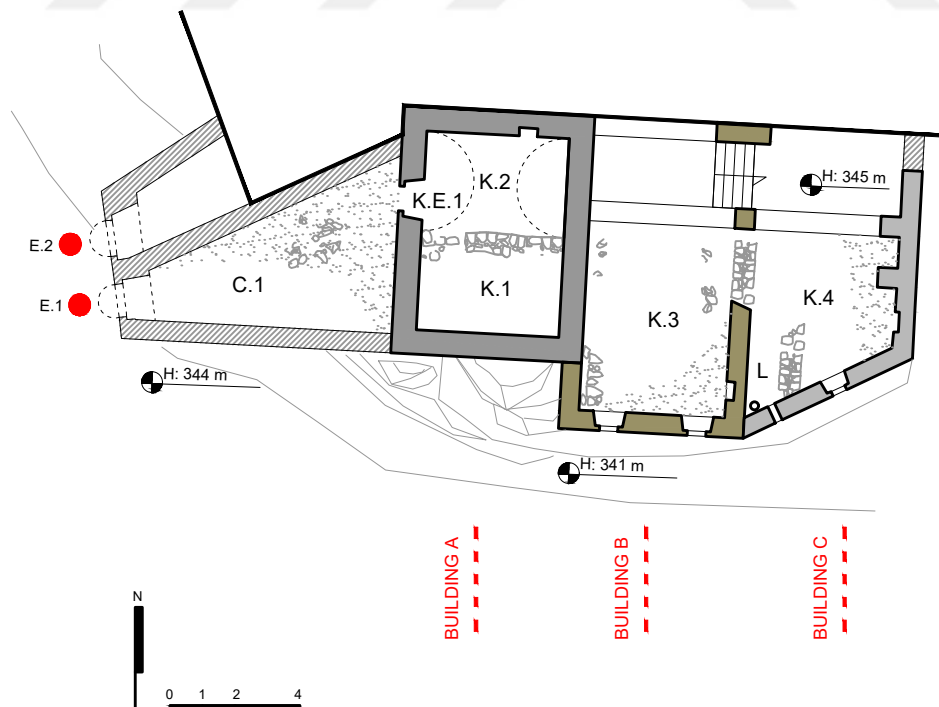
Households 7-9:Magkouratika

Drawing 36: Households 7-9 (L.HC.A.14;L.HC.A.17;L.HC.A.19):

Interconnected households: general configuration (Level 2)

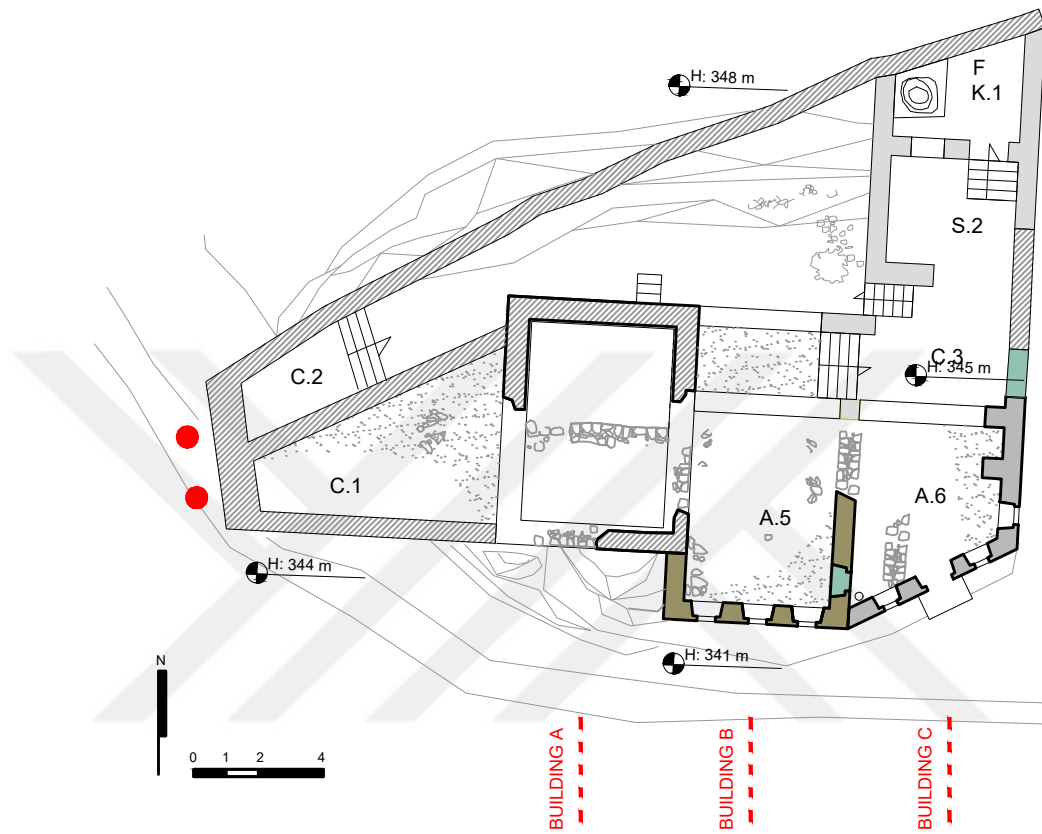


Drawing 38: Household 10 (PHC.A.10):

katoi/ anoi (Level 2)

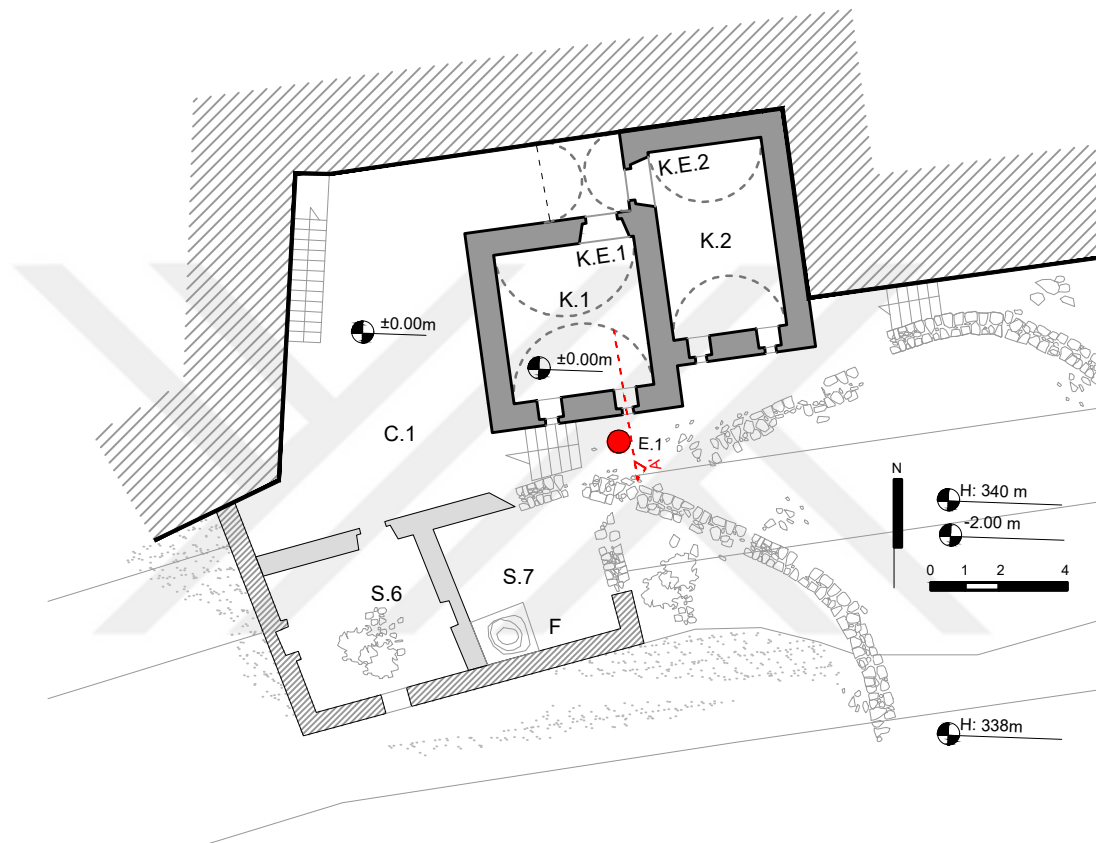
Drawing 37: Household 10 (PHC.A.10):

katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



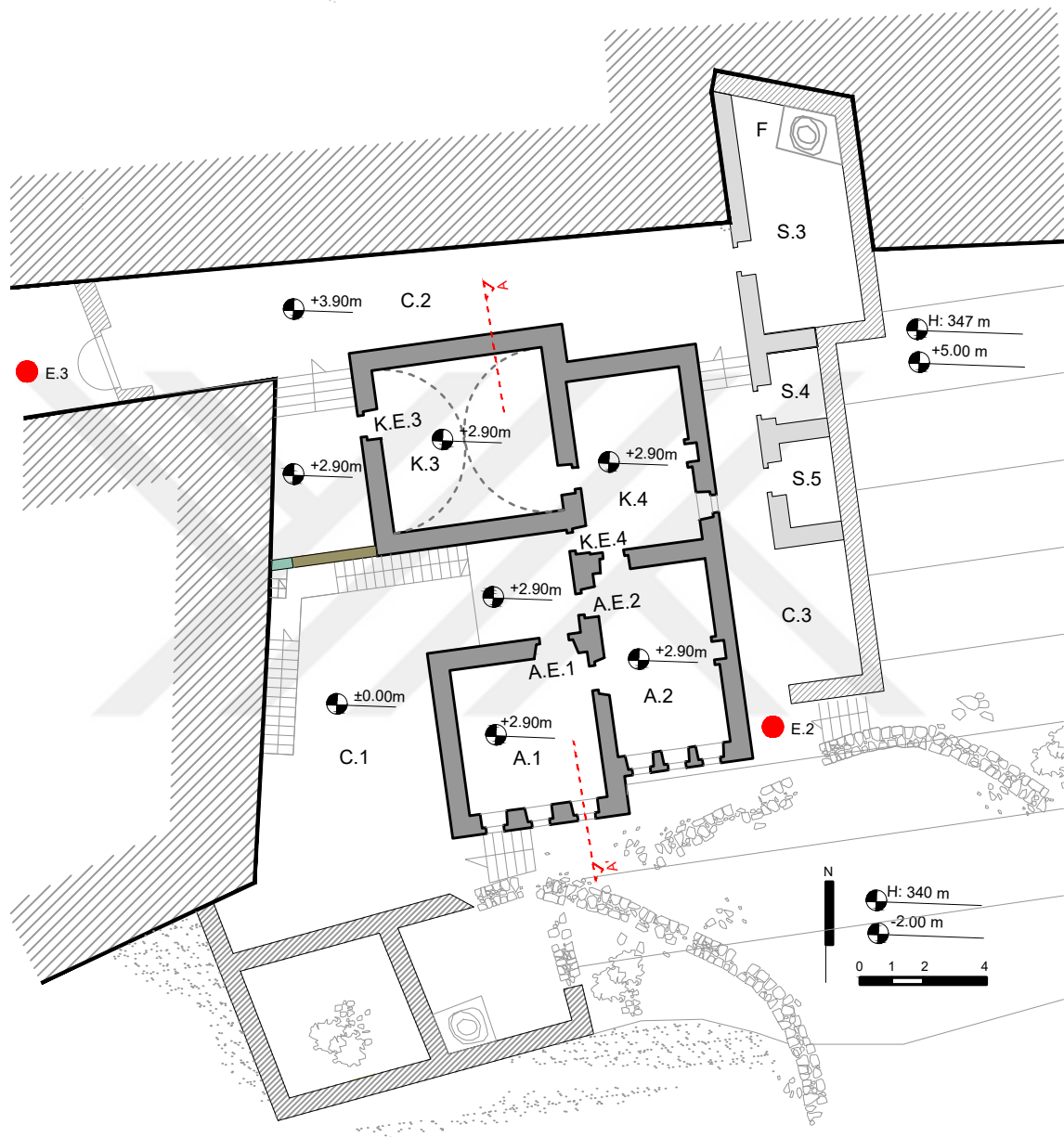
Drawing 39: Household 10 (P.HC.A.10):

anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 3)



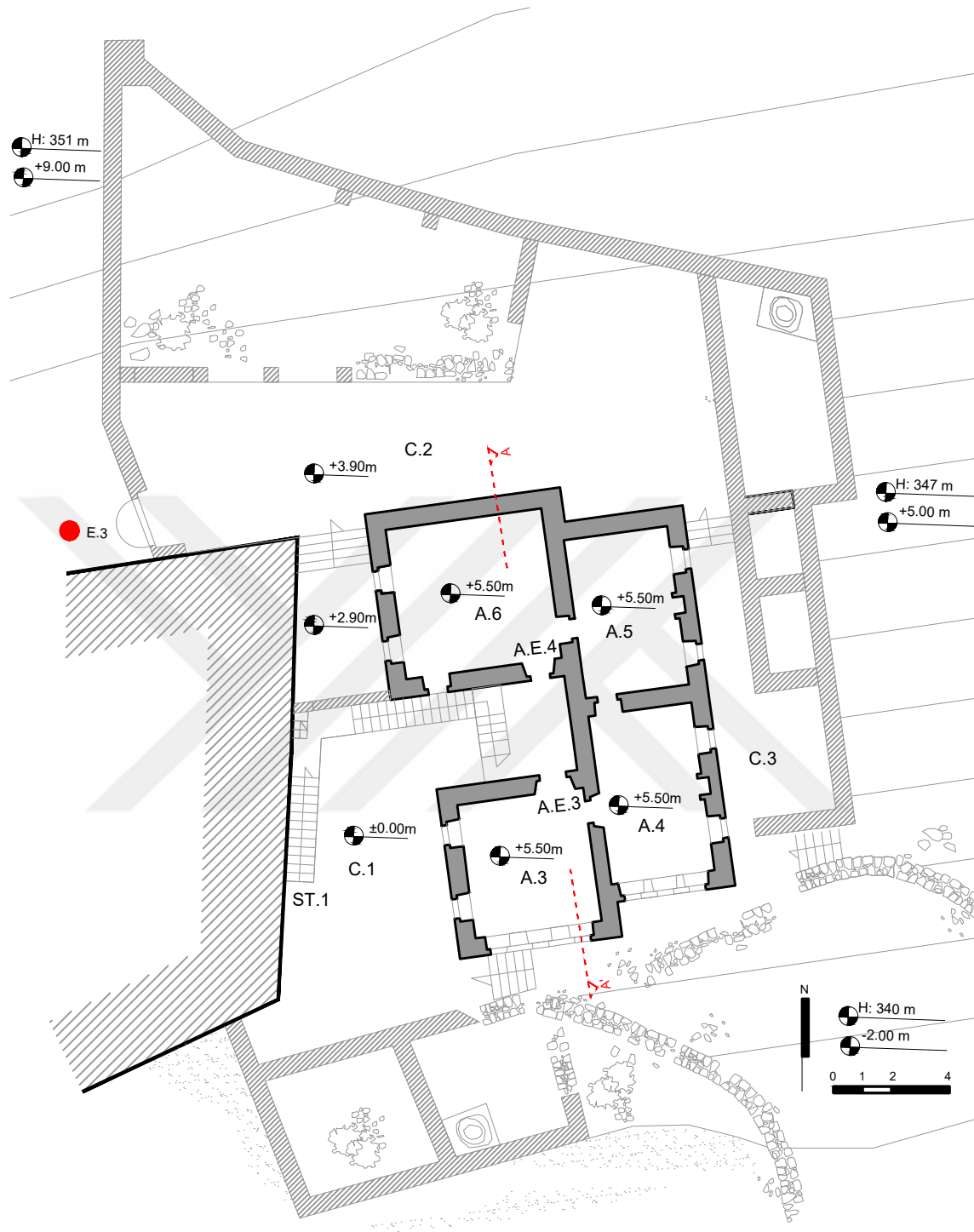
Drawing 40: Household 11 (PHC.A.11):

katoi-ground-floor plan (Level 1)



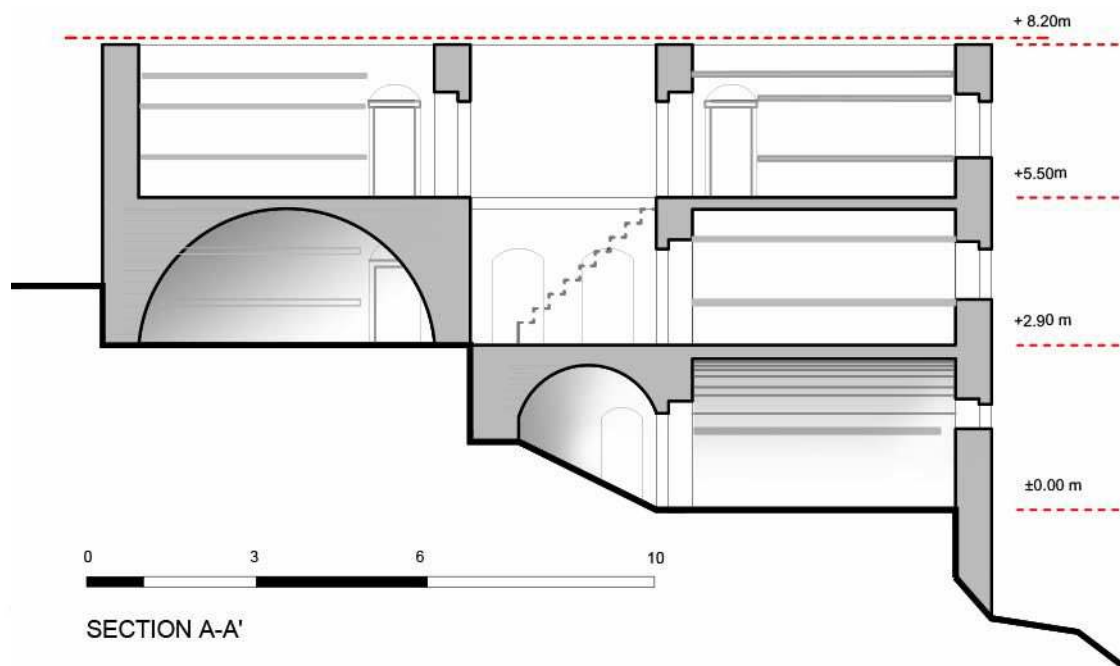
Drawing 41: Household 11 (PHC.A.11):

katoi-anoi (Level 2)

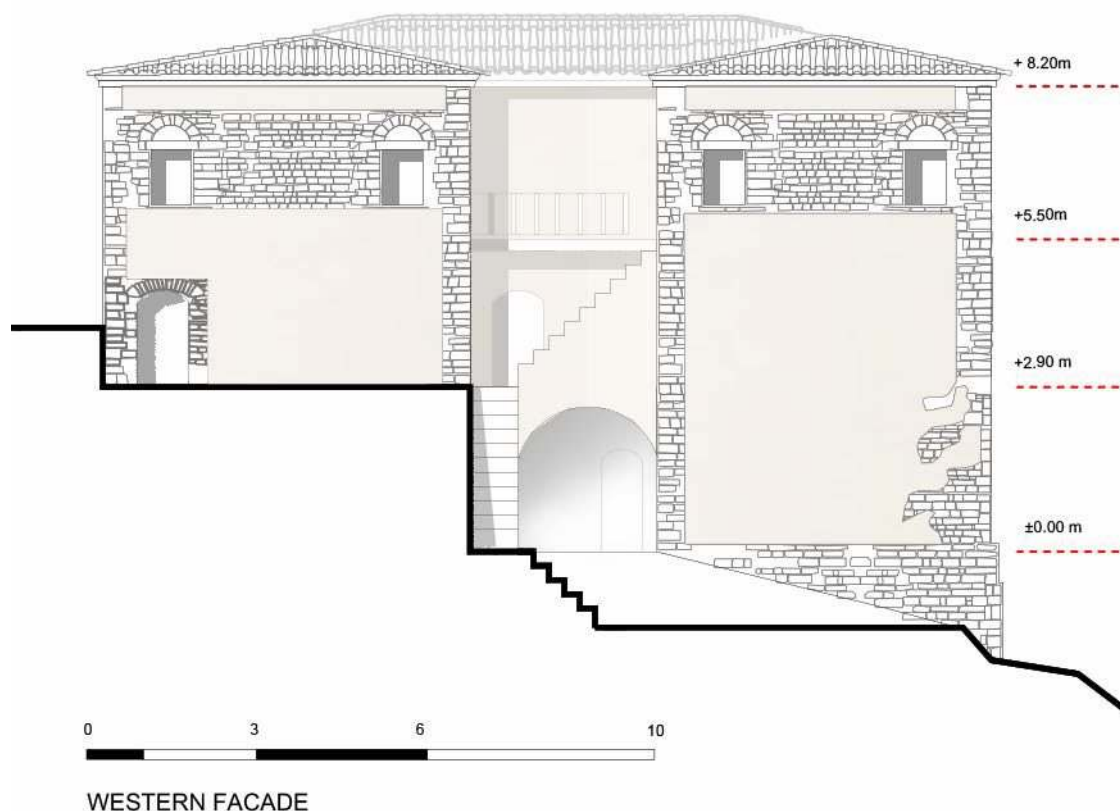


Drawing 42: Household 11 (P.HC.A.11):

anoi-upper-floor plan (Level 3)

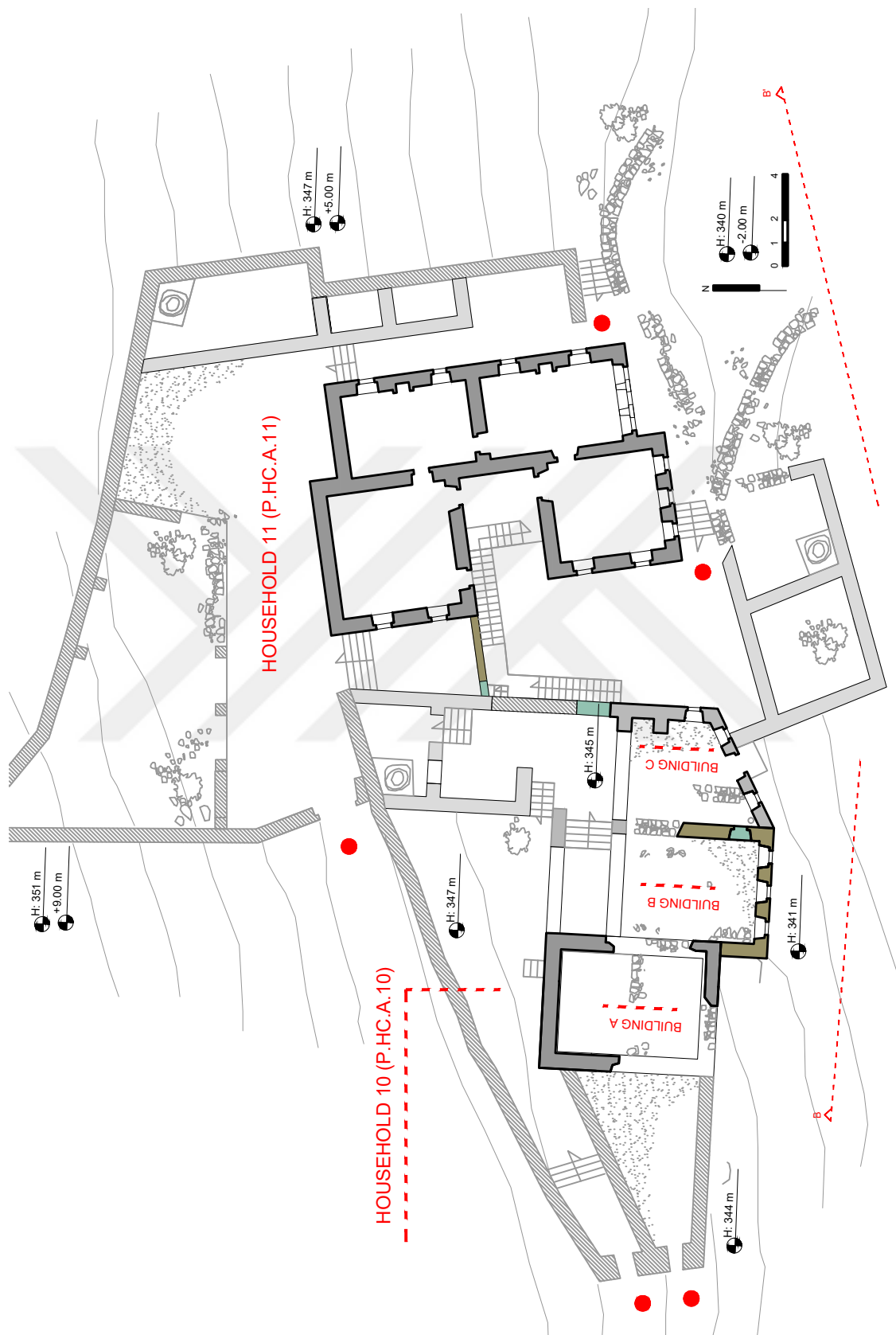


Drawing 43: Household 11 (PHC.A.11): section A-A'



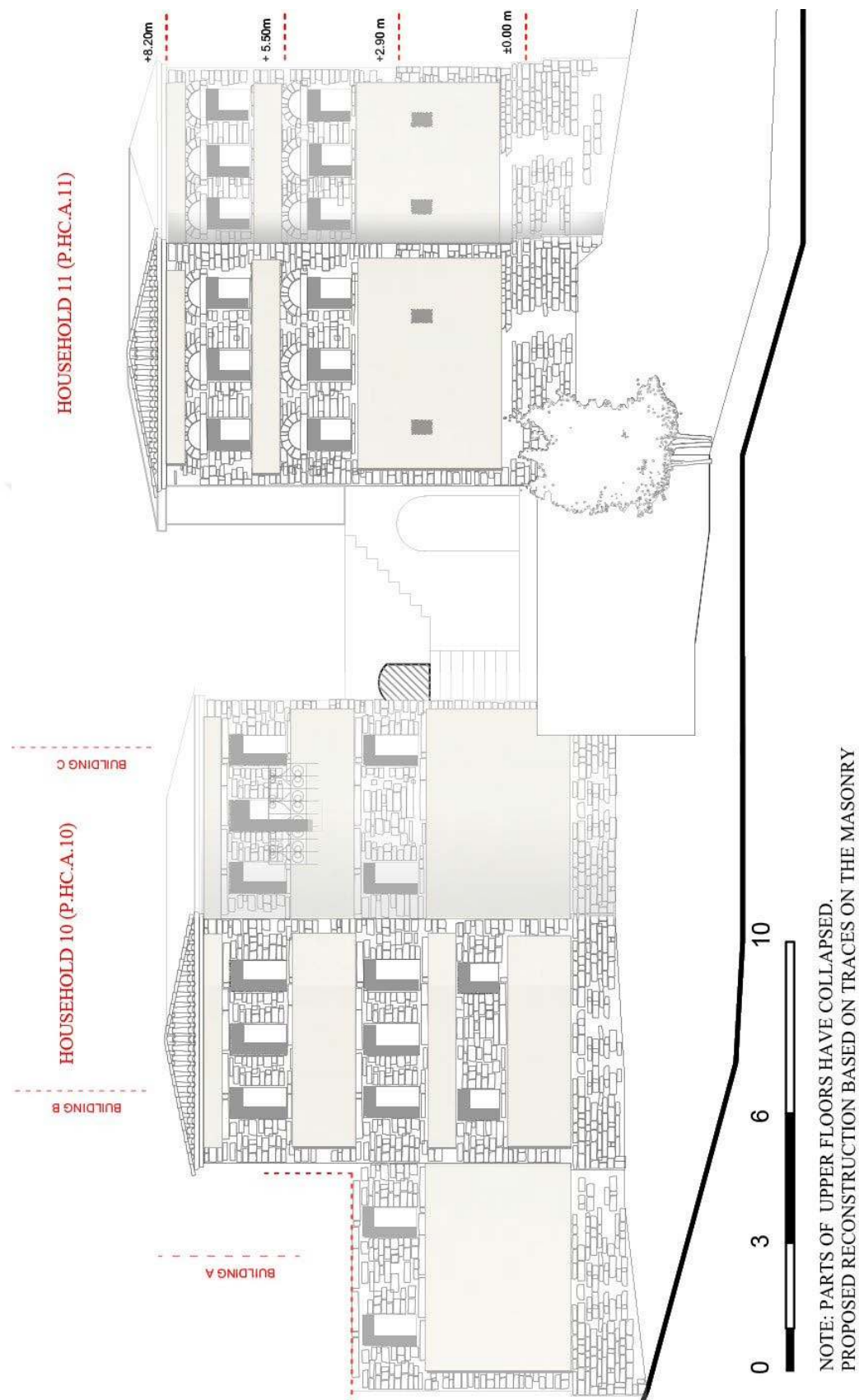
NOTE: PARTS OF UPPER FLOORS HAVE COLLAPSED.

Drawing 44: Household 11 (PHC.A.11): west facade
(representation of the initial facade)

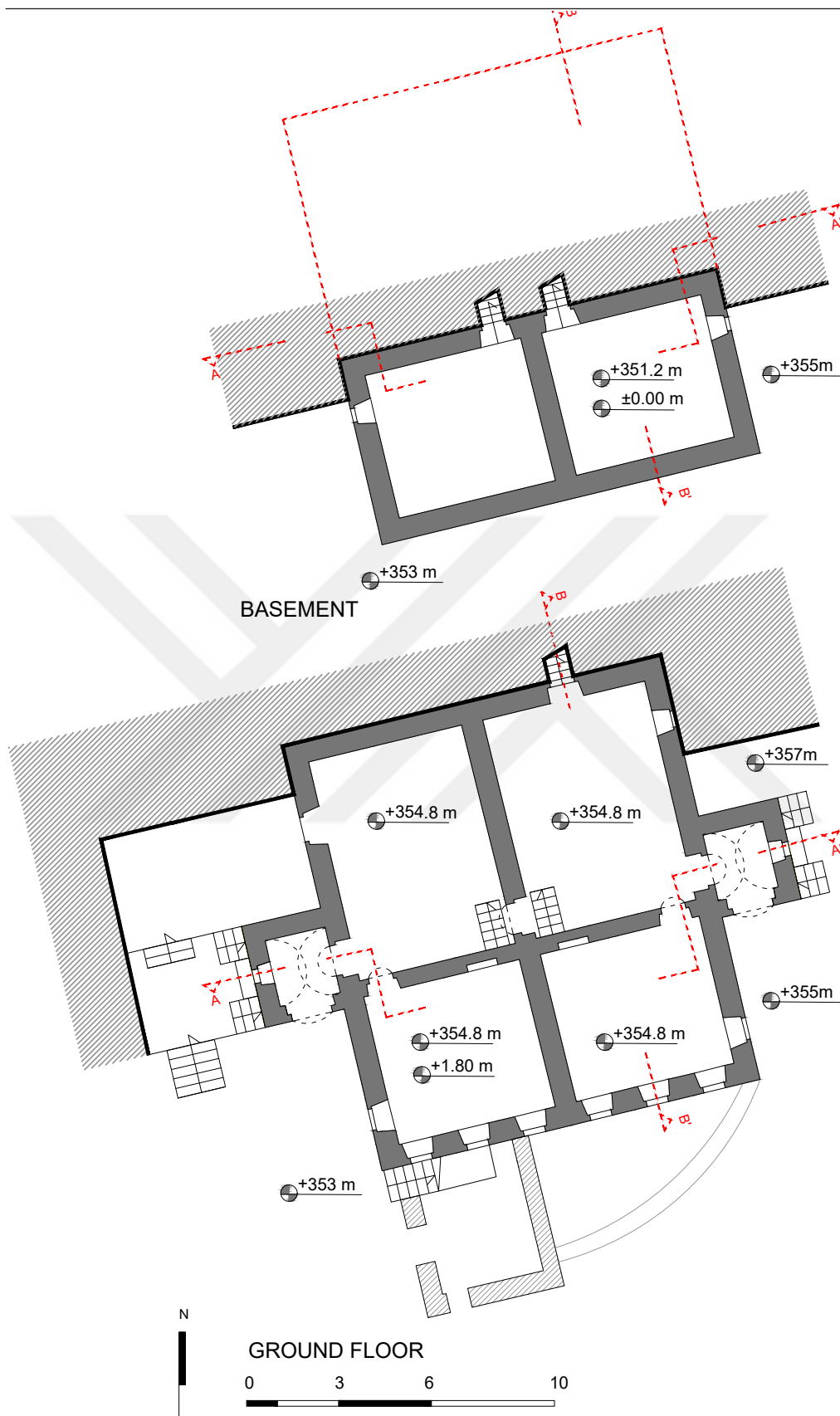


Drawing 45: Households 10-11 (P.HC.A.10; P.HC.A.11):

Interconnected households: general configuration (Level 3)

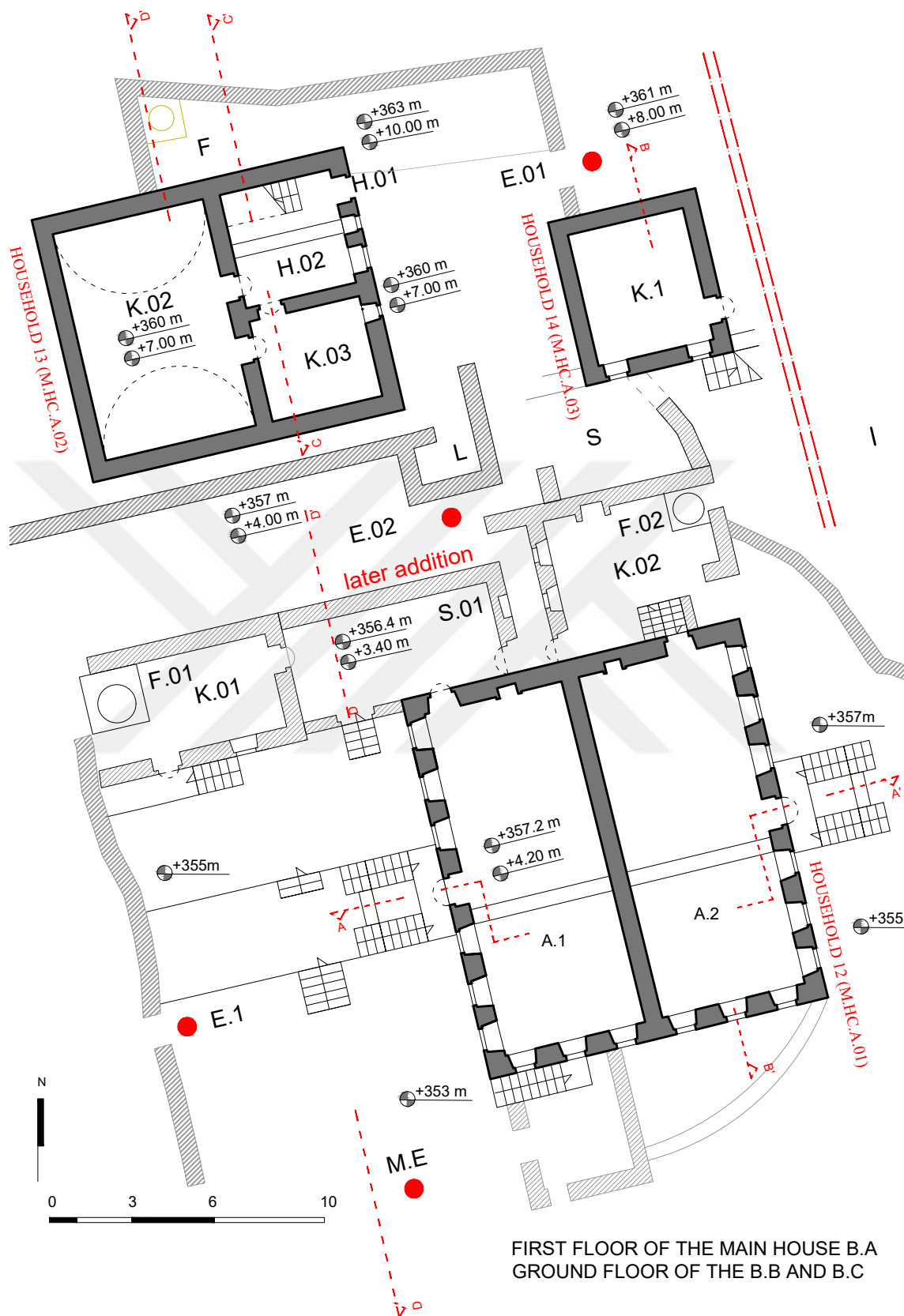


Drawing 46: Households 10-11 (P.HC.A.10; P.HC.A.11):
Interconnected households: south facade
(representation of the initial facade)



Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

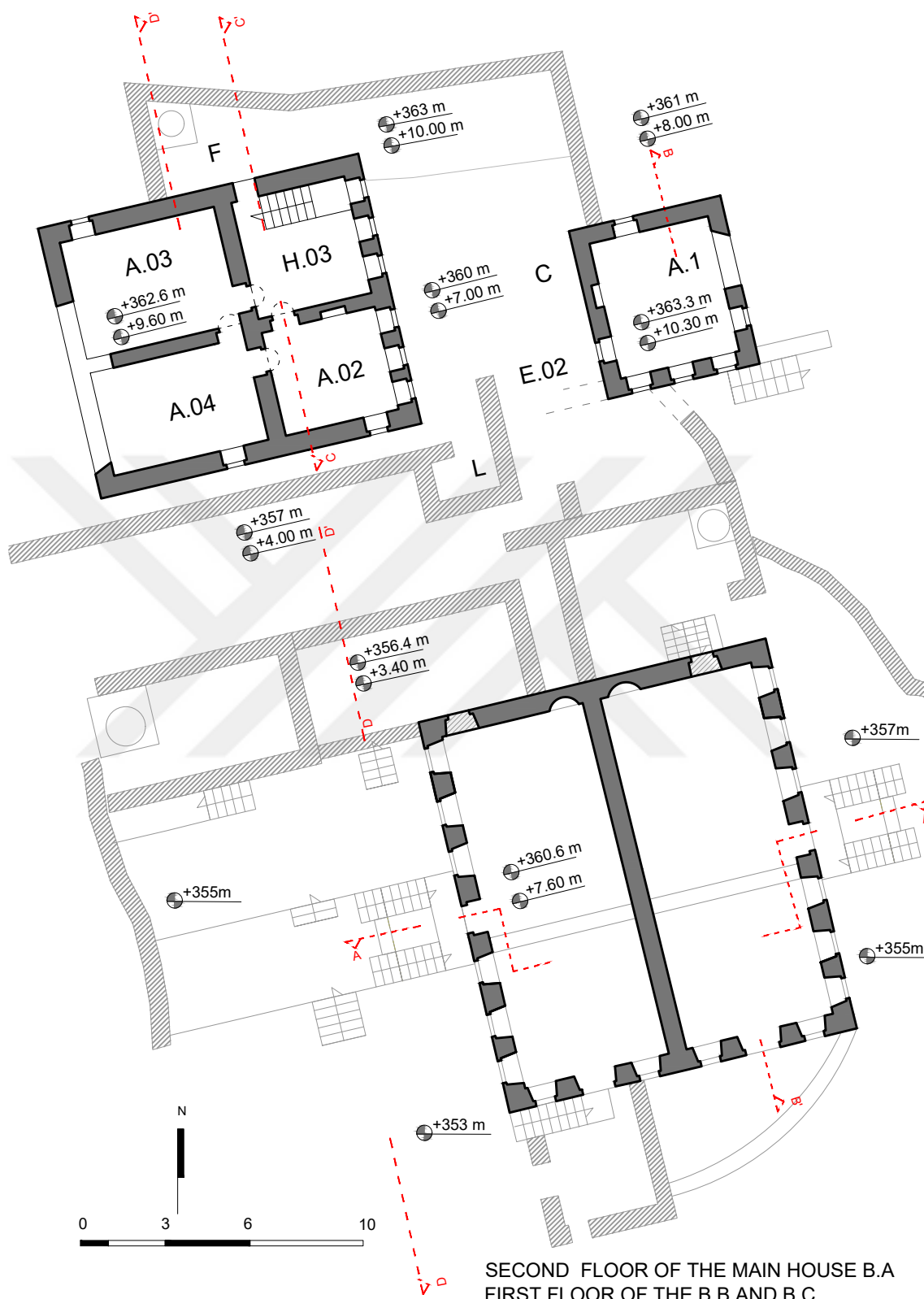
(Above) Drawing 48: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): *katoi* (Level 1)(Below) Drawing 47: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): *katoi* (Level 2)



Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

Drawing 49: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): *anoi* (Level 3)

Households 13-14 (M.HC.A.02-03): *katoi* (Level 1)



Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

Drawing 50: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): *anoi* (Level 4)

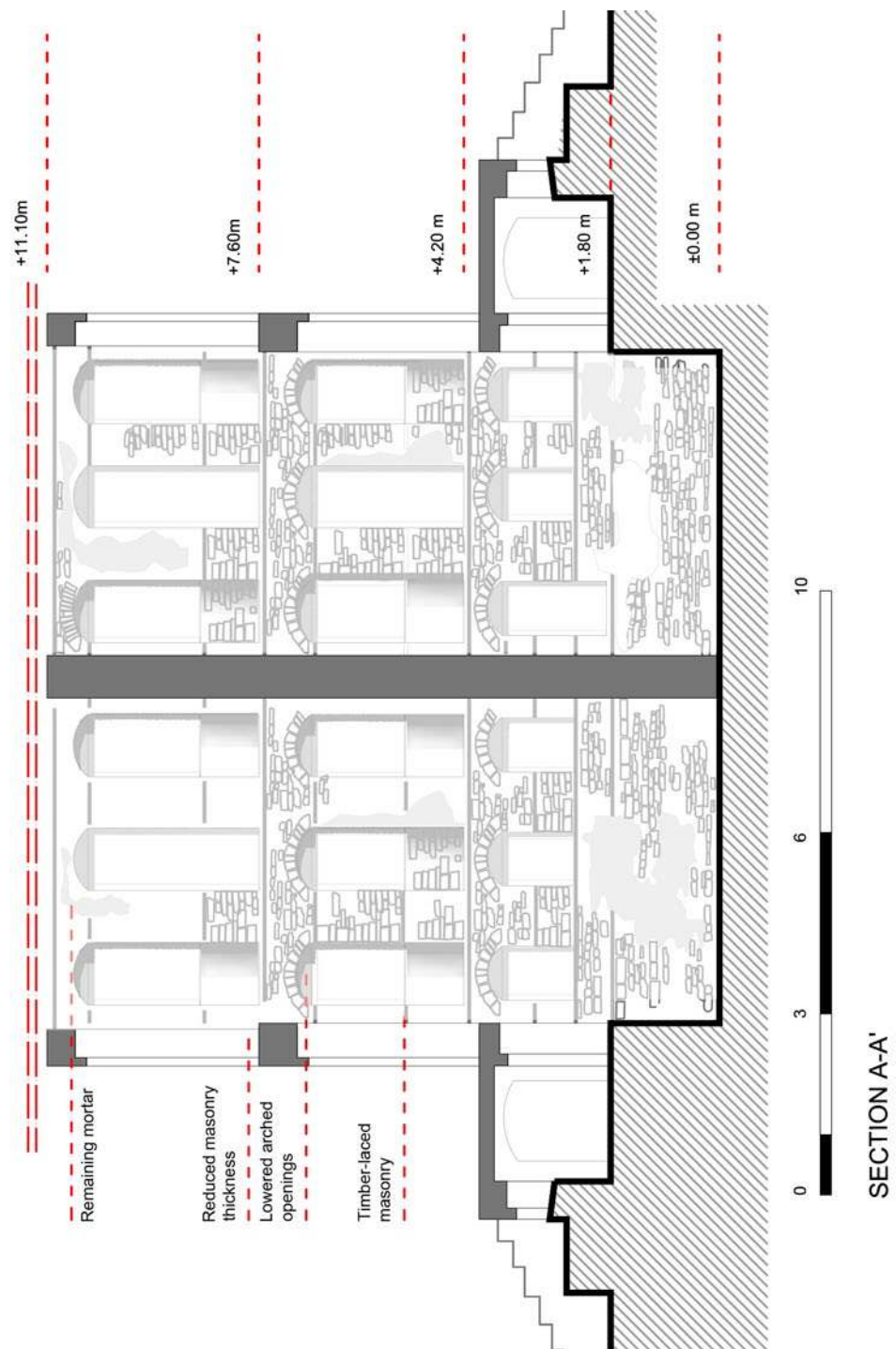
Households 13-14 (M.HC.A.02-03): *anoi* (Level 2)



Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

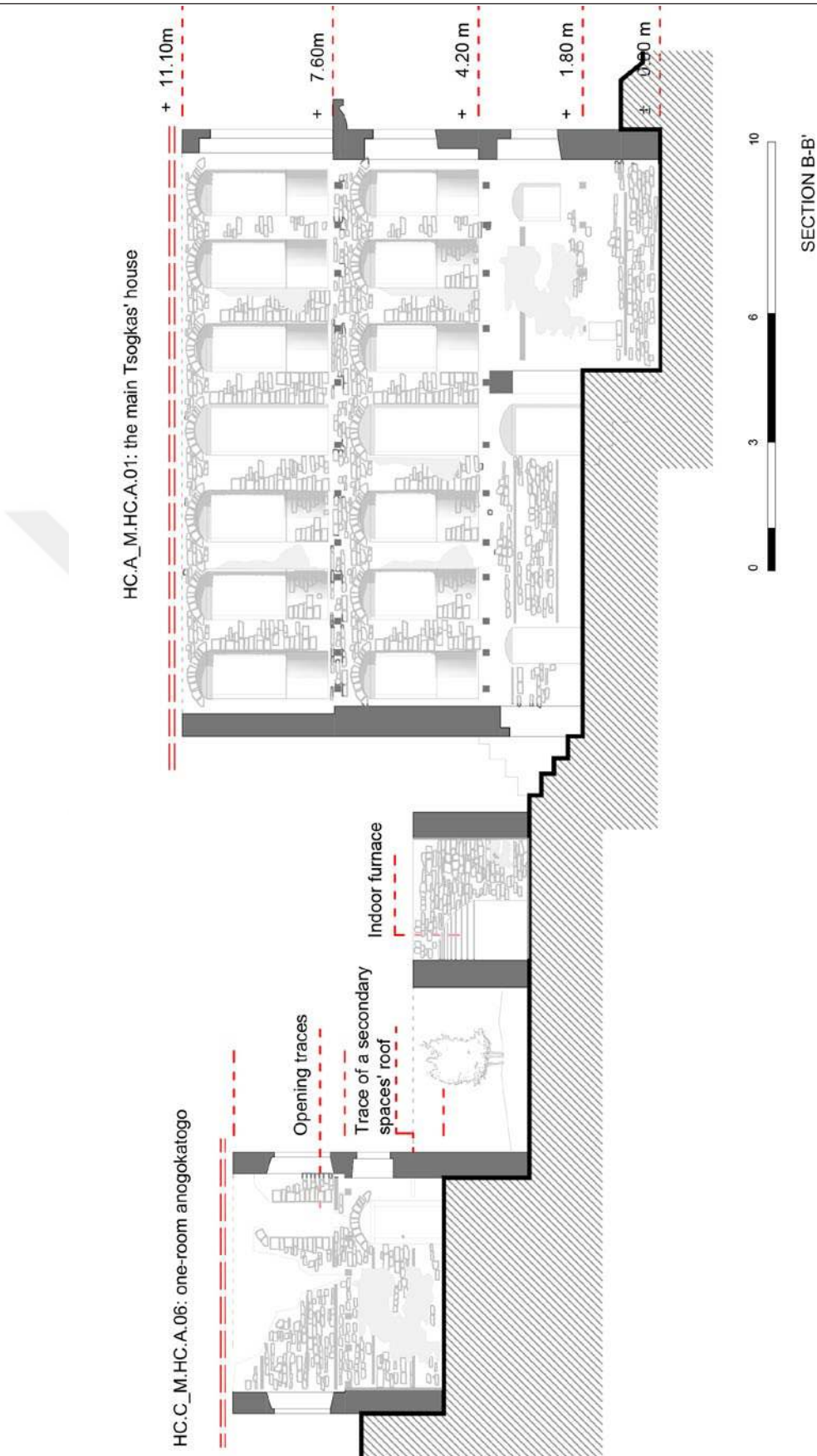
Drawing 51: Households 12-16 (M.HC.A.01-05):

Interconnected households 13-14 (M.HC.A.02-03): general configurations (Level 2&3)



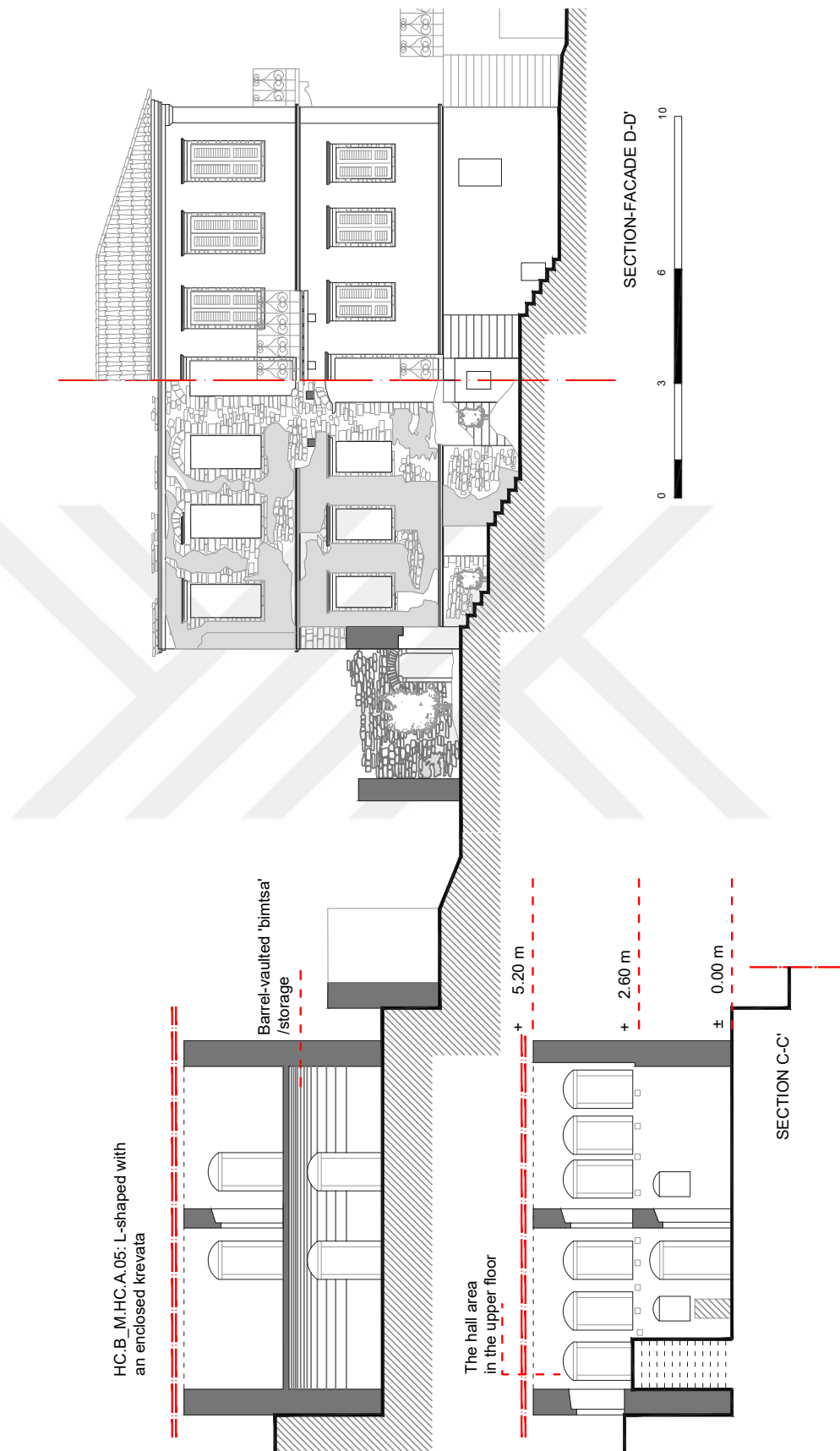
Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

Drawing 52: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): section A-A'

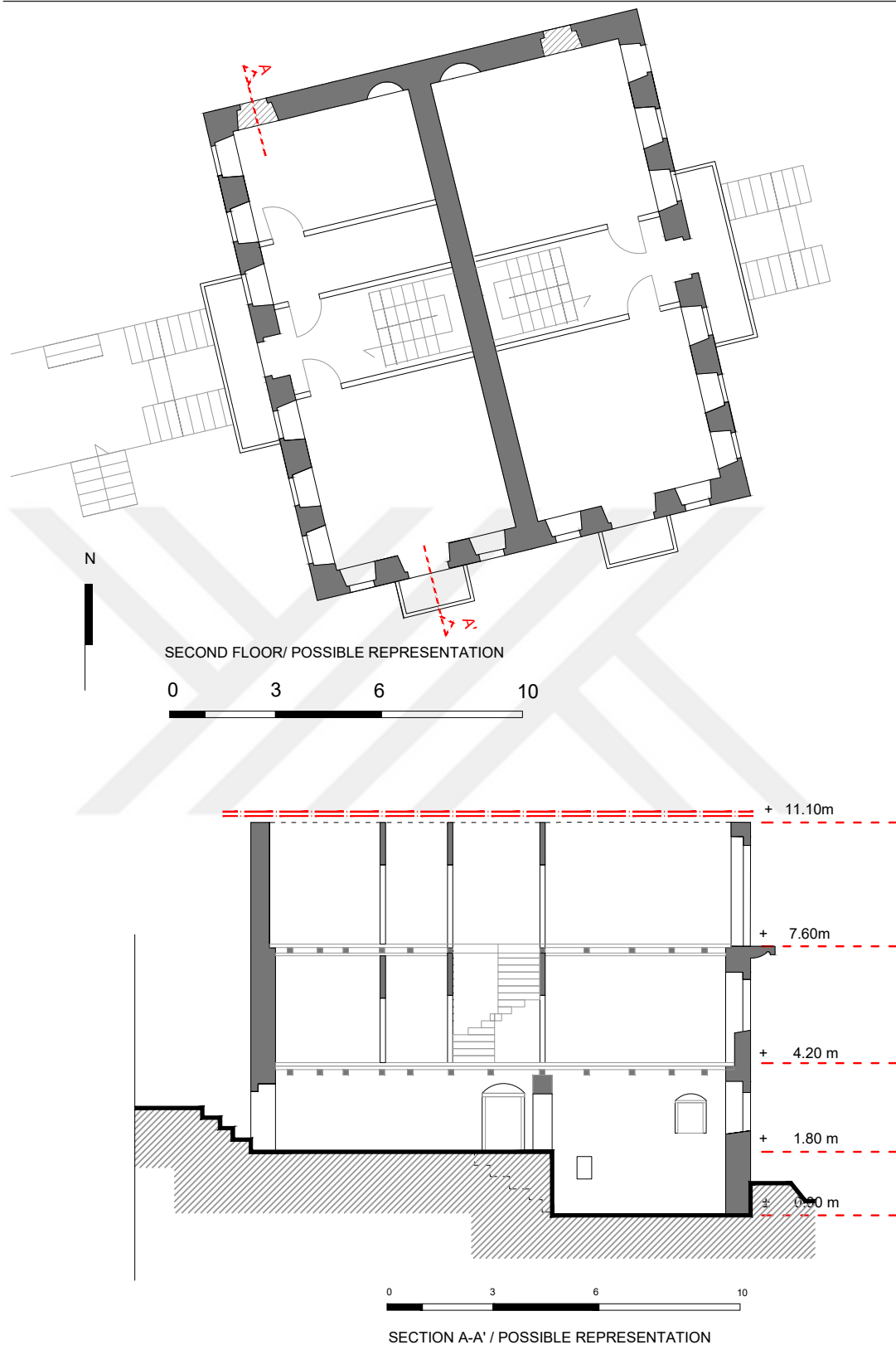


Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

Drawing 53: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01): section B-B'



Drawing 54-55: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01):
section C-C' and section D-D'



THE REPRESENTATION IS BASED ON THE REMAINING BEARING STRUCTURE (THE TWO MASONRY WALLS) AND THE MULTISTOREY, WIDE-FACADE SYMMETRICAL HOUSES FROM THE TOWN OF CORFU. TO THIS MODEL A SMALLER ROOM COULD BE ADDED. ALL OF THE ROOMS WERE CONNECTED WITH A CORRIDOR ON THE SAME AXIS.

Drawing 56-57: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01):

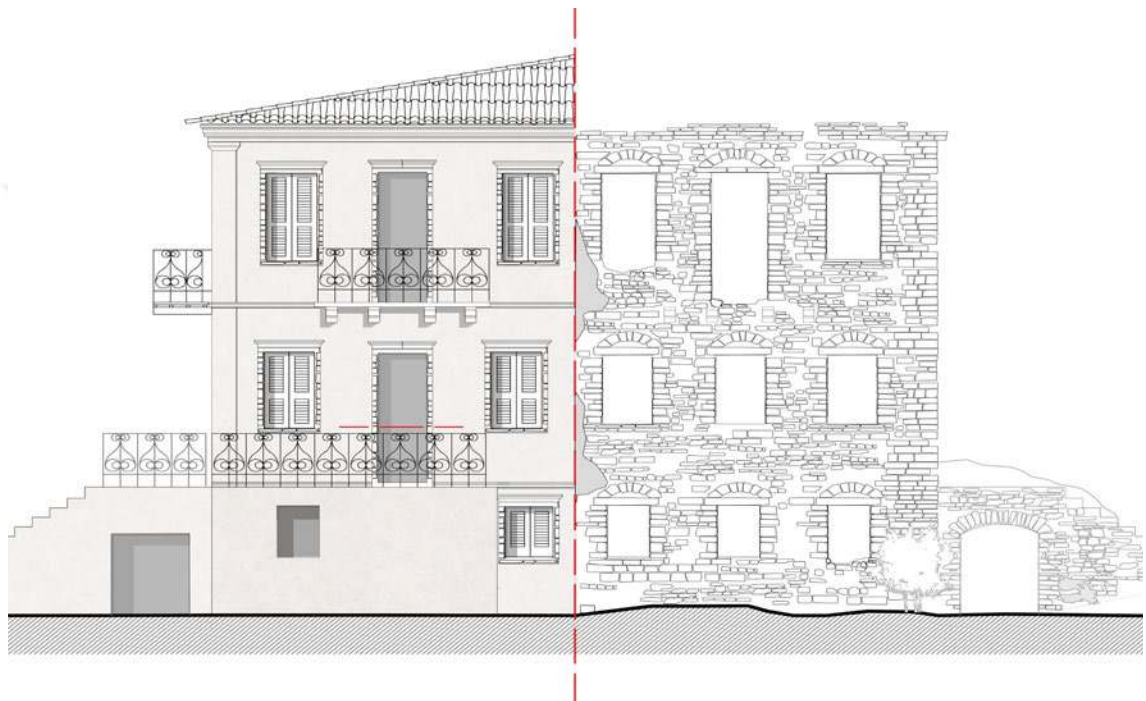
Representation of Level 4 (above) and section A-A' (below)



Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

Drawing 58: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01):

West facade: documentation/representation of the initial facade



Households 12-16: Tsogkeika sub-neighborhood

Drawing 59: Household 12 (M.HC.A.01):

South facade: documentation/representation of the initial facade

Appendix B: Historical frame and the Workshop
in Palia Sagiada (08/2022)

(Chapters 1-3)





Figure 1.1: The prefecture of Thesprotia, Epirus-Greece

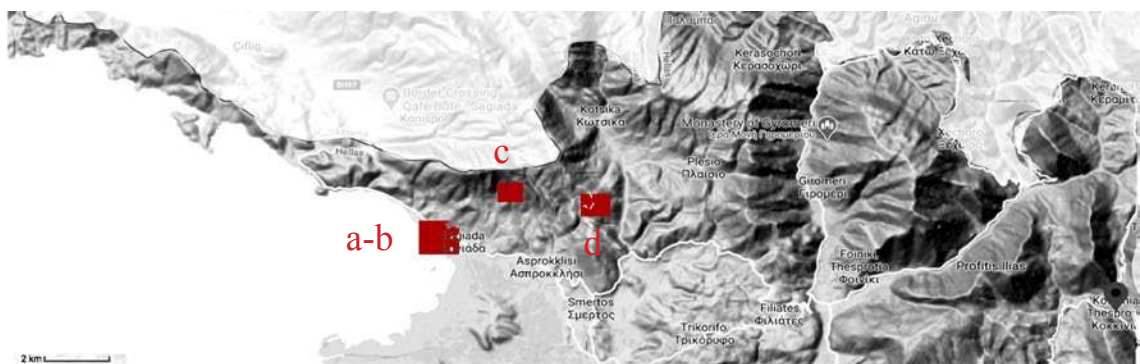


Figure 1.2: Geographical location of Sagiada-es

a-b: The *skaloma* and the new settlement of Sagiada

c: Palia Sagiada

d: The Muslim Cham Liopsi (abandoned)

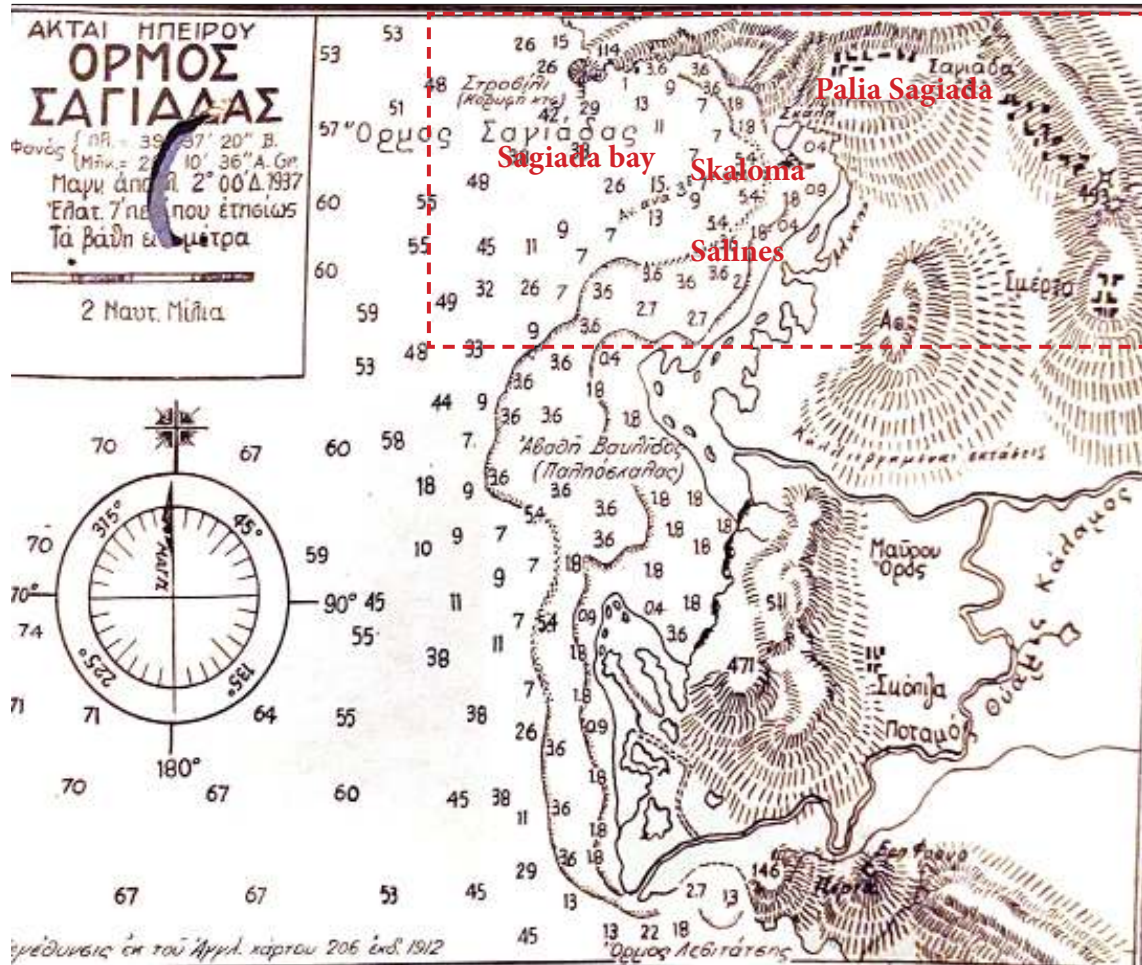


Figure 1.3: The Sagiada bay (Coasts of Epirus): Magnification of the English map 206, published in 1912.

Ministry of Commercial Seafare, *Πλοηγός των Ελληνικών Ακτών* (Navigator of the Greek Coasts) (Athens: Vallianatos, 1945), 11.



Figure 1.4: Aspect of the deserted Palia Sagiada: Mesomahalas



Figure 1.5: Aspect of the deserted Palia Sagiada: Pazara (epirustravel.eu)



Figure 1.6: Around Aghios Georgios. No date. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 1.7: Skalopoula, Paramythia, Fred Boissonnas, 1913.



Figure 1.8: Filat/ Filiates, Fred Boissonnas, 1913.



Figure 1.9: Margaliç/ Margariti, Vafeiadakis, no date. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 2.1: The outpost area today.



Figure 2.2: The multicultural outpost of Sagiada. 1985. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 2.3: Colored cartpostal. *Sayada*, Purger & Co., Munchen. Early 20th century. Michalis Pasiakos archive.



Figure 2.4: Sagiada: Towards the *skaloma*. Fred Boissonnas, 1913.



Figure 2.5: *Skaloma*. 28th October 1940. LUCE archive.



Figure 2.6 and Figure 2.7: The salines today. NATURA biotope.

Figure 2.8: Cylinder used in the salines. M. Pasiakos



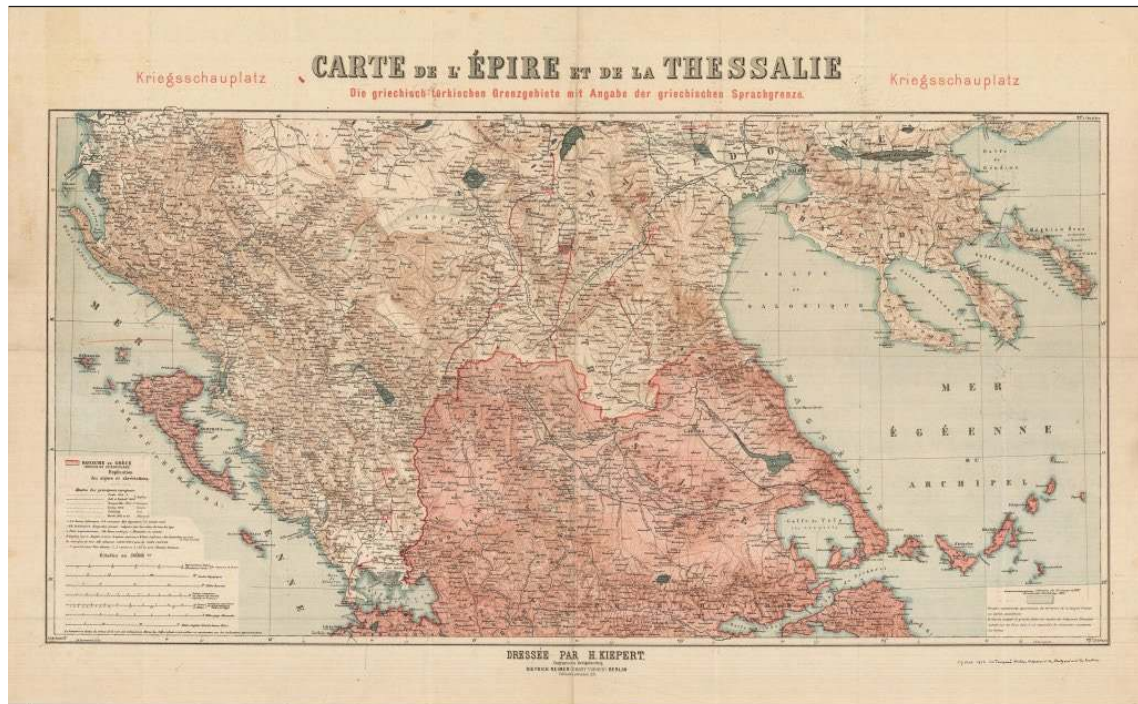


Figure 2.9: Map of Epirus and Thessaly. The Greek-Turkish border.

H. Kiepert, Berlin, 1897.

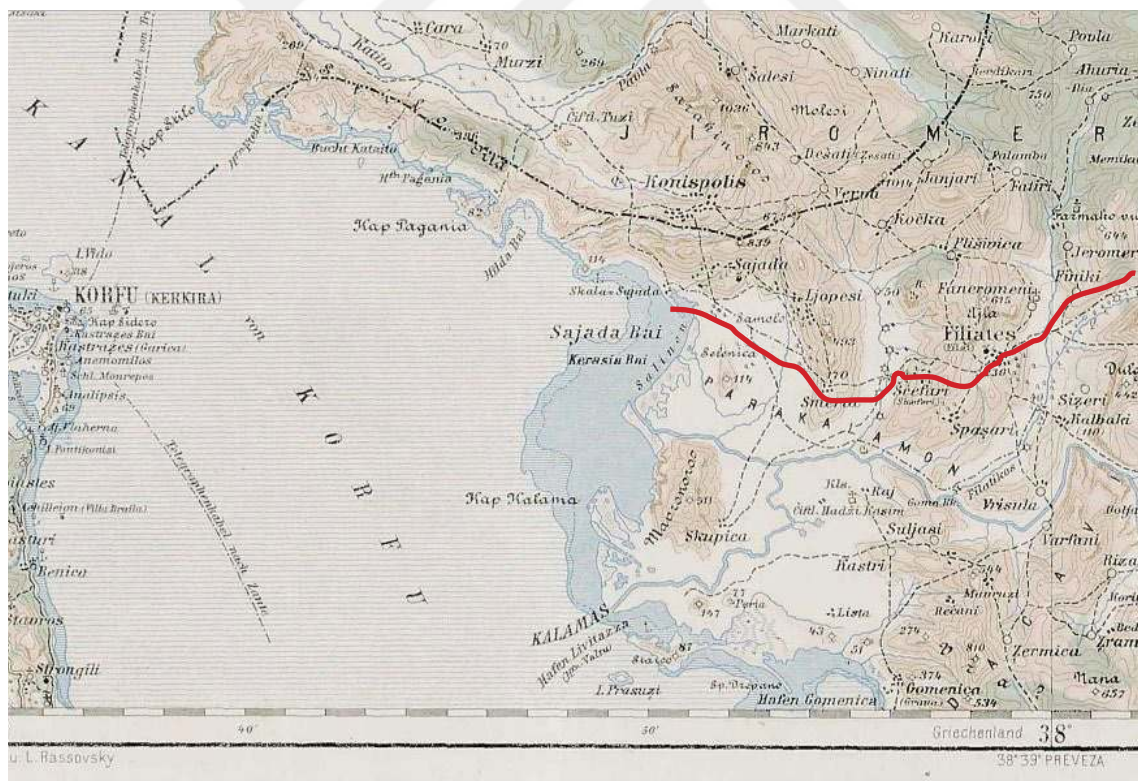


Figure 2.10: The commercial road from the outpost of Sagiada to Yannina through Filat/Filiates

3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary printed in 1910.

<http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/200e/38-40.jpg>;

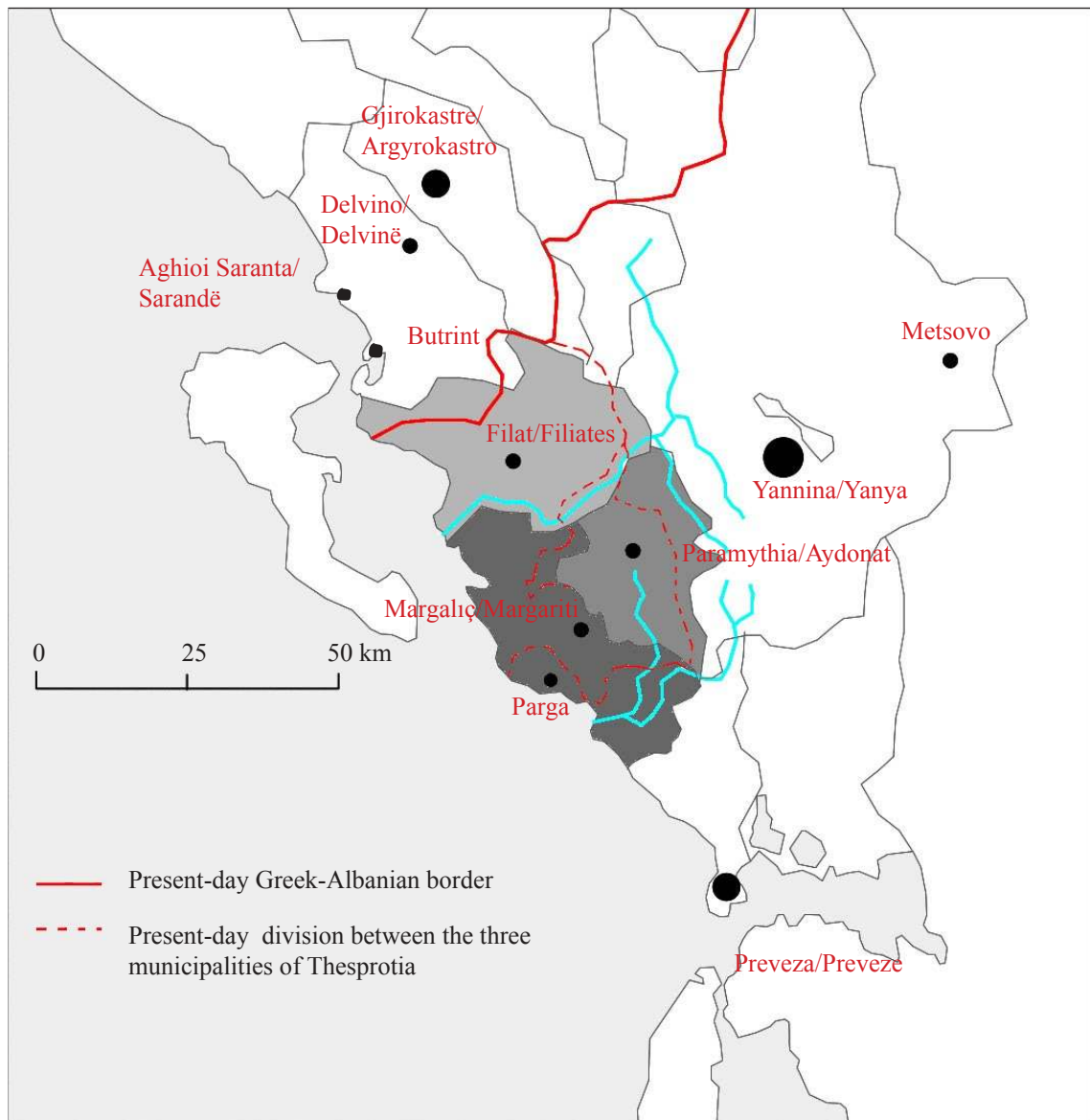


Figure 2.11: The 19th century *kazas* of Filat/Filiates, Margaliç/Margariti, and Paramythia/Aydonat.

Map designed by the author, reproduced after M. Kokolakis, Map 6.

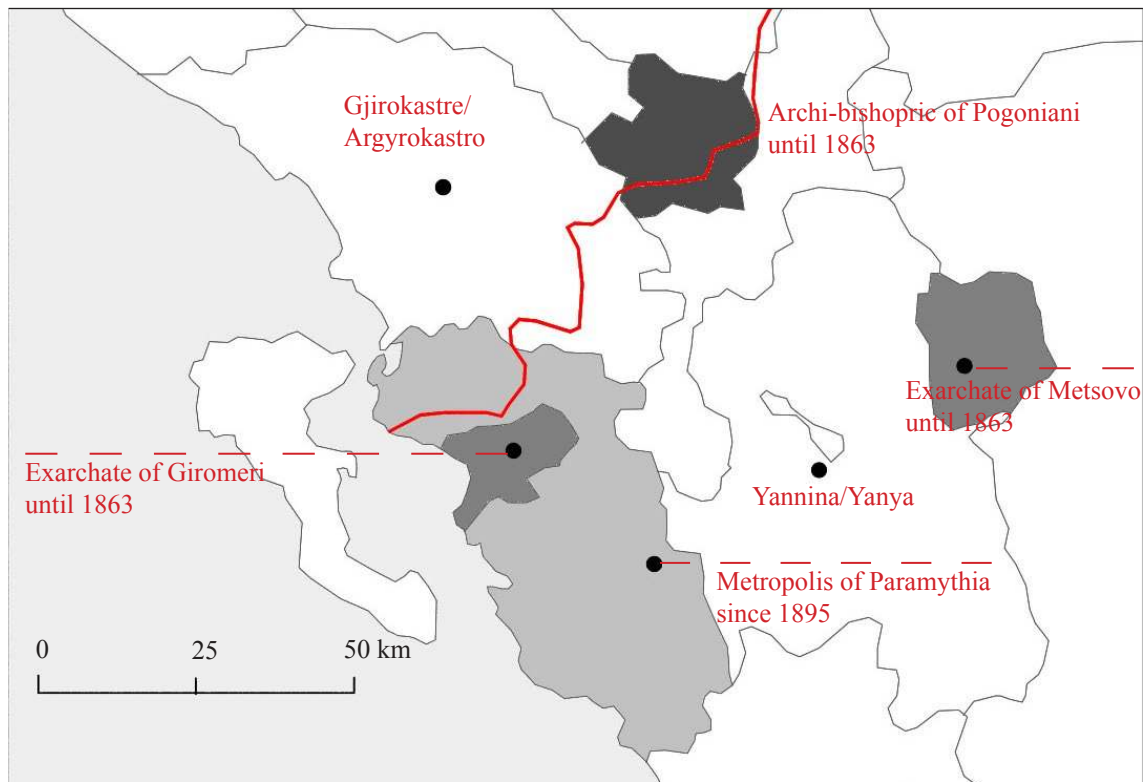


Figure 2.12: The Ecclesiastic institution in the region of the three *kazas*.
Map reproduced by the author after M. Kokolakis, 2003, Map 7.

Figure 2.13: The settlements under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchal Exarchate of Giromeri.

Reproduction by the author after G. Evangelou 2016, 140.



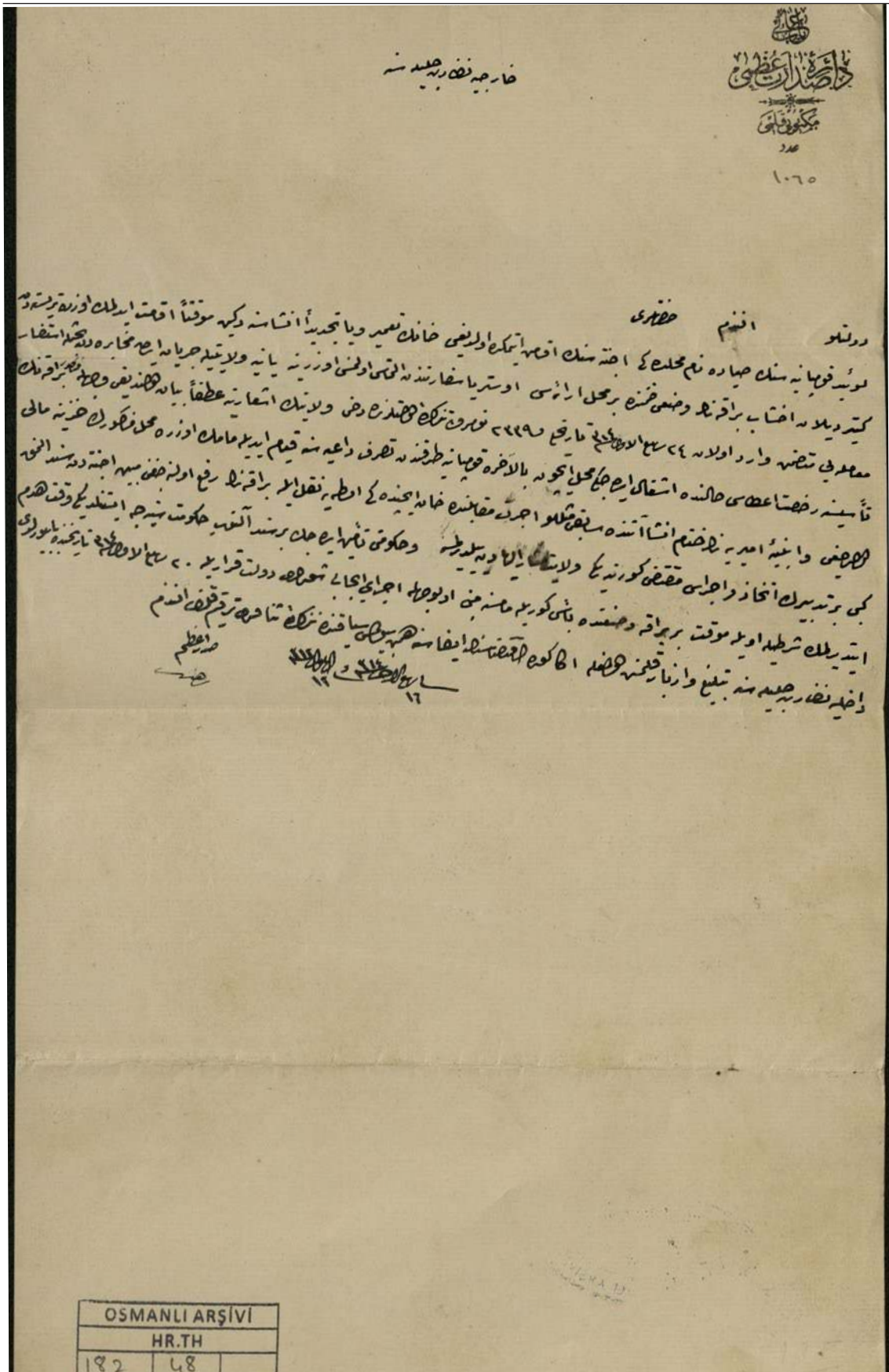


Figure 2.17: Petition by the Austrians for building repairs in the outpost of Sagiada.

1896

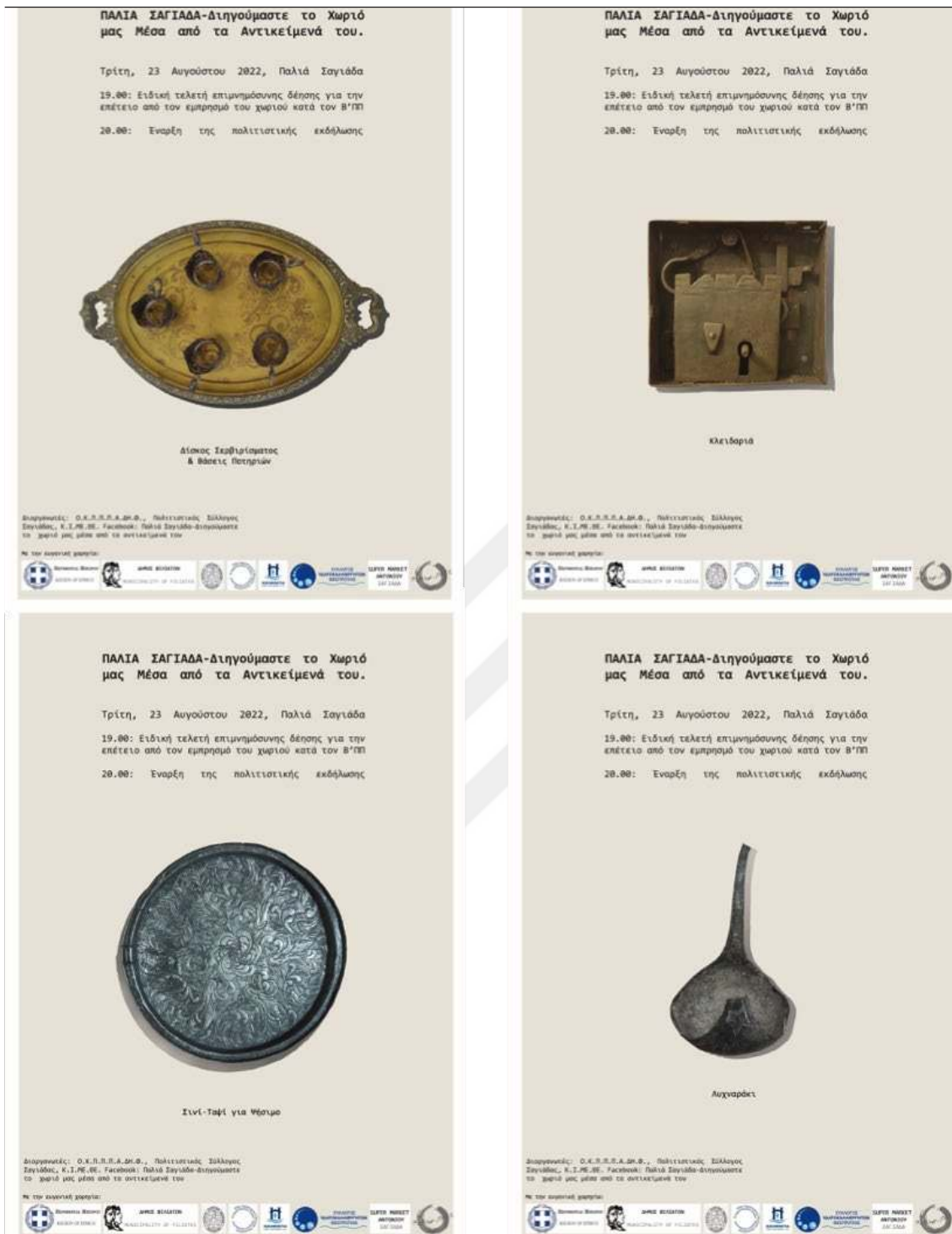


Figure 3.1 : Posters from the final event of the workshop in Sagiada-Palia Sagiada in summer 2022 “ Narrating our village through its objects.”

The objects used for the posters belonged to households from Palia Sagiada.

On top-left: a serving tray from Tsogkas’ rich house (by Theodoros Tsogkas); top-right: a house locker of an unknown house (by Michalis Pasiakos); bottom right: a little lamp (by Ioulia Anastasiadi); bottom left: a baking tray (by Anna Anastasiadi).



Figure 3.2 - Figure 3.5: The night of the event in Palia Sagiada. 23/08/2022. The event included an exhibiton with objects and visuals from the workshop, taking place in Skandaletos' house in Mesomahalas.

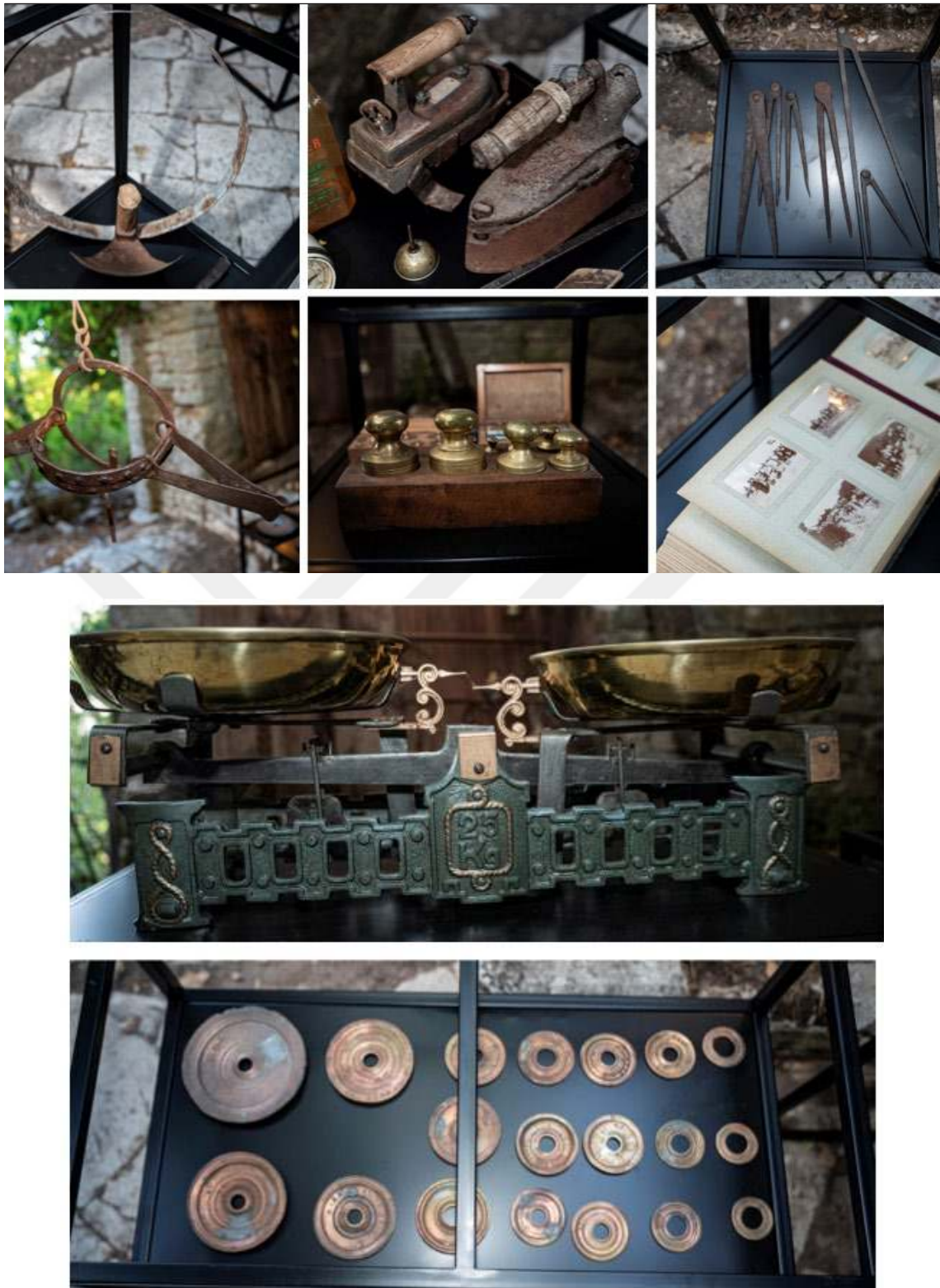


Figure 3.6 - Figure 3.13: Objects and photographs related to the economic activities in the shops and workshops in Palia Sagiada (e.g. note the weight in the middle, belonging to Borovilis with the groceries store; the coal iron to the tailor's Michalis Anastasias, later replaced by an electronic one)



Figure 3.14 - Figure 3.21: Daily use objects and jewelry from the households in Palia Sagiada with a different socio-economic background. Note above left: the portable sewing machine used by the middle-class households (e.g. here: Antoniou household)



(Above) Figure 3.22: Odalisque. Tapestry from Tsogkas' house

(Below) Left: Figure 3.23: The icon of Aghios Nikolaos, the protector saint of Gkogkos family. A copy of the original icon, as according to the family tradition this icon cannot leave the house. It is accompanied by a bread stamp for the '*ipsoma*' (a religious ceremony).

(Middle) Figure 3.24: Dowry chest.

(Right) Figure 3.25: The original icon of Aghios Georgios killing the dragon, rescued and preserved from the church in Palia Sagiada by M. Pasiakos.



Figure 3.26 - Figure 3.28: Individuals from Palia Sagiada. (Top left) Aristeidis Feidis and Konia Troubata, dressed with modern clothes from Corfu. (Middle left): the oldest individual from the Troubatas family, the mother of Petros Troubatas

Figure 3.27: (Below left) Petros Troubatas (born in 1858) posing in a photography atelier in Corfu.

Figure 3.28: (Below right) Grigoris Tsogkas, (born 1886) parliamentary member with the party of El. Venizelos

Appendix C: Materials and techniques

(Chapter 4)



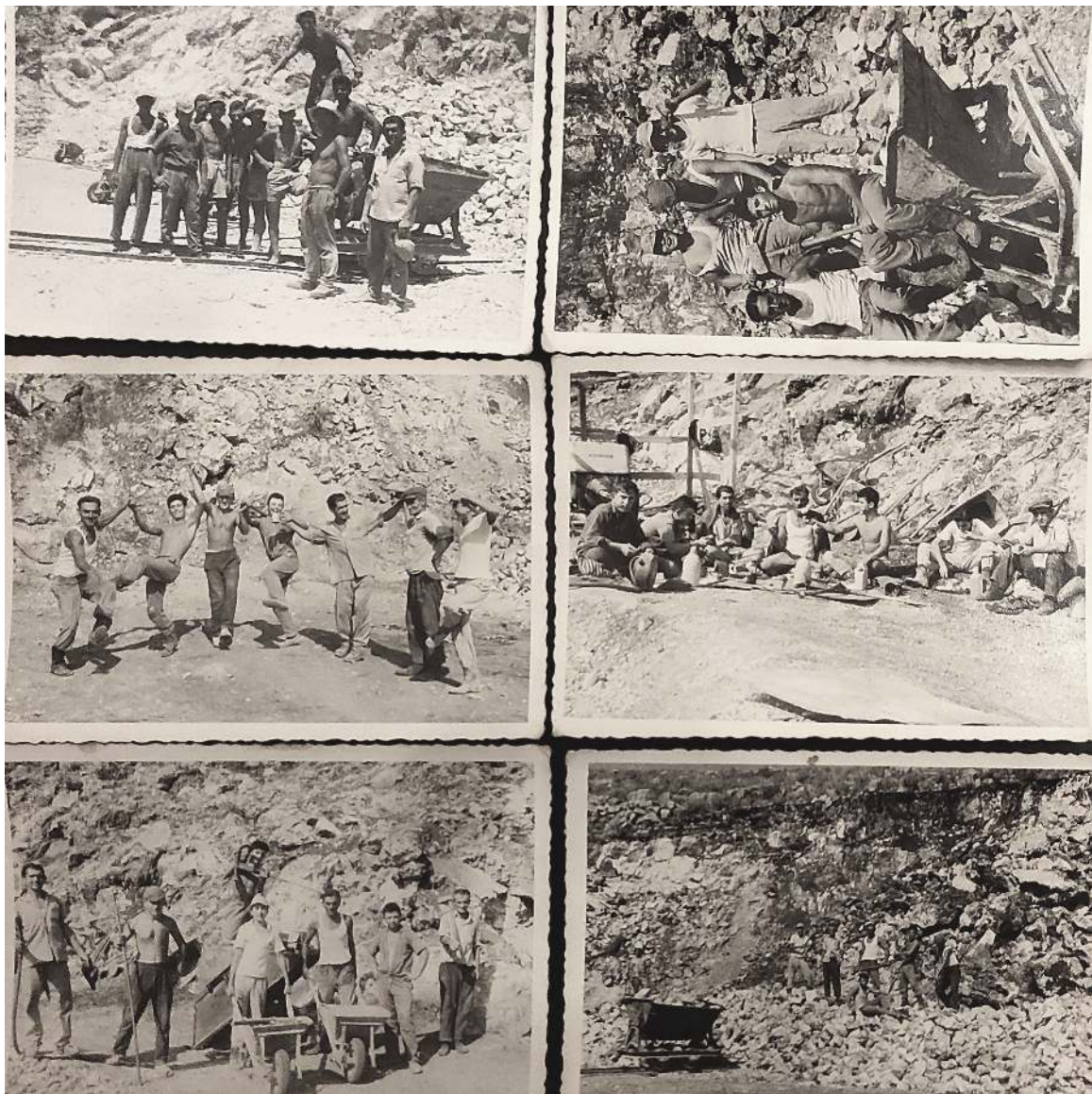


Figure 4.1: Craftsmen from Palia Sagiada posing in front of the quarries in Kiteza.



Figure 4.2: Dark gray stone slabs for roof cover.



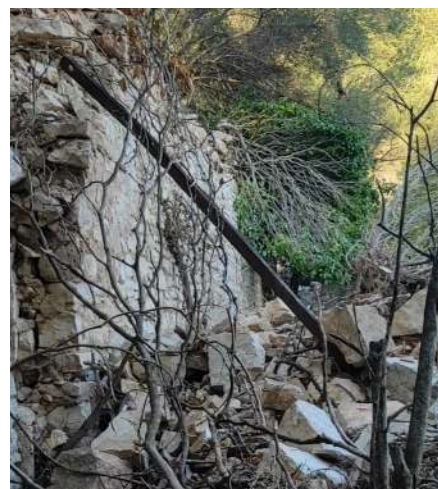
(Left) Figure 4.3: Ceramic tiles/blocks from Corfu.



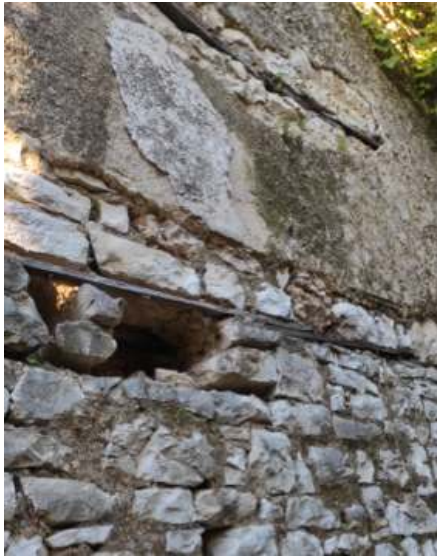
(Right) Figure 4.4: Ceramic tiles/blocks from Piraeus.



(Left) Figure 4.5: Ceramic tiles/blocks from Thessaloniki.



(Right) Figure 4.6: Iron tractors for masonry fastening.



(Left) Figure 4.7: The timber laced wall masonry system.

(Right) Figure 4.8: Escalating elevated base/ façade.



Figure 4.9: The cast iron rods from the church of Aghios Georgios.



(Left) Figure 4.10: Cast iron masonry fastening. Detail from a 'tzineti.'

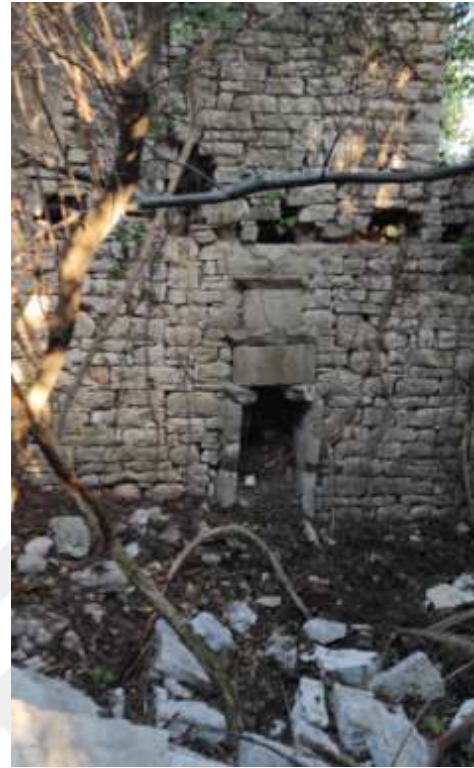
(Left) Figure 4.11: Timber floor structural detail. Pillar for support of the beams.



(Left) Figure 4.12: *Ovoros* with inclined stone slabs covering the wall premises/*samari*.
(Right) Figure 4.13: Courtyard gates.



(Left) Figure 4.14: *Himoniatiko* – winter or north room.
(Right) Figure 4.15: *Kalokairino* – summer or south room.



(Left) Figure 4.16: Fireplace substructure in the masonry/*kalokairino*/southern room.
(Right) Figure 4.17: Fireplace with rectangular escalating volumes in the masonry of a *katoi*/ north room



(Right) Figure 4.18: Niche at the vaulted area beneath the outdoor stairs - *varelopithoma*
(Left) Figure 4.19: Cupboard substructure and niches on the east wall of a house.

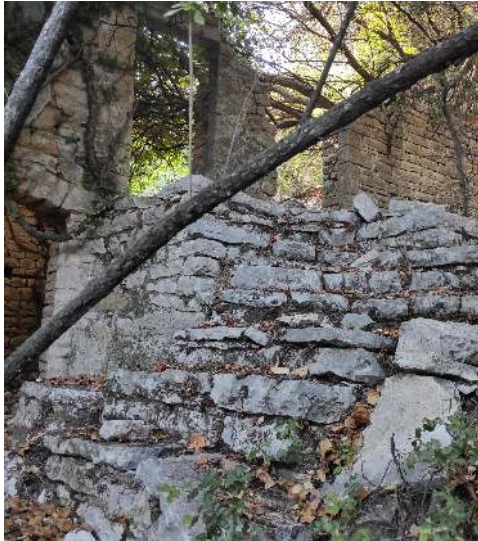


(Left) Figure 4.20: Linear entrance stone stair.

(Right) Figure 4.21: L-shaped entrance stair.



Figure 4.22 and Figure 4.23: Stair with vaulted infrastructure.



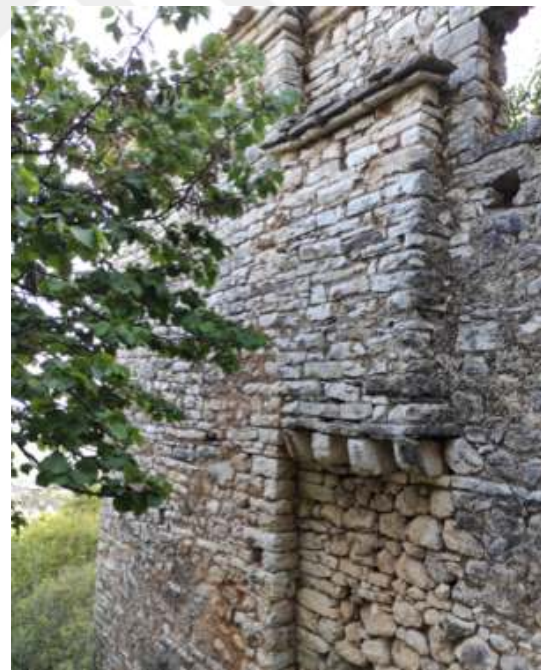
(Left) Figure 4.24: Courtyard stairs carved on the rock.



(Right) Figure 4.25: Courtyard enclosed spaces/ Note the window towards the view and the fireplace with rectangular escalating volumes



(Left) Figure 4.26: Furnace structure. Of notice are the ventilation ceramic mouthpieces.



(Right) Figure 4.27: Possible indoor lavatory.



(Left) Figure 4.28: Outdoor lavatory and water channel.

(Middle Figure 4.29: Protruding slabs from the walls of the premises.

(Right) Figure 4.30: Courtyard configurations.



(Left) Figure 4.31: The *aderfomoirio* house type; east façade.

(Right) Figure 4.32: Lobby space with a skylight.



Figure 4.33: II-shaped house with a central enclosed *krevata* – *hayat*.



(Left) Figure 4.34: The L-shaped alteration with an enclosed entrance.



(Right) Figure 4.35: A trail and a nearby house in the Pazara neighborhood.



(Left) Figure 4.36: Typical façade, rendered with mortar- well-curved corner stones.
(Right) Figure 4.37: Interior walls' render with a final, colored grinding layer.



(Left) Figure 4.38: Careless use of the blue color in secondary yard buildings.
(Right) Figure 4.39: Neoclassic features on house facades.



(Left) Figure 4.40: Protruding window aprons seating on stone corbels.



(Right) Figure 4.41: Replacement of a balcony with contemporary materials.



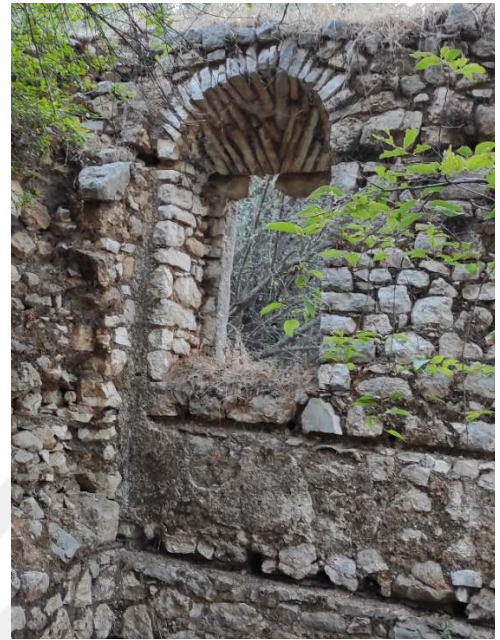
(Left) Figure 4.42: Window with monolithic lintel and lowered pressure relief arch.



(Right) Figure 4.43: Window with monolithic lintel and semicircle drum.



(Left) Figure 4.44: Window lintel structures with barrel vaults and lowered arches.



(Right) Figure 4.45: Quadrat sphere window structure.



(Left) Figure 4.46: Door lintel with monolithic lintel and lowered pressure relief arch.



(Right) Figure 4.47: Semicircle arched door.



(Left) Figure 4.48: Door with monolithic lintel and stone jambs.



(Right) Figure 4.49: Skylight over the house entrance hall (exterior).



(Left) Figure 4.50: Courtyard gate with double arches on imposts.



(Right) Figure 4.51: Courtyard gate inscribed in a prismatic volume (exterior façade).



(Left) Figure 4.52: Courtyard gate inscribed in a prismatic volume (interior façade).

(Right) Figure 4.53: Pressure relief niche over the main yard gate (ext. façade, detail).



(Left) Figure 4.54: Twin courtyard gates

(Right) Figure 4.55: Twin courtyard gates after interventions at the lintels.



Figure 4.56: Stone carvings: embossed cross with trefoil arms (from the Tasis' house).



Figure 4.57: Stone carvings: apotropaic head surrounded by dogs and two-headed eagle.



Figure 4.58: Stone carvings: two facing birds (or dragons?) in a house cornerstone.

Appendix D: Houses and households

(Chapter 4)



COMMON HOUSEHOLDS:

Household 1 (P.HC.A.05) & Household 2 (P.HC.A.07)



(Left) Figure 4.59: East exterior facade.

(Right) Figure 4.60: View from Household 1 to the courtyard gate of Household 2.



(Left) Figure 4.61: South exterior facade and the ext. stone stair to the *anoi*.

(Right) Figure 4.62: Entrance to the *katoi* (K.1).

COMMON HOUSEHOLDS:

Household 1 (P.HC.A.05) & Household 2 (P.HC.A.07)



(Left) Figure 4.63: Interior west wall (A.3).

(Right) Figure 4.64: Interior furnace (A.3).

(Left) Figure 4.65: Interior *himoniatiko* (A.2).(Right) Figure 4.66: Interior *kalokairino* (A.1) and *katoi* (K.1).

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 4 (P.HC.A.13): Tasis family



(Left) Figure 4.67: South courtyard wall.



(Right) Figure 4.68: Main courtyard gate (E.1).

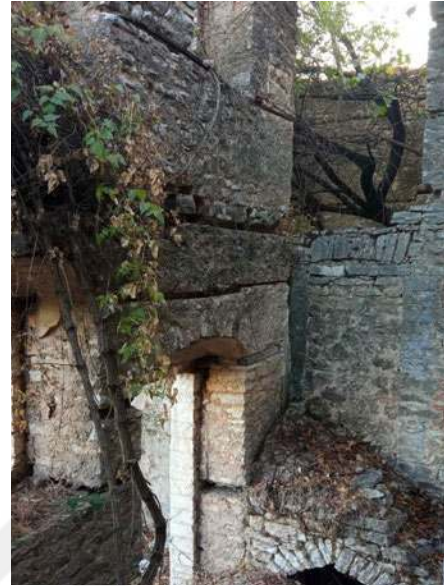


(Left) Figure 4.69: General south view.



(Right) Figure 4.70: General south view (closer perspective).

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 4 (P.HC.A.13): Tasis family



(Left) Figure 4.71: Main entrance to the enclosed *krevata - hayat* (M.E).

(Right) Figure 4.72: View to the main entrance (interior).



(Left) Figure 4.73: Interior view to the *krevata - hayat* area (now collapsed).

(Right) Figure 4.74: Interior *kalokairino* (A.1) and *katoi* (K.2) (Building A).

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 4 (P.HC.A.13): Tasis family



(Left) Figure 4.75: Interior, west wall: extension of the Building A (A.2 & K.3).



(Right) Figure 4.76: Exterior, west wall: extension of the Building A (A.2 & K.3) and exterior stair ST.5



(Left) Figure 4.77: Interior, east wall: Building B (A.3, A.4, K.4, K.5).



(Right) Figure 4.78: Exterior east wall: Building B (detail).

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 5 (P.HC.B.07): Skendos family



(Left) Figure 4.79: S-W exterior view.



(Right) Figure 4.80: S-E exterior view.



(Left) Figure 4.81: S-E exterior view. Building B



(Right) Figure 4.82: S-W exterior view. Building A.
Note the courtyard wall with the small niches.

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 5 (P.HC.B.07): Skendos family



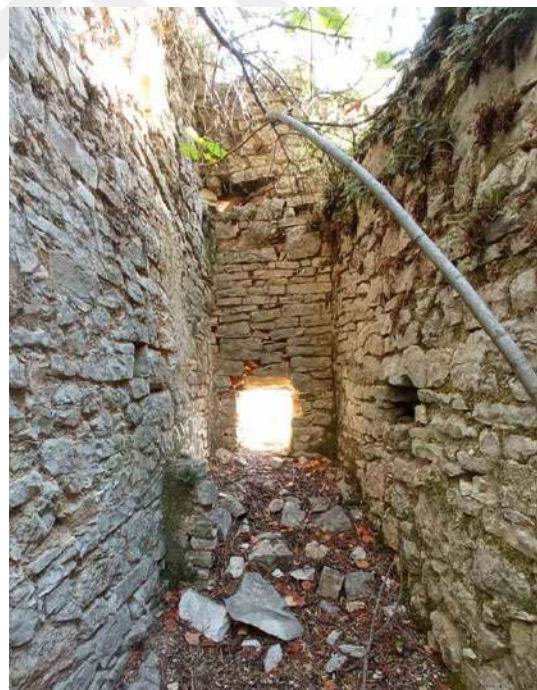
(Left) Figure 4.83: South exterior wall: Building A. Construction date: 15 Februar 1865/15 ΦΛΕΒΑ(PH).



(Right) Figure 4.84: South exterior wall: lobby. Construction date: 1880.



(Left) Figure 4.85: Interior facade of the lobby.

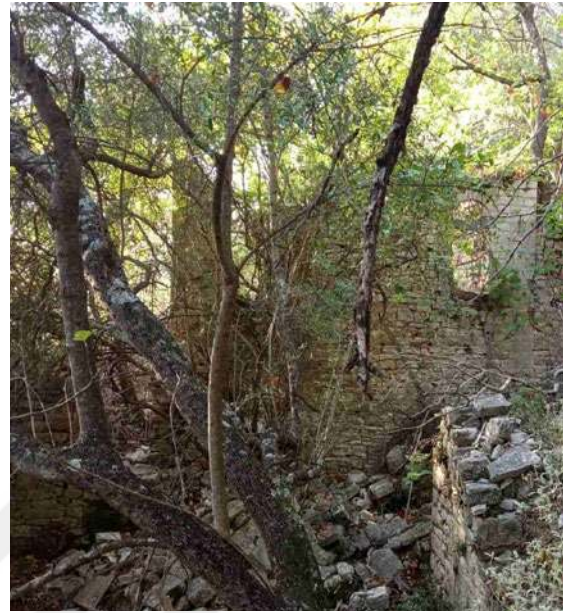


(Right) Figure 4.86: Space next to the lobby, possibly lavatory.

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 5 (P.HC.B.07): Skendos family



(Left) Figure 4.87: Interior view: Building A: *katoi* (K.5) and *anoi* (A.3).



(Right) Figure 4.88: Exterior, eastern facade. Building A (K.5, A.3).



(Left) Figure 4.89: Interior view. Building B.



(Right) Figure 4.90: View from the interior courtyard C3 towards the ST.1.
Note the two niches on the wall.

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 6 (M.HC.B.07): Skandaletos family

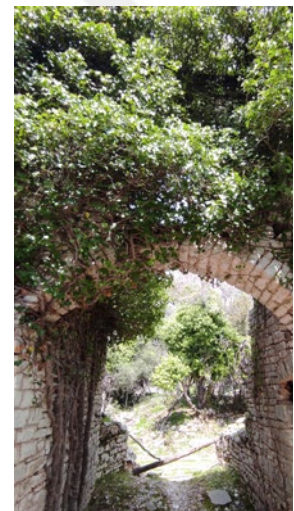


Figure 4.91: Perspective from the market street.

(Below-left) Figure 4.92: Interior aspect from the courtyard.



(Middle) Figure 4.93: Main entrance to the house.



(Right) Figure 4.94: Arched passage from the market street.

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 6 (M.HC.B.07): Skandaletos family



(Left) Figure 4.95: Aspect from the courtyard's interior, the lavatory, and the access to the countryside.

(Right) Figure 4.96: Detail of the access to the countryside.



(Left) Figure 4.97: Interior aspect: courtyard, main house.

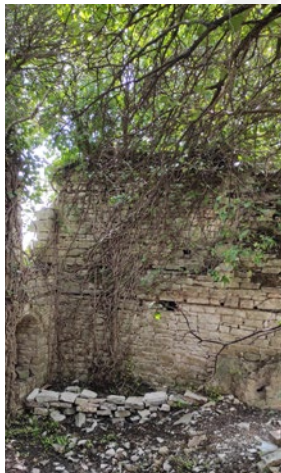
(Right) Figure 4.98: Secondary courtyard space/ probably kitchen.

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:
Household 6 (M.HC.B.07): Skandaletos family



(Left) Figure 4.99: Secondary courtyard space: exterior facade.

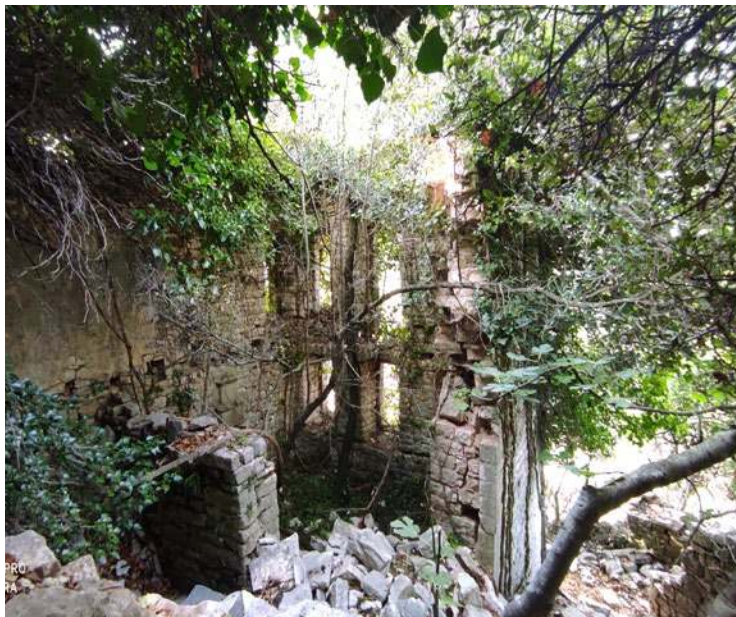
(Right) Figure 4.100: *Krevata-hayat*.



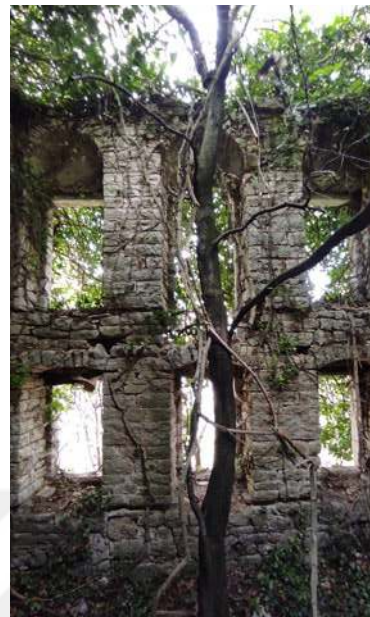
(Left) Figure 4.101: Aspect from the interior of the building B.

(Right) Figure 4.102: Aspect from the interior of the building B (b).

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (L.HC.A.14; L.HC.A.17; L.HC.A.19)
(Magkouratika) Household 7 (L.HC.A.14)



(Left) Figure 4.103: Interior aspect: Building B (K.2, A.3).



(Right) Figure 4.104: Interior south facade: Building B.



(Left) Figure 4.105: Courtyard C.1 and stair ST.3.



(Right) Figure 4.106: Courtyard C.3 and stair ST.1.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (L.HC.A.14; L.HC.A.17; L.HC.A.19)
(Magkouratika) Household 8 (L.HC.A.17)



(Left) Figure 4.107: Littel protrusion leaning on a corbel-like base:
From the the skylight of the house's main entrance.

(Right) Figure 4.108: Main entrance M.E. to the lobby LO.



(Left) Figure 4.109: Courtyard C.2.

(Right) Figure 4.110: Lintel of the door of the door A.E.2.

Note the cross with trefoiled branches and the half date 18 (+) ??.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (L.HC.A.14; L.HC.A.17; L.HC.A.19)
(Magkouratika) Household 8-9 (L.HC.A.17, L.HC.A.19)



(Left) Figure 4.111: Gate to the courtyard C.2 (Household 8).

(Right) Figure 4.112: Outdoor furnace F.1 (Household 8).



(Left and middle) Figure 4.113-4.114: The corridor between Households 8&9.

(Right) Figure 4.115: Entrance to the courtyard of Household 9.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (P.HC.A.10; P.HC.A.11)

Household 10 (P.HC.A.10)



(Left) Figure 4.116: East facade: extension/Building C.

(Middle) Figure 4.117: South facade: extension/Building B.

(Right) Figure 4.118: Remaining elevated base/Building A.



(Left) Figure 4.119: Courtyards C.1 and C.2.

(Right) Figure 4.120: Exterior east wall of Building B becoming part of the interior of the Building C.

Note the blocked window.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (P.HC.A.10; P.HC.A.11)

Household 10 (P.HC.A.10)



(Left) Figure 4.121: Lavatory L within the house: Building C.
From the few examples in P. Sagiada.

(Right) Figure 4.122: Interior Building B and Building C.
The upper floor of the Building A does not remain.



(Left) Figure 4.123: Interior south facade: Building C.

(Right) Figure 4.124: Interior east facade: Building C and courtyard C.3.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (P.HC.A.10; P.HC.A.11)

Household 11 (P.HC.A.11)



(Left and middle) Figures 4.125-4.26: Exterior south facade.

(Right) Figure 4.127: Courtyard C.1.



(Left and middle) Figure 4.128-4.129: Outdoor stairs ST.1.

(Right) Figure 4.130: Exterior east facade.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (P.HC.A.10; P.HC.A.11)

Household 11 (P.HC.A.11)



(Left) Figure 4.131: West facade of outdoor stairs ST.1.

(Right) Figure 4.132: *Anoi*, view towards A.5, A.6.



(Left) Figure 4.133: *Anoi*, view towards A.6.

(Right) Figure 4.134: *Anoi*, view towards A.3, A.4.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (M.HC.A.01-05)

(Tsogkeika) Household 12 (M.HC.A.01)



(Left) Figure 4.135: Exterior west facade.

(Right) Figure 4.136: Exterior west facade (detail).



(Left and middle) Figure 4.137-4.138: Exterior south facade.

(Right) Figure 4.139: Exterior west facade: stairs ST.2.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (M.HC.A.01-05)
(Tsogkeika) Household 12 (M.HC.A.01)



(Left) Figure 4.140: The space under the stairs ST.2.

(Right) Figure 4.141: Exterior, south facade of the stairs ST.2.



Figure 4.142-4.143-4.144: Interior aspects of the western half of the house.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (M.HC.A.01-05)
(Tsogkeika) Household 12 & Household 14 (M.HC.A.01; M.HC.A.03)



Figure 4.145-4.146-4.147: Courtyard secondary spaces (S.01, K.02).



(Left) Figure 4.148: Interior south facade of the Household 14.

(Right) Figure 4.149: Exterior south facade of the Household 14.

INTERCONNECTED HOUSEHOLDS: (M.HC.A.01-05)

(Tsogkeika) Household 13, 15, 16 (M.HC.A.02, 04, 05)



(Left) Figure 4.150: Exterior east facade of the Household 13.

(Middle) Figure 4.151: Interior east facade. Household 13: from the enclosed krevata - hayat east facade.

(Right) Figure 4.152: Interior south facade of the Household 15.

(Left) Figure 4.153: Outdoor stait to the *anoi* of the Housheold 15.

(Right) Figure 4.154: Remains from the Household 16.

Appendix E: Public spaces

(Chapters 5-6)

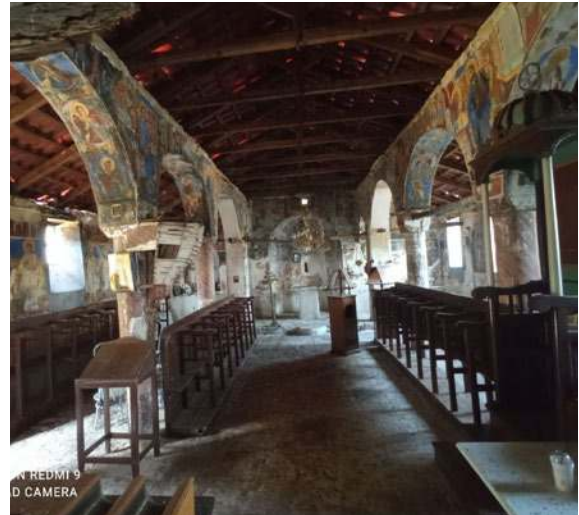




Figure 5.1-5.3: Aspects of some well-preserved parts of the trail network in Pazara.



Figure 5.4-5.5: Aspects from the market street. On the left: north facade.



(Left) Figure 5.6: Agios Georgios church and its courtyard.

(Right) Figure 5.7: Interior aspect from Aghios Georgios.



(Left) Figure 5.8: The civic figure of Mr. Memos among the frescoes of Aghios Georgios.

(Middle) Figure 5.9: Frescoes from Aghios Georgios.

(Right) Figure 5.10: South entrance to the main church of Aghios Dimitrios.



(Left) Figure 5.11: West view of Aghios Dimitrios.

(Right) Figure 5.12: Interior from Aghios Dimitrios.



(Left) Figure 5.13: South wall from the interior of Aghios Dimitrios.
Note the decorative ceramic mouthpieces.

(Middle) Figure 5.14: The only remaining fresco from Aghios Dimitrios.

(Right) Figure 5.15: Floor detail from Aghios Nikolaos.



(Left) Figure 5.16: Interior aspect from Aghios Nikolaos.

(Right) Figure 5.17: Exterior west facade of Aghios Nikolaos.



(Left) Figure 5.18: Grave in the area around Aghios Nikolaos.

(Middle) Figure 5.19: The cemetary in Maritsa.

(Right) Figure 5.20: North aspect of Aghios Spyridon.



(Left) Figure 5.21: Exterior facade of Aghios Spyridon's apse.

(Middle) Figure 5.22: *Eikonisma*-icon stand.

(Right) Figure 5.23: The reuse of the niche in the sanctuary of Aghios Dimitrios.



Figure 5.24: Photograph by Kostas Mpalafas with the title, “Κι εκεί που δεν το περιμένεις, να κι ένα καλοχτισμένο εικονοστάσι, που το καντήλι του δεν καίει πάντοτε (And out of the blue, here it is a well-built icon stand whose lamp is not always burning).

Averoff Museum: <https://www.averoffmuseum.gr/fotografia/ki-ekei-poy-den-perimeneis-na-ki-ena-kalohtismeno-eikonostasi-poy-kantili-toy-den-kaiei>



(Left) Figure 5.25: The Nousias' threshing floor.

(Middle) Figure 5.26: Detail from the Nousias threshing floor.

(Right) Figure 5.27: Remains from the threshing floor of Aghios Spyridonas.



Figure 5.28: *Piadi* - the fountain.

Figure 5.29: Sanctification of the water in the *piadi*. No date. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 5.30: The fountain of Plaisio/Plesivitsa and women from the settlement posing. No date/probably 1950s-60s. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 5.31: Women from Giromeri taking water from the fountain of their settlement. Probably it is an arranged photo shooting as the women are wearing their clothes/ The typical attire for celebrations until mid 20th century. Around 1930. Sp. Meletzis.



Figure 6.1: Reviving a celebration in the Nousias' threshing floor after P. Sagiadas' abandonment.

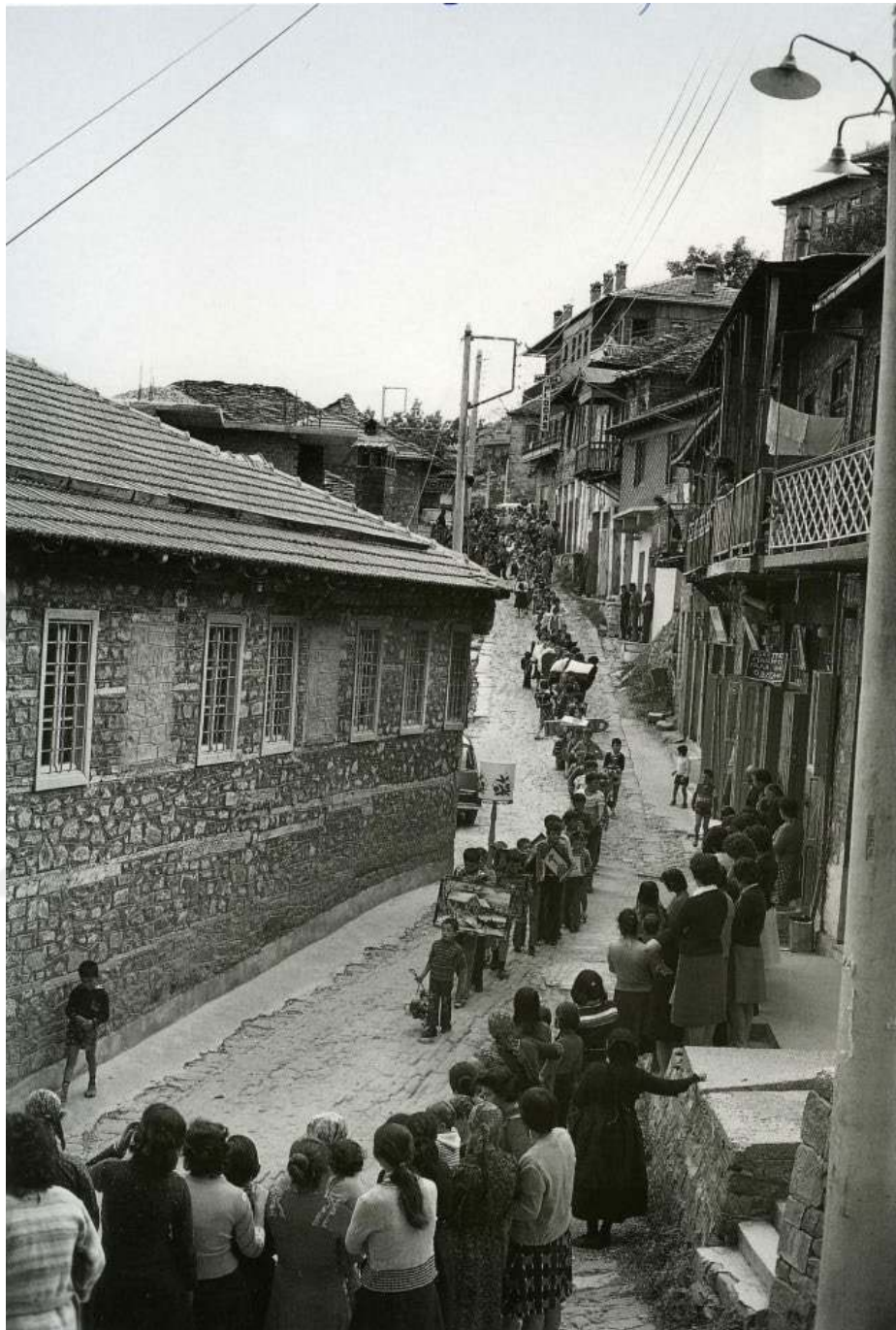


Figure 6.2: Photograph from Epirus by Kostas Mpalafas with the title, “Μεταφέροντας την προίκα στο σπίτι του γαμπρού (Transferring the dowery to the groom’s house).

Averoff Mueum: <https://www.averoffmuseum.gr/fotografia/metaferon-tas-ti-proika-sto-spiti-toy-gamproy-1>

The procession including family, relatives, and friends is crossing the street of a settlement (probably from around Arta/ related to the photographer’s projects), while the neighbors and passers-by stand to observe.



Figure 6.3: The custom of celebrating near the graves.

Giromeri around 1930s. Sp. Meleztis.

Figure 6.4: Women dancing, dressed in the local attire for celebrations.

Giromeri around 1930. Sp. Meletzis.



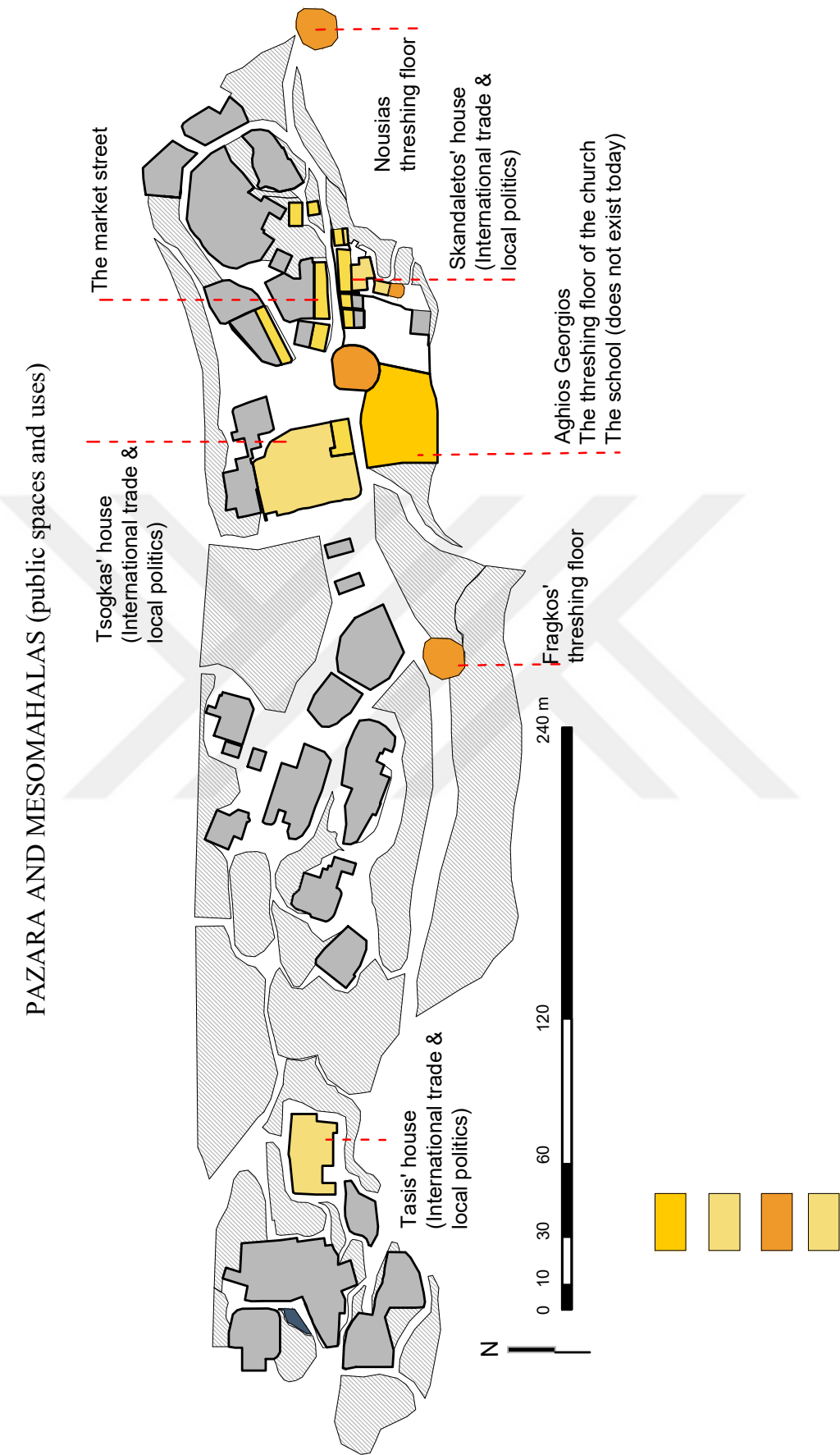


Figure 6.5: Pazara and Mesomahalas: public spaces and uses

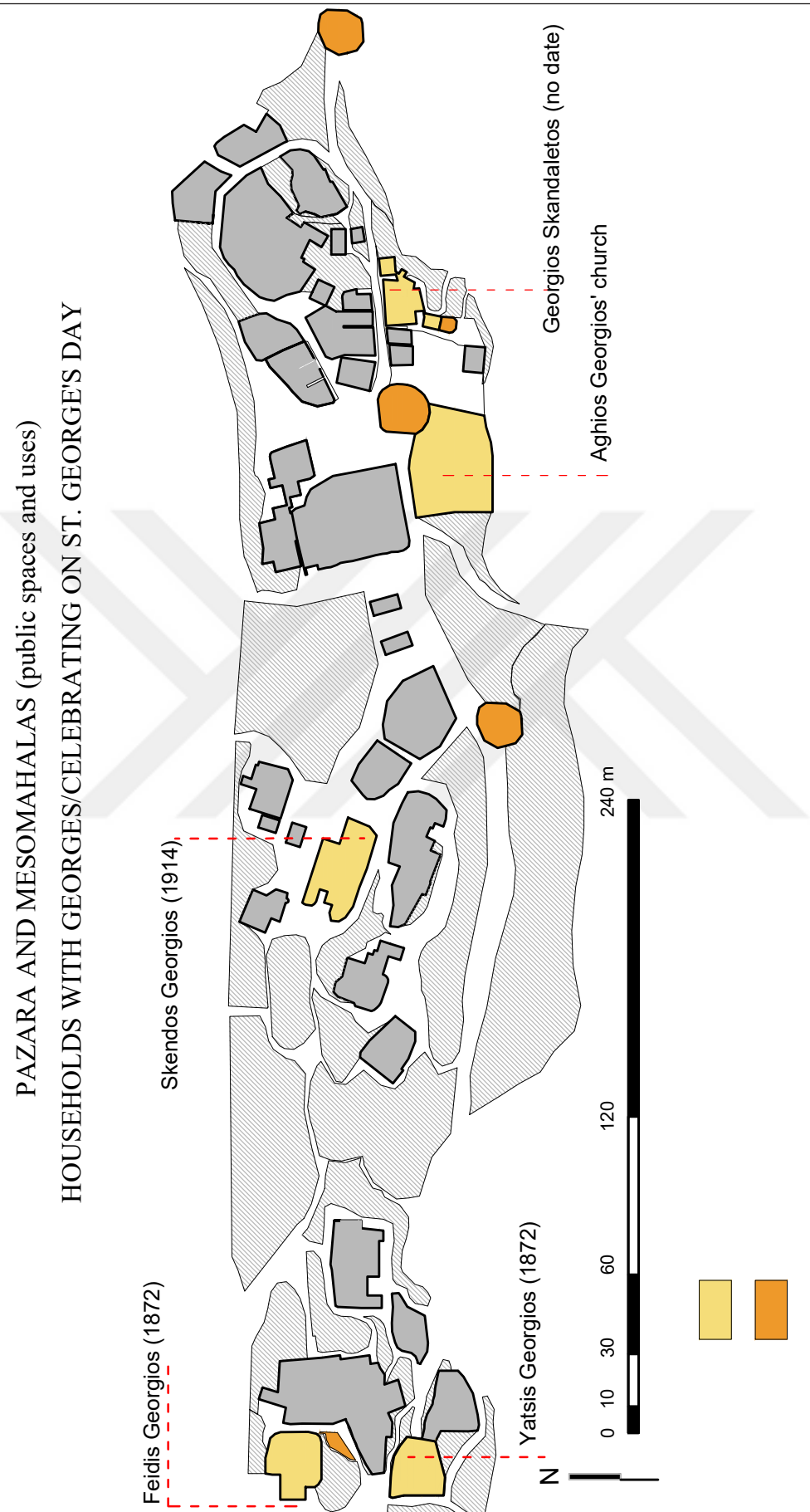


Figure 6.6: Pazara and Mesomahalas: ceelbrating St. George’s day

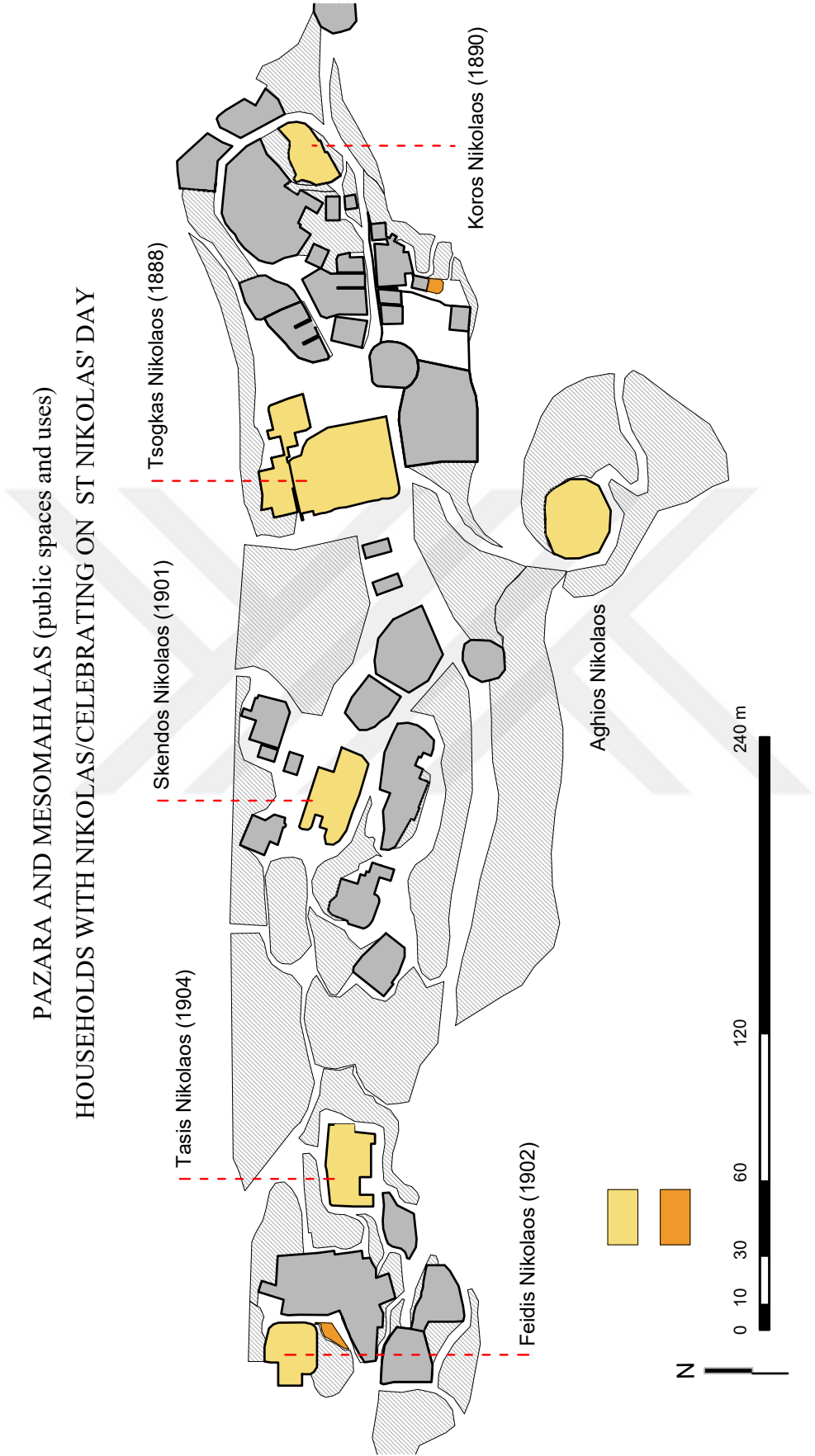


Figure 6.7: Pazara and Mesomahalas: celebrating St. Nikolas' day

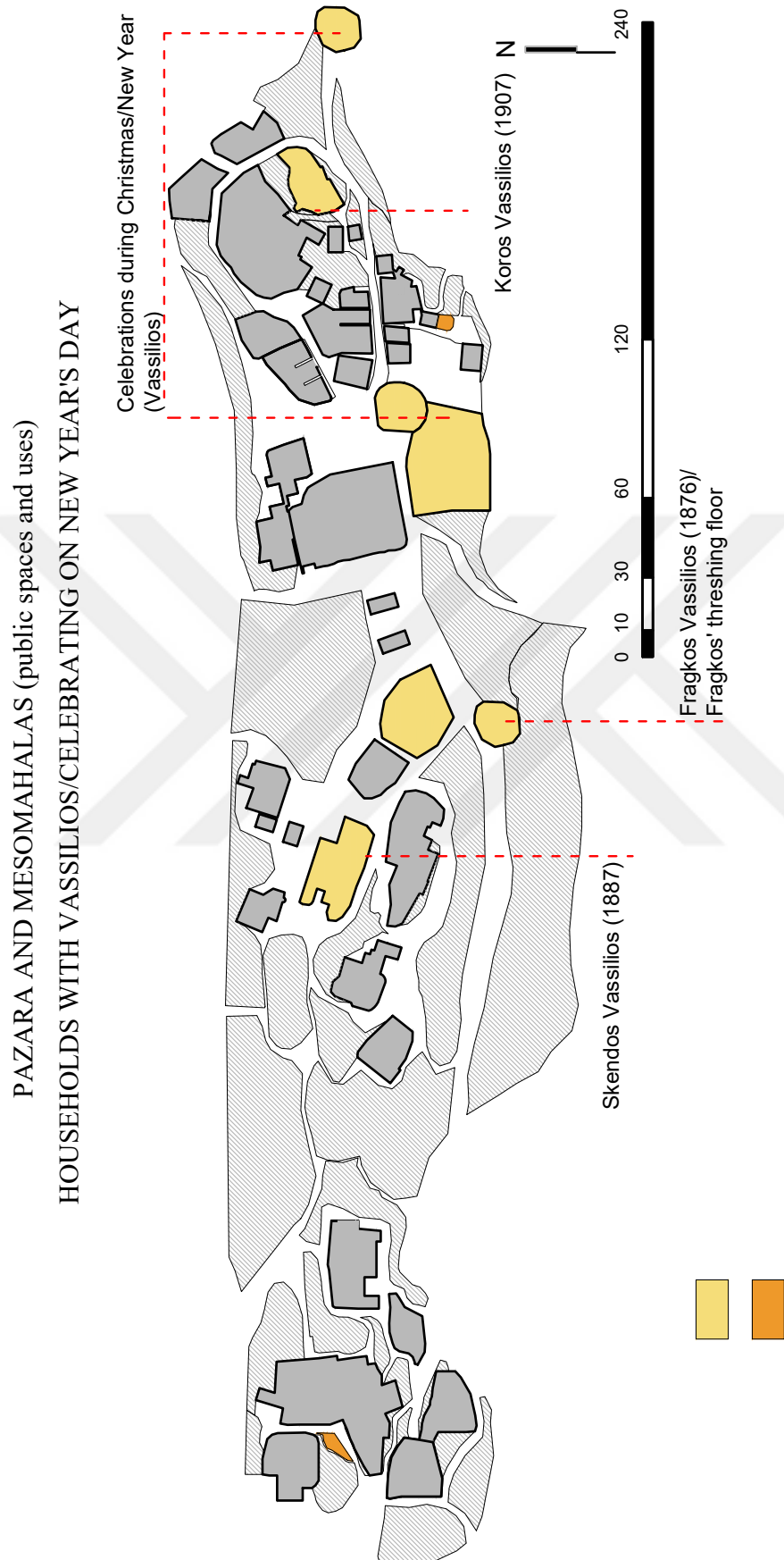


Figure 6.8: Pazara and Mesomahalas: celebrating St. Vassilios' day

Appendix F: Urban identities

(Chapters 7-8)



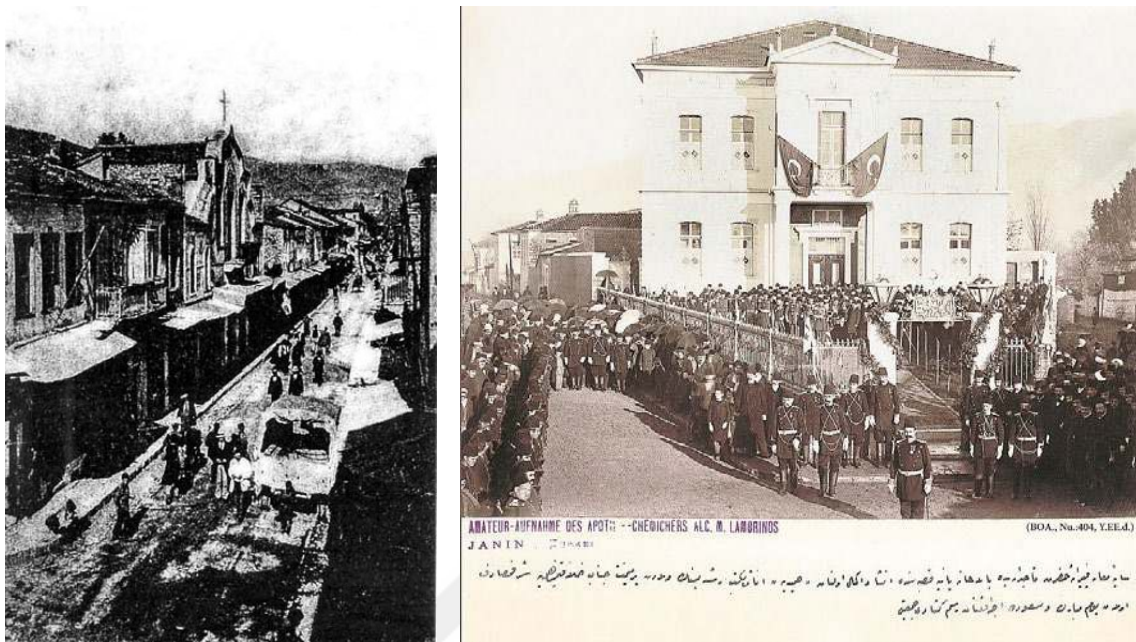


Figure 7.1 : Paramythia by S. Meletzis. In the middle stands the house of G. Riggas, photographed by F. Boissonnas in 1913. This house does not remain today.

Figure 7.2: Another house of the Riggas family that has a central attic or tower, today reused as a hotel.



Figure 7.3: The rich house of G. Riggas captured by F. Boissonnas in 1913.



(Left) Figure 7.4: Yiannina: present-day Anexartisias' street before 1913 with the cafe-chantant, καφωδείο, Olympia in the middle of the left side.

Aktia Nikopolis archive in Iosif and Esthir Gkanis 2019 calendar.

(Right) Figure 7.5: The Girls' School in Yiannina 1899.

(Yanya Hamidiye Kız Rüşdiyesi)



Figure 7.6: The large house of Michail Paramythiotis in Corfu or the “mansion of Donzelot street”. Its second phase was built in 1856 by the architect J. Balsamo.

(Aggelidou Sofia, M.A. Thesis, 27-28)



(Left) Figure 7.7: The “mansion of Donzelot street.”



(Right) Figure 7.8: Multistorey house with an attic in the town of Corfu.

From the English period.



Figure 7.9: Frangkiskos' pharmacy.
The market street in Filiates.



Figure 7.10: School in Liopsi

(Right) Figure 7.11: School in
Aghioi Pandes/Filiates.



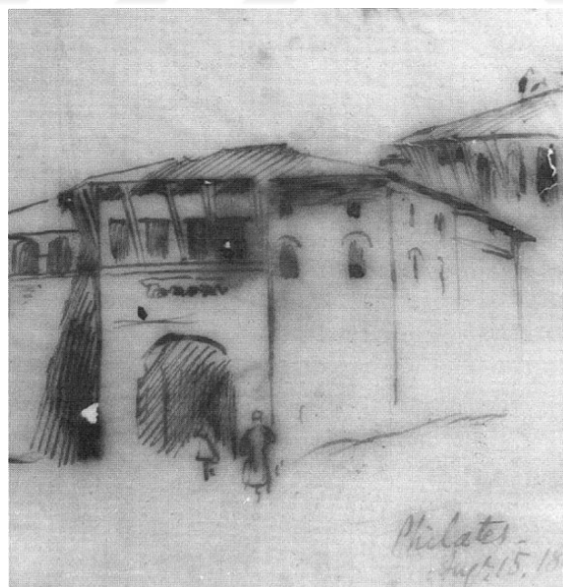
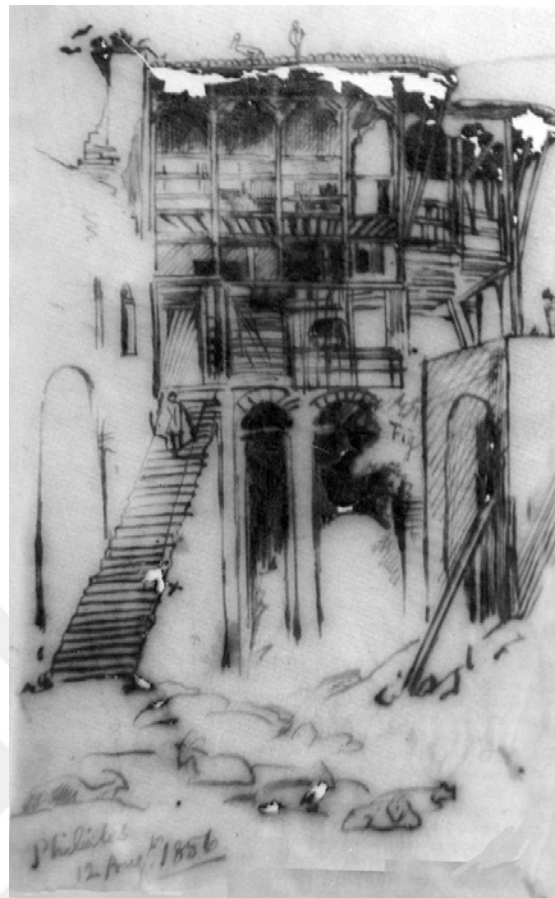


Figure 7.12-7.13 : Tower houses in Filiates.
By Edward Lear, 1857. (M. Pasiakos archive)

Above is the house of Jafer ağa.



Figure 7.14: Saray Dino Bey in Liopsi. South facade.
Unknown date. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 7.15: Saray Dino Bey in Liopsi. North facade.
Unknown date. M. Pasiakos archive.

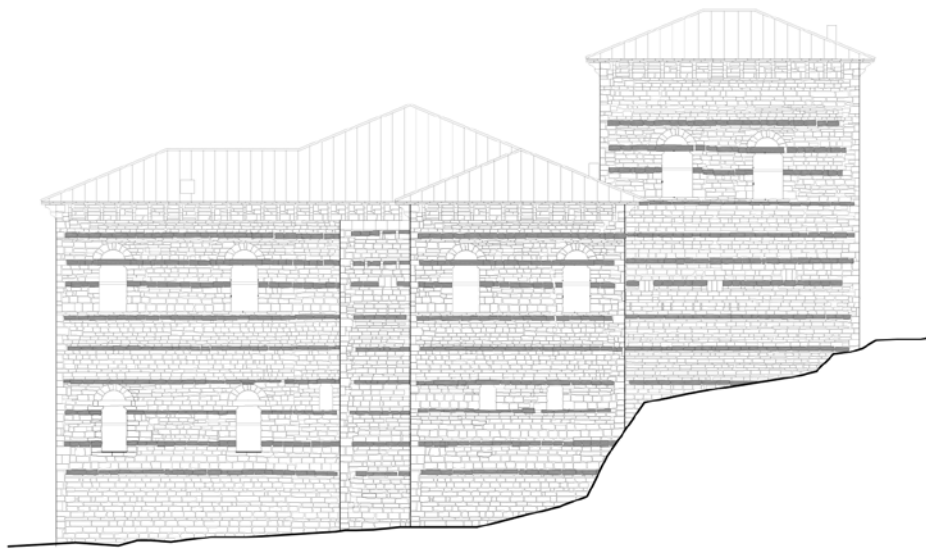


Figure 7.16: The saray Dino Bey in Liopsi. South facade. Representation by the author. M.Sc. Thesis.

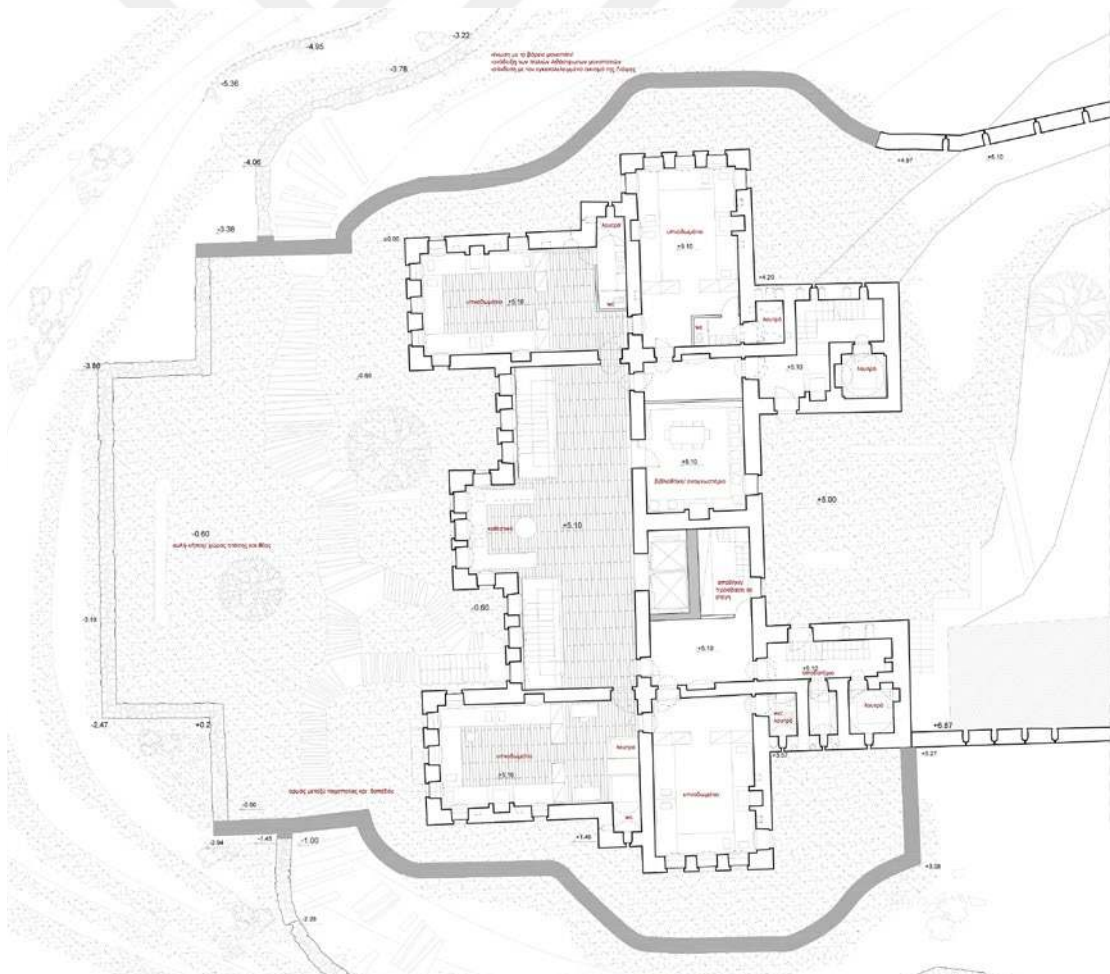


Figure 7.17: The saray Dino Bey in Liopsi.
Restoration proposal of the upper floor by the author. M.Sc. Thesis.

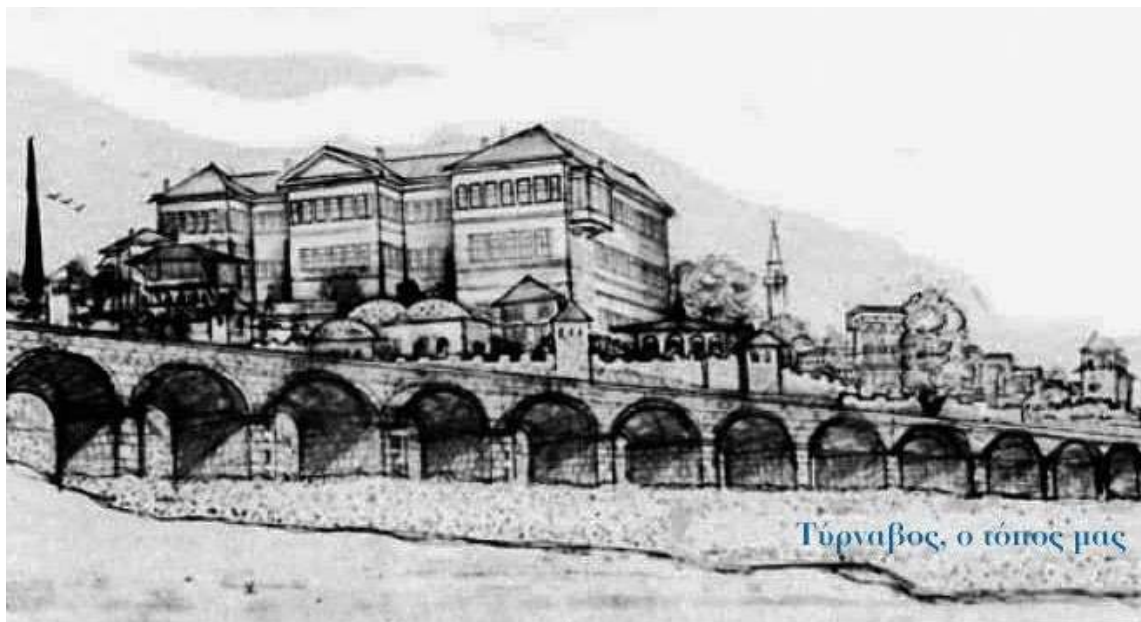


Figure 7.19: The saray of Veli Pasha in Tyrnavos. Representation by A. Petronotis. Reference in Panos Tsolakis, *Τα οθωμανικά διοικητήρια*.

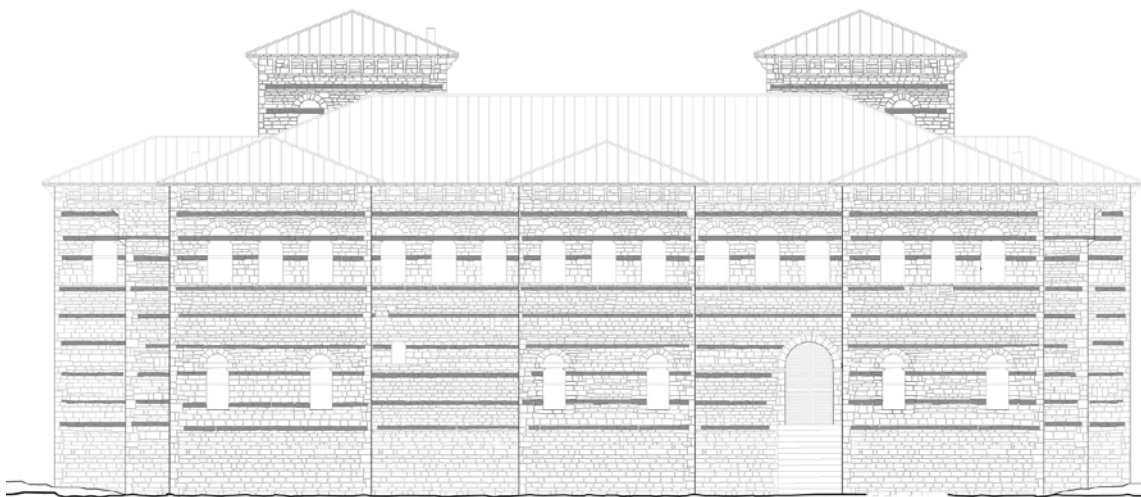


Figure 7.18: The saray Dino Bey in Liopsi. West facade. Representation by the author. M.Sc. Thesis.



Figure 7.20: A fortified house of an ağa in Katavothra.
La Bastia blog.



Figure 7.21: Sisko's house in Konitsa. Photo before its collapse.
<https://www.konitsa.gr/visit/othomanika-mnimeia-9/6-arcontiko-cousein-mpee>



(Left) Figure 7.22: The arched portico from a ruined complex in Liopsi.

(Right) Figure 7.23: The house of K. Th. Theologis in Foiniki.

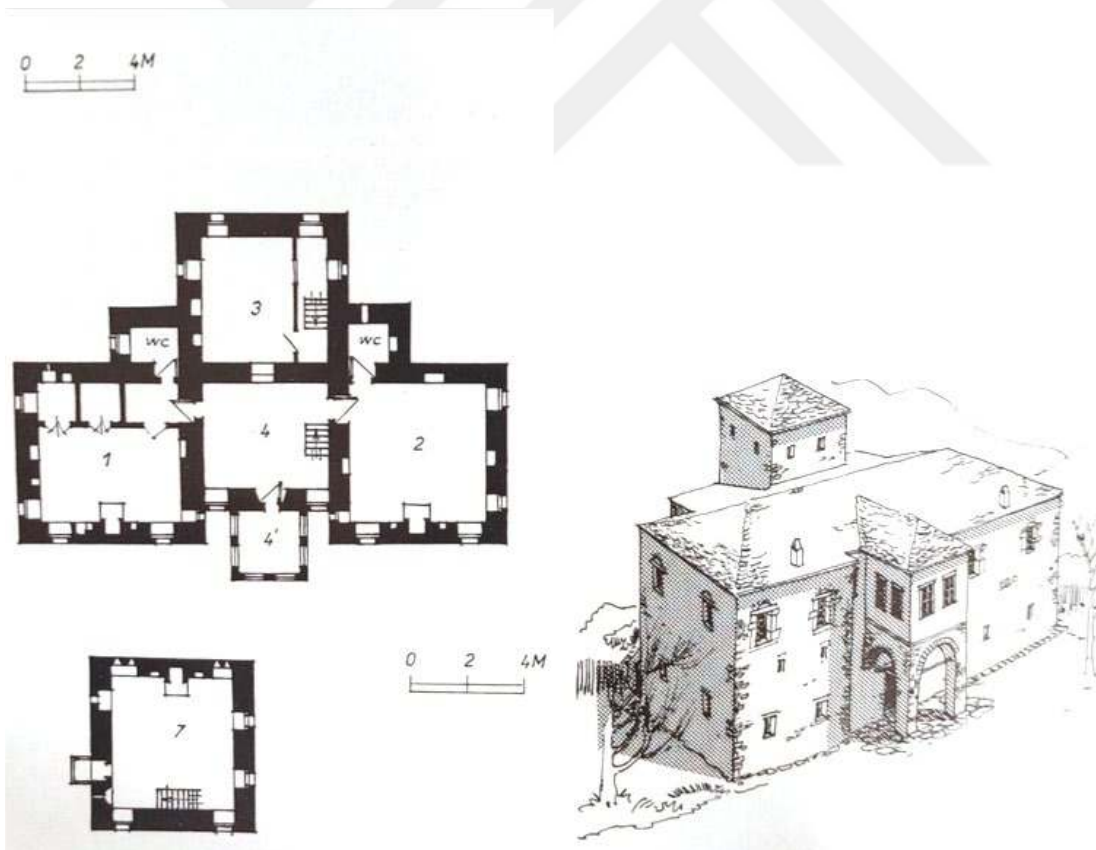


Figure 7.24: Aderfomoirio house in Korytsa/Korça, Albania, with a tower and entrance portico.

Pyrro Thomo, *Balkan Traditional Architecture*.



(Left) Figure 7.27: The courtyard gate of the house in Smertos.



(Right) Figure 7.28: Neoclassic decoration in the interior of the same house in Smertos. Today the decoration does not remain.

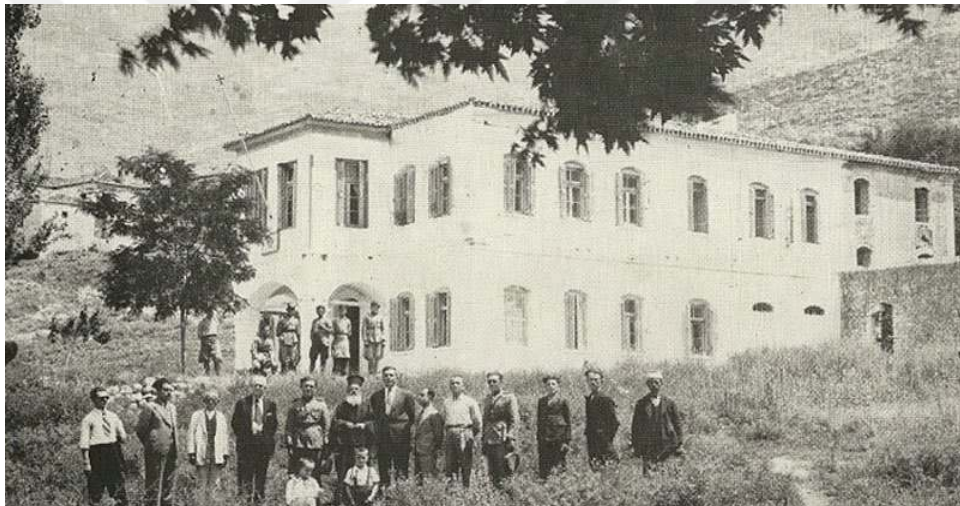


Figure 7.26: The administrative building in Margariti. M. Pasiakos archive.



Figure 7.25: Doupis house in Kokkinia.

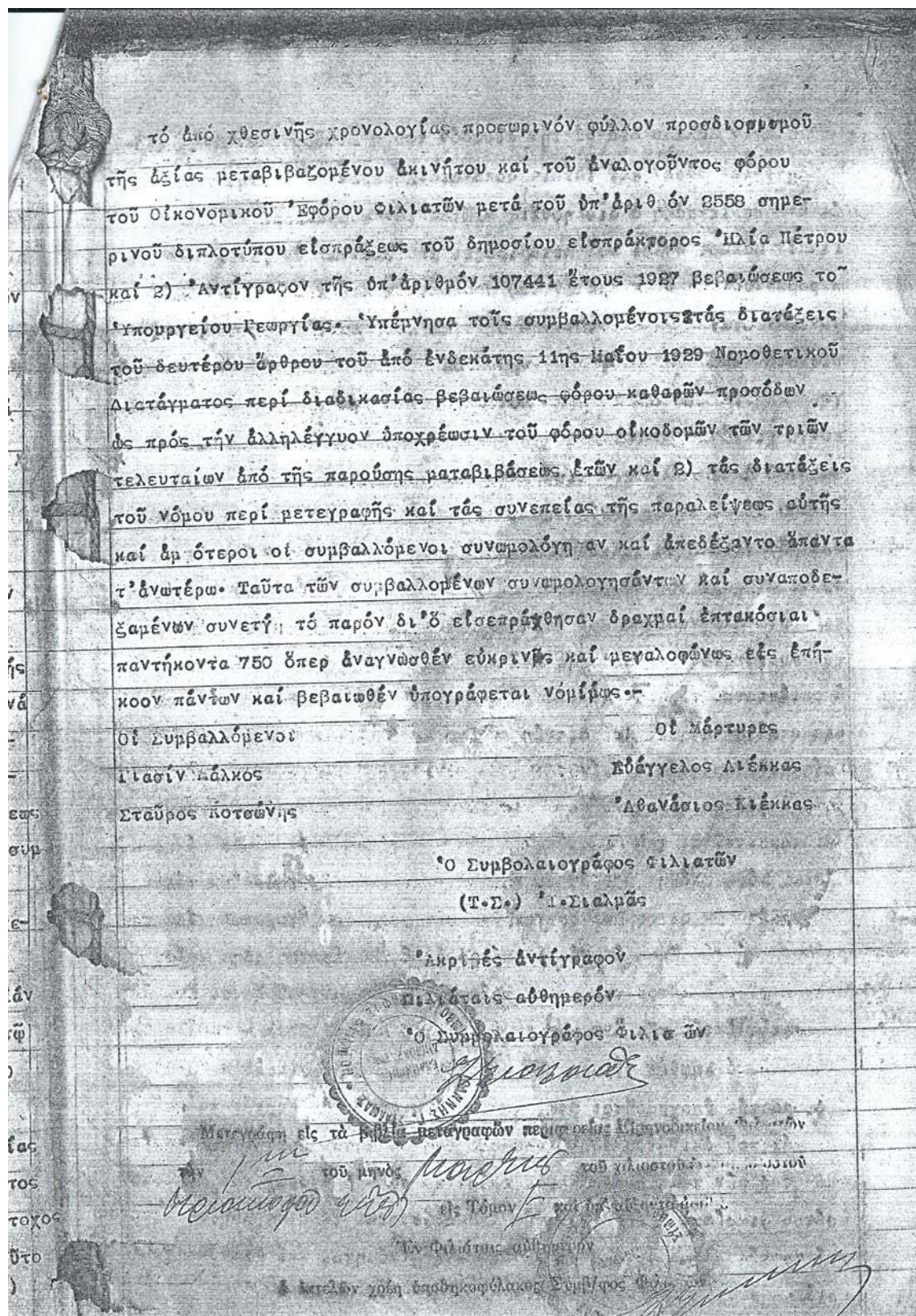


Figure 7.29: Last page from the purchase deed of the house in Smerto by Stavros Kotsonis from the ağa Yashin Malko in 1928. Antonis Kotsonis archive.



Figure 7.30-7.31: Vekkos brothers' house in Filiates. Drone photos by the author.





(Left) Figure 7.32: The timber stair from the central lobby in Vekkos' house leading to the upper floors.



(Right) Figure 7.33: Sparating timber wall from the reception room of the second floor.



(Left) Figure 7.34: Bubble-form fireplace



(Right) Figure 7.35: Fireplace with escalating volumes and a crown. These are typical fireplace forms in the region.



(Left) Figure 8.1: The store of Th. G. Theologis (the father of K. Theologis). Galata, Istanbul. (G. Kotsis)

(Right) Figure 8.2: K. Th. Theologis, 1902. (G. Kotsis)



(Left) Figure 8.3: The saray Dino Bey. Photo by F. Boissonnas in 1913.

(Right) Figure 8.4: Dinozade Abidin *paşa*, the vali of Archipelago, one of the most prominent members of the Dino family

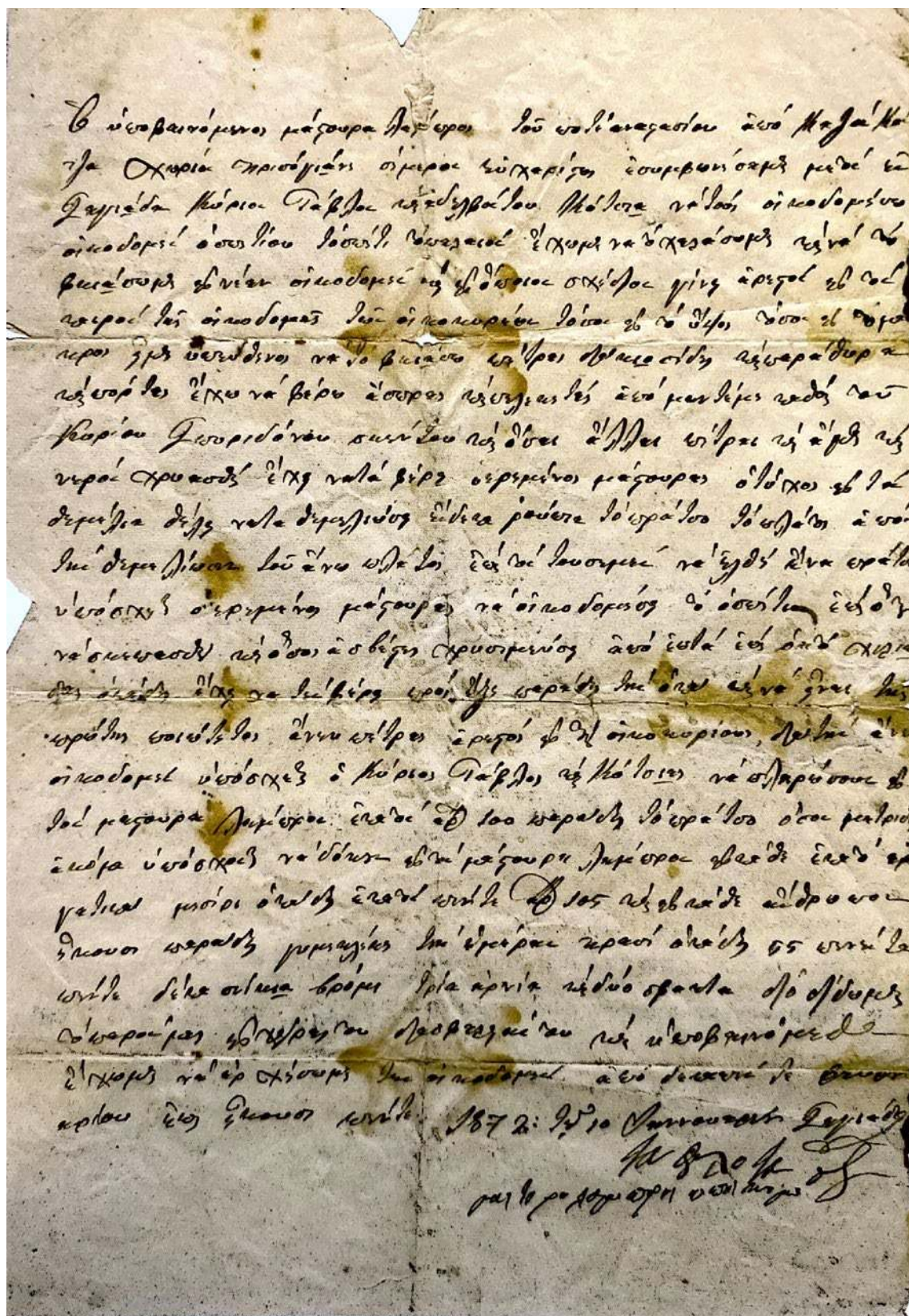


Figure 8.5: The contract for building activities between Mastrolambros and Taflos Tasis from Sagiada. 10/01/1872. Petronotis, Papageorgiou, 265.



(Left) Figure 8.6: Aghios Georgios in Pyrsogianni, Konitsa.



(Right) Figure 8.7: The Metropolis of Athens.



(Above) Figure 8.8: The church of Aghia Triada in Filiates, 1913. G. Kotsis/ P. Pappas.



(Below) Figure 8.9: Aghia Triada in Filiates after the addition of the bell tower in 1920. G. Kotsis



(Right) Figure 8.10: The church of Aghia Triada in Filiates, present-day.