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FROM MOREA TO MARMARA: TSAKONIAN TRADE NETWORKS AND MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD¹

MORA'DAN MARMARA'YA: OSMANLI DÖNEMİNDE ÇAKONYA YÖRESİ, TİCARİ AĞLARI VE GÖÇ HAREKETLERİ

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Abstract

Direct references to Tsakonia in Ottoman sources are quite rare. Apart from the Ottoman registers, which might require detailed analyses and studies entirely devoted to this subject, and some references on the geography of this remote and isolated area, the only source that gives direct information on Tsakonia is the famous Ottoman traveller and chronicler Evliyâ Çelebi, who visited the region in the mid-17th century. References in the Ottoman Archives on this area seem scarce as well, except for the indirect ones referring to the Tsakonian-origin Greek settlements in the Marmara region, which are referred to as “Tsakonochoria of Marmara”. Despite its isolated position, Tsakonia draws attention also with its close trade links with the centre of the Ottoman Empire. The principal aim of this study is to account for this region’s socio-economic relations with the Marmara basin.

Keywords: Morea, Tsakonia, Marmara Region, Ottoman Period.

Öz

Mora Yarımadasının Çakonya (Tsakonia) bölgesi tarih boyunca ücra ve etrafından izole bir alan olarak dikkati çeker. Buraya ilişkin Osmanlı dönemi kaynakları da oldukça kısıtlı olup denizcilikle ilgili bazı eserler ve haritalar dışında bu bölgeye ilişkin en kapsamlı gözlem ve değerlendirmeler yöreyi 17. yüzyılda ziyaret etmiş bulunan Evliyâ Çelebi tarafından kayda geçirilmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı Evliyâ Çelebi başta olmak üzere diğer ilgili eserler ve birkaç arşiv belgesi de dahil olacak şekilde söz konusu bölgenin Türkçe tarihi kaynaklarda nasıl ele alındığını ortaya koymak, ayrıca bölgenin Marmara havzası ile olan ticari ve sosyo-ekonomik ilişkileri hakkında bilgi vermektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mora, Çakonya, Marmara Bölgesi, Osmanlı Dönemi.

¹ This study is the extensively revised and enlarged version of a paper presented at the 8th Conference on Tsakonian Studies, organised by Tsakonian Archives at Leonidion, Greece. The paper presented in the conference was limited to Ottoman sources. This version covers local sources as well, concerning especially the region’s trade relations with the Marmara area. The author would like to thank Prof. Dimitris Michalopoulos and Mrs. Kalliopi Michalopoulou for their academic and linguistic help throughout the research which led to this paper, as well as Mr. Ioannis Christodoulou for his help regarding access to local sources of Tsakonia. Last but not the least, the author also wishes to express his gratitude to Prof. Levent Kayapınar and Mr. Ali Payzanoğlu, whose personal libraries have been of great help in tracking down certain details of local history.

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Introduction

It seems quite difficult to find direct references to Tsakonia in Ottoman sources. Ottoman archive documents seem silent about this remote and isolated part of the Peloponnese. Apart from certain geographical details given by the famous Ottoman admiral and cartographer Pîrî Reis, and several maps from later periods, which provide indirect information on the region, the only source that gives specific information on Tsakonia is Evliyâ Çelebi, who visited this area around mid-17th century. Evliyâ Çelebi refers to this area as “Çakonya” or “Çakona”, emphasising that the inhabitants of this area formed a distinct cultural community with peculiar customs and language, differing from the rest of Morea. Thus, he gives quite detailed information not only on the geographical characteristics of the area, but also on human geography and cultural details such as daily life, language and even some anthropological details. Besides these sources, there are some archive documents, which provide indirect, limited but valuable information on Tsakonians, namely those living in the so-called “Tsakonian villages” in the region of Marmara. These documents enlighten certain aspects of the last period of Tsakonian Greeks’ life in Marmara region.

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The main purpose of this paper is to review the Ottoman sources on Tsakonia and Tsakonians, focusing on the human circulation and trade links between the area and Marmara region. As local sources on trade networks centred around Istanbul are quite rich as well, we have also referred to them as far as commercial links are concerned.

For this purpose, firstly the cartographic sources of Ottoman origin will be visited briefly. Secondly, Evliyâ Çelebi’s account on Tsakonia and Tsakonians will be assessed in detail. In the third place, Tsakonian trade networks stretching from Western Mediterranean to the Black Sea will be reviewed, with particular reference to their focal point, Istanbul. Finally Ottoman sources on the Tsakonian settlements around the southern shores of Marmara Sea will be accounted for, which shed light on the last years of Tsakonian-origin Greeks in the area during the First World War.

Geographical References

Administrative structure of the towns and villages in Tsakonia changed quite frequently throughout the Ottoman period³. When Evliyâ Çelebi visited the region,

³ Βασίλειος Δ. Σιακωτός, “Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Τσακωνιάς κατά τη διάρκεια της Τουρκοκρατίας”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων – Πρακτικά Ε Τσακόνικου Συνεδρίου*, vol. ΙΗ, 2005, pp. 262-264.

Tsakonia was part of the *sanjak* of Mystras (Mezistre)⁴. More precisely as *nahiye*, the area belonged to the *kaza* of Monemvasia (Benefşe)⁵. Ottoman admiral and cartographer Pîrî Reis, in his famous work “Book of Navigation” (Kitâb-ı Bahriye), mentions only two coastal settlements in the region, without any reference to the hinterland. These settlements are Pilo (پیلو) and Porto (پورتو)⁶.

Ottoman maps from later periods of the area are more detailed. In one of those published in 1844⁷ nearly all of the major settlements are given. In the table below, to facilitate comparison, the toponyms are shown in various forms with explanations.

Table 1: Toponyms of Tsakonia

toponym on the map		Meaning of toponyms in Turkish	Current name	
Latin spelling (modern Turkish)	Ottoman spelling		Latin spelling	Greek spelling
Astro	استرو	-	Astros	Ἄστρος
İskele	اسکله	pier	Paralia Astrous	Παραλία Ἀστρους
Petre	پتره	-	Agios Petros	Ἅγιος Πέτρος
Zakone	زاقونه	-	Agios Andreas	Ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας;
Bambako	بامباکو	-	Vamvakou	Βαμβακού
Korako	قوراقو	-	Korakovouni	Κορακοβούνι;
Köprü	کوپری	bridge	Elliniko/Tserfos	Ελληνικό/Τσέρφος;
Ronte	رونته	-	Tyros	Τυρός
Lenidi	لنیدی	-	Leonidio	Λεωνίδιο
Sutra?	سترا	-	Poulithra	Πούλιθρα;

In this map, three more names indicate two capes and a bay. While the cape “Lenidi” (Lenidi Burnu, لنیدی بورنی) should correspond to the cape of Sabatiki, “Kara Burun” (قره بورون), i.e. “Black Cape”, should be the cape Trikeri, between Tiri and Agios Christoforos. In the same map, the bay “Kofiano” (Kofyano Koyu, قوفیانو قوی), seems to be the modern bay of Agios Christoforos.

Tsakonia and Tsakonians according to Evliyâ Çelebi

Evliyâ Çelebi visited the region in the years 1667-1668, and stayed there a day and a night⁸. He characterizes the area as one large “*nahiye*” as part of the *kaza*, or

⁴ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (S. A. Kahraman et al., Ed. S. Koz), vol. 8, Yapı Kredi Yay.: Istanbul, 2003, pp. 169-170; Δημ. Κ. Δερνίκος, “Η Τσακωνιά επί Τουρκοκρατίας”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, vol. A, 1956 (reprint: 2006), pp. 17-23.

⁵ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 157.

⁶ Pîrî Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, vol. 2, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı: Ankara, 1988, pp. 626-628.

⁷ BOA, HRT.h, 55. This map was designed by the Engineering School (Mühendishâne-i Berri-i Humâyun), in order to present the borders of independent Greece.

kadılık of Monemvasia. The area seems to be much larger than today, extending southwards along the mountains of Monemvasia⁹. The details of this visit are found in the eighth volume of his “Traveler’s Log” (*Seyahatnâme*)¹⁰. This account is more or less known to the Greek public, as they have already been translated into Greek and studied in detail¹¹. As will be seen below, although very briefly, there are further references on Tsakonians elsewhere in the same volume, as well as in the third and tenth volumes. Apart from the Latinised version of the original text in Ottoman Turkish, an earlier version of Çelebi’s work written in Arabic alphabet was also referred to¹², for the sake of precision in toponyms and words in Tsakonian dialect.

Evliyâ Çelebi mentions the region as “Çakonya / Çakonye” (چاقونیه) or “Çakona / Çakone” (چاقونه). In the *Seyahatnâme*, the title of the relevant section reads literally as follows: “The great *nahiye* and ancient castle of Tsakonia” (*Nâhiye-i azîm ve kal'a-i kadîm Çakonya*)¹³. Accordingly: “between the mountains of Monemvasia and Nafplion (Anapoliye, Anabolu) dwells a nation called Çakona”¹⁴. Although an extensive area, it is also rocky and remote. Here live about ten thousand rayahs. They read the Gospel and pass themselves as Christians and Greek infidels, but they are of a different religious understanding (*mezhep*)¹⁵. Their language is neither Greek (*Urûmca*, i.e. *Rumca*) nor Italian. It is a strange particular dialect, which is unintelligible without an interpreter¹⁶”.

Although Evliyâ Çelebi mentions Greek as the major language of Morea, spoken also by indigenous Muslims¹⁷, he considers the dialects of Tsakonia and Mani as distinct languages. So along with the Albanian spoken then in the areas of Aegio and Kalavryta and the “pure Greek” (*fasîh ü beliğ*) of Mistras, there were four languages in

⁸ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 158.

⁹ Θανάσης Κωστάκης, “Τα Τσακόνικα της Προποντίδας – Τσακόνικο Προικοσύμφωνο”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, vol. 3, 1969, pp. 46-47.

¹⁰ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, pp. 157-158.

¹¹ See: Θανάσης Κωστάκης, “Ο Ελβιγιά Τσελεμπί στην Πελοπόννησο”, *Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 14, 1980, pp. 238-306; Εβλιιά Τσελεμπί, *Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα*. (trans. N. Χειλαδάκης), Ekati: Athens, 1991; Εβλιιά Τσελεμπί, *Οδοιπορικό στην Ελλάδα 1668-1671*. (trans. Δ. Λούπης), Ekati: Athens 1994; Θανάσης Κωστάκης, “Ο Evliya Τσελεμπί για τους Τσακωνες”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, vol. 17, 2004, pp. 122-125.

¹² Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Türk Tarih Encümeni Külliyyatı, vol. 8, Istanbul, 1928, p. 349.

¹³ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 1928, p. 348.

¹⁴ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 132.

¹⁵ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 157.

¹⁶ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, pp. 132, 157.

¹⁷ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 132.

Morea¹⁸. Those who spoke these languages were four distinct nations (kavim)¹⁹. Thus, together with Muslims, there were five kinds of people in Morea, and Tsakonians were one of them, with their own particular region²⁰.

During his visit to Tsakonia, Evliyâ Çelebi recorded 35 words and expressions in Tsakonian dialect, which is regarded as a direct descendant of Doric dialect of Ancient Greek. These words, which are regarded as the “first written record of the Tsakonian Language”²¹ are given in the Appendix, along with the original version in the Arabic alphabet²² as well as their translations.

As the first written recording of the dialect, this list is found very valuable by linguists²³. Kostakis notes that despite the difficulties in recording of a spoken dialect by a foreigner, most of these words essentially correspond to the Tsakonian vocabulary of the period²⁴.

Although it is known that a variety of agricultural products grew here during the Ottoman period²⁵, Evliyâ Çelebi refers exclusively to corn. Accordingly, “except corn, nothing grows in the mountains, neither wheat, millet nor fruit”. Therefore, he laments that he and his companions got bored of eating only corn and goat meat²⁶.

Evliyâ Çelebi describes Tsakonians as “a horde of harsh, wrong doing and lazy infidels, feeding only on corn”²⁷. It is quite clear that he has a negative impression of them, but it must be noted that, in the original text, successive and rhyming adjectives of Persian origin (i.e.: bed-hûy, bed-kâr, bî-kâr) reflect a deliberate exaggeration of rather literary character.

A similar attitude draw attention as he refers to Tsakonian peoples’ physical strength. Accordingly, “although pregnant, women can carry loads weighing 250 okas, others with two children in arms, can carry weights of 250 okas”. As for young and

¹⁸ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 132.

¹⁹ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 157.

²⁰ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 135.

²¹ Θανάσης Κωστάκης, “Από την Ιστορία της Γλώσσας μας”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, vol. 1, 1956 (reprint: 2006), pp. 33-34; Κωστάκης, 1969, p. 45; *Τσακόνικα, ο μοναδικός «επιζών» της Δωρικής διαλέκτου*, <http://moriasnow.gr/event/tsakonika-o-monadikos-epizon-tis-dorikis-dialektoy>; cf. Machiel Kiel & John Alexander, “Mora”, TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 30, p. 283.

²² Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 1928, p. 349; Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 158.

²³ Κωστάκης, 1969, pp. 45-46; Κωστάκης, 2004, p. 124; cf. also Hubert O. Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du Dialecte Tsakonien*, Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres": Paris, 1934; Θανάσης Κωστάκης, *Σύντομη γραμματική της Τσακωνικής Διαλέκτου*, Institut Français d'Athènes: Athens, 1951.

²⁴ Κωστάκης, 2004, pp. 124-125.

²⁵ Δερνίκος, pp. 20-23.

²⁶ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 158.

²⁷ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 157.

vigorous males, “they are able to carry 300, and yet 400 okas”²⁸. They are “very strong and full-bodied, like giant beasts”, and as such they migrate with their families to Monemvasia and Nafplion, where they work as porters. “If they eat wheaten bread, they fall ill. Therefore, when they move to cities to work, they carry along their corn bread”²⁹. The main source of their physical strength is the “favourable climate and beautiful natural environment, with beautiful rivers full of water. Mountains and valleys of Tsakonia stretching to Monemvasia are covered with fragrant flowers, namely: violet (benefşe, menekşe), narcissus jonquilla (zerrîn), polyantha tuberosa (müşk-i rûmî, literally: Roman – or Greek musk) and urginea maritima (ada soğanı, literally: island onion)”³⁰.

Evliyâ Çelebi’s account implies that during the 17th century, Tsakonians were mostly living in the highlands in the inner parts of the area, except for those who eked out a living in the nearby towns. His account on Tsakonians working as porters in the towns around is also supported by foreign observers such as Bernard Randolph and Guillet de la Guilletiere, who witnessed similar scenes in Tsakonia in around the same years. According to Randolph, who visited the area in 1680s, Tsakonians serve as porters in towns, “both men and women carrying very great burthens”³¹. French traveller de la Guilletiere reports having seen Tsakonian ladies of unbelievable strength, working as porters in the harbour of Nafplion. Accordingly, he saw there a pregnant Tsakonian lady about to give birth, carrying a burden of such a weight that even the most robust picklocks of Paris wouldn’t dare to handle³². These accounts might have been regarded as outrageous exaggeration, had they been given by Evliyâ Çelebi. In any case, these observations give an idea about the way Evliyâ Çelebi uses exaggeration as an effective tool of literary eloquence in narrative, and they also demonstrate how those exaggerations indicate an aspect of reality.

²⁸ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 157.

²⁹ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, pp. 157-158.

³⁰ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 158. Of these flowers, as Evliyâ Çelebi indicates as well, violet is also the source of folk etymology of the Turkish version of Monemvasia. Indeed, Turkish inhabitants of Monemvasia, most of whom took refuge in Kuşadası during the Greek Revolution, used to call their hometown Benefşe, Menekşe or Menevşe (cf. Ali Ergül, “Benefşe, (Menekşe), Monemvasia”, *Kuşadası Yerel Tarih*, vol. 7 August 2009, p. 8).

³¹ Bernard Randolph, *The Present State of Morea Called Anciently Peloponnesus* (3rd Edition), London, 1689, p. 16.

³² Guillet de la Guilletiere, *Lacedemone Ancienne et Nouvelle*, vol. 2, Paris, 1676, p. 608, cited by Στακωτός, p. 259.

According to Evliyâ Çelebi, the main fabric of Tsakonian costumes was white woollen cloth (aba) with fringes and white felt (çuha)³³. Waist and sleeves were especially narrow. Both men and women used to wear a sort of white turban (sarık) on their heads. Women, when they put this on their black and messy hair, look so strange that one couldn't help laughing³⁴. Among these, there is no mention of tzoumpes (τζουμπές, i.e., cübbe), a luxury garment referred to one of the most typical and essential elements of traditional Tsakonian female costume³⁵. Given the origin of the word, it can be inferred that tzoumpes should have been adopted during the following century, due to increasing interaction with overseas and ensuing wealth.

As for physical appearance of Tsakonians, Evliyâ Çelebi notes that “their faces are wide, reminiscent of Kalmouk Tatars, with bigger teeth, ears and eyes. They talk very loudly and their voice echoes in the mountains, almost like thunder. Therefore, they can clearly communicate between each other, from mountain to mountain, and even at a distance of two parasangs (about 12 km)”³⁶.

As mentioned above, there are other references to Tsakonians in two other volumes of Evliyâ Çelebi's work. In the third volume, while referring to European languages, he mentions Tsakonian language with Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Polish, Russian, Latin, Czech and Swedish. Accordingly, “these languages were developed during the time of St. John the Baptist”³⁷. In the tenth volume, Tsakonians are referred to as one of the nations, subject to the Sublime Porte. In the same volume, Tsakonia is also mentioned as one of the formerly independent kingdoms of the Balkan Peninsula³⁸

³³ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 157.

³⁴ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, pp. 158, 248; while describing this “turban”, Evliyâ Çelebi uses the expressions “keşâni sarık” (p. 158) and “kâtip sarığı” (p. 248). Although the meaning of the first is not clear, the latter, which literally means “turban of secretary” is defined as “a white, simple and light one, easy to be rolled around the head” (Mehmet Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 2, Milli Eğitim Basımevi: İstanbul, 1983, p. 213).

³⁵ *Ημερολόγιόν των Τσακώνων*, Αρχείο Τσακωνιάς: Leonidio, 1954, pp. 10-11.

³⁶ Evliyâ Çelebi, vol. 8, 2003, p. 158.

³⁷ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı, ed. S. Koz), vol. 3, Yapı Kredi Yay.: İstanbul, 2006, p. 234.

³⁸ Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (S. A. Kahraman et al., ed. S. Koz), vol. 10, Yapı Kredi Yay.: İstanbul, 2007, p. 51.

Tsakonian Trade Networks and Istanbul

Apart from nearby towns, the principal destination of Tsakonian migrant workers – and entrepreneurs – was Istanbul³⁹. Their emigration beyond the boundaries of Tsakonia gained momentum especially throughout the 18th century, paving the way for an enormous business network, centred around the capital city⁴⁰. However, Tsakonians' trade relations with Istanbul seem to have started much earlier than these years, or perhaps went on incessantly since the Byzantine period. In any case, Greek merchants have always been a driving force of the Ottoman economy and finances, since the foundation of the Empire⁴¹, and Tsakonian entrepreneurs should be regarded in this context. For instance, as early as 1550, some inhabitants of the Tsakonian village of Hagios Ioannis were working in Istanbul as furriers⁴². Tsakonians' close commercial links with the capital city were sustained even during the Venetian rule between 1685-1715⁴³. The source of the exceptional wealth of the region, reflected by the number of mansions built during the 1720s, was its close economic links with the capital city⁴⁴. It was due to these links and the socio-economic conditions of the Venetian rule marked by colonialism, that Tsakonians preferred the Ottoman rule to Venice during this period⁴⁵. Like most of the Greeks of Morea, they also officially declared their position prior to the arrival of Ottomans and received a guarantee of immunity as of 1715⁴⁶.

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From the first decades of the 18th century – and especially from 1760 – onwards, Tsakonians also started to become active on the sea, enlarging their business networks across the Mediterranean⁴⁷. At the turn of the next century, wealth of the area was conspicuous, despite the scarcity of population, due to emigration. To quote from William M. Leake, who visited the area in 1806:

“Prasto has lately engaged in the commerce of Spetzia, has become rich, and now owns many ships. [...] many of the houses are empty, the inhabitants having migrated to Ydhra, Spetzia, or

³⁹ Στυλιανός Μερικάκης, “Το εμπόριο των Τσακόνων στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, τόμ. Α', 1956 (reprint: 2006), pp. 52-57; Στυλιανός Μερικάκης, *Προσφορά και δράσεις των Τσακόνων κατά την Επανάσταση του Εικοσιένα*, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, Τόμος Δ, 1974, p. 86; Σιακωτός, p. 267.

⁴⁰ Μερικάκης, 1974, pp. 85-86; Σιακωτός, pp. 270-271.

⁴¹ Halil İnalcık, “Greeks in the Ottoman Economy and Finances 1453-1500”. in J.S. Allen et al. (eds.), *To Ellinikon, Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.* vol. II, A. D. Karatzas: New York 1993, pp. 307-319.

⁴² Σιακωτός, p. 267.

⁴³ Δερνίκος, p. 21; Σιακωτός, pp. 268, 270.

⁴⁴ Μερικάκης, 1956, pp. 52-57; Σιακωτός, p. 270.

⁴⁵ Σιακωτός, pp. 276, 286-287, cf. Δερνίκος, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Σιακωτός, pp. 276-279, 292, 299.

⁴⁷ Μερικάκης, 1974, pp. 85-86.

*Constantinople. Prasto [...] now absorbs all the wealth and population of the neighbourhood [...] Their houses are spacious, well-built and well-furnished [...] The inhabitants gain their livelihood by keeping shops in Mistra, Anapli, Tripolitza, Spetzia, Constantinople; some traffic as far as Russia, while others are engaged in Spetziote ships, as sailors”.*⁴⁸

These observations are also confirmed by François Pouqueville (1770-1838), who was the French consul to Patras in the years 1815-1816. Pouqueville also notes that Tsakonian businessmen controlled the butter supply of Istanbul, which mostly originated from Crimea. Accordingly, Tsakonians’ monopoly over such a huge market was ensured by privileges granted by the Ottoman government⁴⁹.

Capital accumulation among Greek merchants gained momentum throughout the 18th century, and particularly during its second half⁵⁰. During this period, especially coastal and insular areas came to the foreground with ever-intensifying overseas trade networks. As an isolated area which was practically unreachable through overland routes, Tsakonia’s communication with outside world depended basically on maritime routes⁵¹, which made this area virtually an island. Lacking a hinterland, i.e. limited connection with inner parts of Morea, made it practically impossible for this area to become an export base⁵². However, its position with reference to the Archipelago, and especially to the islands of Spetses⁵³ and Hydra⁵⁴ enabled the Tsakonian entrepreneurs to engage in Mediterranean-wide maritime trade networks. Not only could they finance or man the ships run by these islands, they also managed to find new markets for Tsakonian wine, olive oil and livestock⁵⁵.

It was in such a context that from the second half of the 18th century onwards, coastal town of Leonidion started to grow as a local port and as the new centre of Tsakonia, to the expense of Prastos⁵⁶. By the beginning of 19th century, a customs house

⁴⁸ William Martin Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, vol 2, London, 1830, pp. 499, 504, 509.

⁴⁹ François C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyages de la Grèce*, vol. 4, Paris, 1826, p. 271; cf. Σιακωτός, pp. 272-273.

⁵⁰ Βασίλης Κρεμμύδας, “Όψεις της Τσακόνικης Κοινωνίας (1784-1821)”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, Τόμος Γ, 1969, p. 17.

⁵¹ Κρεμμύδας, 1969, p. 18.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Κρεμμύδας, 1969, p. 28.

⁵⁵ Leake, pp. 499, 504, 509; Δερνίκος, p. 22-23; Σιακωτός, pp. 268, 271.

⁵⁶ Κρεμμύδας, 1969, p. 18; Βασίλης Κρεμμύδας, *Το Εμπόριον της Πελοποννήσου στο 18^ο Αιώνα (1715-1792) (με βάση τα Γαλλικά Αρχεία)*, Athens, 1972, pp. 28, 32, cited by Σιακωτός, p. 270.

had already been functioning in Leonidion⁵⁷. Thanks to the efforts of Tsakonian businessmen, the area became one of the richest regions of Morea. Of these, especially Hatzipanagiotis-Politis Family from Prastos came to the foreground, members of which cooperated with Spetsiot sailors in maritime business⁵⁸. According to the archives of this family, their trade network extended from Marseille⁵⁹, Malta⁶⁰ and Livorno⁶¹ to Izmir, Black Sea and inner parts of Anatolia (Karamania)⁶². At the centre of this network extending from Rumania and Russia to Egypt and France was Istanbul⁶³, from where – according to the local tradition, rather than documents – the last part of the family name, Politis originates⁶⁴. This family was followed by other Tsakonian families, some of whom also invested to the ships of Hatzipanagioti⁶⁵, along with Spetsiot and Hydriot entrepreneurs⁶⁶.

It seems that capital accumulation among Tsakonian entrepreneurs and enrichment of the region came along with close cooperation and solidarity, thanks to which they managed to sustain their business network. It should also be noted, however, that this network originates from a deeply-rooted entrepreneurial tradition, far predating the trade boom of 18th century in the region, marked by the rise of Hydra and Spetses⁶⁷. In other words, although rise of Hydra and Spetses added momentum to the growth of Tsakonian entrepreneurs' business networks in the early modern period, roots of Tsakonian entrepreneurial tradition go farther back in history, as their overseas activities as early as mid-16th century clearly show. Accordingly, the aforementioned businessmen from Hagios Ioannis, dealing in fur trade in Istanbul around 1550, contributed to the reconstruction of the Monastery of Metamorfoseos Sotiros Loukous, located in their homeland⁶⁸. Around one century later this business community was still in contact with the village of Hagios Ioannis. Accordingly, as of 1638, businessmen from the same village settled in Istanbul managed to have their village declared as a

⁵⁷ Μερικάκης, 1974, p. 88; Σιακωτός, p. 270.

⁵⁸ Μερικάκης, 1956, pp. 52-57; Κρεμμύδας, 1969, pp. 18-19; Σιακωτός, p. 273.

⁵⁹ Βασίλης Κρεμμύδας, “Η εμπορική αλληλογραφία του Κόνστα Χατζηπαναγιώτη (1821-1831)”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, Τόμος Δ, 1974, pp. 38, 40, 42, 50.

⁶⁰ Κρεμμύδας, 1974, p. 37.

⁶¹ Κρεμμύδας, 1974, pp. 35, 37-41

⁶² Κρεμμύδας, 1974, pp. 40-41.

⁶³ Μερικάκης, 1974, pp. 86-87; Σιακωτός, 273.

⁶⁴ Μερικάκης, 1956, p. 52; Κρεμμύδας, 1969, p. 19.

⁶⁵ Κρεμμύδας, 1969, pp. 20-22.

⁶⁶ Κρεμμύδας, 1969, pp. 22, 28.

⁶⁷ Σιακωτός, pp. 270-271.

⁶⁸ Σιακωτός, 267; cf. also: Σπύρος Κοκκίνης, *Τα μοναστήρια της Ελλάδος*, Estias: Athens, 1999, p. 93.

“patriarchical exarchate” (Πατριαρχική Εξαρχία)⁶⁹, a special status which apparently brought certain advantages such as tax exemptions⁷⁰. This example shows the way links between homeland and overseas were sustained over time.

The capital transfer had an enormous impact on the social and economic development of the area, inspiring a famous proverb from previous centuries: “The City (i.e. Istanbul) coins the aspers and Prastos cleans them up” – or according to another version: “... and Prastos turns them into castles”⁷¹. Castle- or tower-like houses (αρχοντικά, πύργοι) of this area still reflect the economic climax of 18th and 19th centuries⁷². During this period, besides private buildings, public investments by Tsakonian entrepreneurs increased enormously as well, such as building of new aqueducts, guesthouses, churches etc⁷³. Foreign architects and artists were invited to the region, to build monumental churches and very beautiful monasteries⁷⁴. As far as the monasteries in Tsakonia are concerned, especially 18th century witnessed an increase in the aesthetics and quality of construction⁷⁵.

The wealth generated by this network was also used in financing the Greek Revolution of 1821⁷⁶. Due to the conditions of the revolutionary period, relations with the centre of the Ottoman Empire entered into a problematic phase. At the outbreak of the uprising, for instance, around fifty merchants originating from Prastos left Istanbul, leaving behind their shops and capitals⁷⁷. Following the Revolution, Tsakonian entrepreneurs chose Piraeus as their commercial and industrial base – rather than much more active Syros – and contributed to the growth of Piraeus as the principal harbour of independent Greece⁷⁸. However, they also kept their connections with the Ottoman-controlled areas. Soon, their commercial activities in Istanbul recovered and the City

⁶⁹ Μάχη Παΐζη-Αποστολοπούλου, *Ο θεσμος της πατριαρχικής εξαρχίας, 14^{ος}-19^{ος} αιώνας*, Κέντρο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών, ΕΙΕ: Athens, 1995, pp. 64-65, 79, 85; Σιακωτός, 267.

⁷⁰ Παΐζη-Αποστολοπούλου, 1995, pp. 9, 103; cf. also: Μάχη Παΐζη-Αποστολοπούλου, *Ο Θάσος ως Πατριαρχική Εξαρχία*, Θεσσιακά, vol. 7, 1990-91, pp. 155, 158.

⁷¹ i.e.: “Η Πόλη βγάζει τ’άσπρα και ο Πραστός τα κάμει πάστρα”, or: “... ο Πραστός τα κάμει κάστρα” (Δερνίκος, p. 23; Μερικάκης, 1956, p. 53; Μερικάκης, 1974, p. 86).

⁷² Σταύρος Μαμαλούκος, “Το αρχοντικό του κυρ-Μανόλη Καραμάνου στον Πραστό Κυνουρίας”, Χ. Μπούρας (ed.), *Επώνυμα αρχοντικά των χρόνων της Τουρκοκρατίας*, Publ. Metsovo National Polytechnic: Athens, 1986, p. 125; Μερικάκης, 1956, p. 53; cf. also: Δημήτρης Φιλιππίδης, *Κυνουρία*, Melissa, 1985.

⁷³ Μερικάκης, 1956, p. 53.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Μερικάκης, 1974, p. 88.

⁷⁷ Θάνος Βαγενάς, “Ο Τσάκωνας αγωνιστής Γιαννάκης Σαραντάρης κι οι ανέκδοτες “Ιστορικές Σημειώσεις” του”, *Χρονικά των Τσακόνων*, Τόμος Γ, 1969, pp.118-119; Σιακωτός, 273.

⁷⁸ Μερικάκης, 1974, pp. 81-82.

continued to be the focal point of their ever-growing business networks throughout the second half of the 19th century. Especially the period between the years 1865 and 1885 witnessed the peak point of Tsakonians' trade activities here⁷⁹.

The richness generated here continued to be transferred to their homelands in the young Greek state⁸⁰, to be used not only for their private properties, but also for further investment and social development purposes⁸¹. Thus, notwithstanding the turbulent impact of the Greek Revolution, the region's socio-economic relations with Istanbul went on at an ever-increasing rate throughout the 19th century.

Tsakonian Settlements in Anatolia

Tsakonian migration to Marmara region did not only involve trade and entrepreneurship, some of migrants settled around here for agricultural purposes. The two villages inhabited by Tsakonians on the southern coast of the Marmara Sea are referred to as "Tsakonian Villages (Tsakonochoria) of Marmara". Thanks to Thanassis Kostakis's detailed work⁸², it is known that by the early 20th century, the residents of these villages spoke the Tsakonian dialect, a fact clearly indicating their origin in Morea. These villages located in a fertile area were called by their inhabitants as Vatika and Havutsi.

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The Vatika village located on the coast had a Turkish name as well, Musaca, Musakça or Misakça⁸³. The Greek name Vatika is related to the homonymous area in Laconia, from where the settlers of the village most probably originate⁸⁴. The current name of the village is Misakça.

The Turkish version of Havutsi is Havutça. The village is located in a valley, around four kilometres south of Misakça. Given the topography of the village, it is probable that the name originate from the word "hav(u)z" or (with alternative spelling) "havud" (حوض), which means: pit, basin etc. Today, both villages are part of Balıkesir

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Μερικάκης, 1974, p. 82.

⁸¹ cf. Σιακωτός, pp. 273-276.

⁸² Θανάσης Κωστάκης, *Βάτικα και Χαβουτσι: τα Τσακωνοχώρια της Προποντίδας*, Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών: Athens, 1979.

⁸³ In the maps of 19th century, alternative spellings of this name are given as follows: Mussatschköi, Musutcha (Heinrich Kiepert, *General-Karte von der europäischen Türkei*, Berlin, 1853; Heinrich Kiepert, *Special karte vom westlichen Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1890-92); cf. also Κωστάκης, 1979, p. 18.

⁸⁴ Κωστάκης, 1969, p. 44.

Province. In this area, Tsakonians from Kynouria used to live also in villages farther east, located near the Lake Ulubat⁸⁵.

In the villages of Misakça and Havutça, Greeks mostly of Tsakonian origin lived up until the first quarter of the 20th century. They left the area around 1922, two years before the population exchange. In Greece, those originated from Vatika settled in Servia, Kozani and those originated from Havoutsı settled in the village of Chionato of the Municipality of Akrites. On the other hand, Turkish refugees mainly from around Thessaloniki and Kavala settled in these villages⁸⁶. But as will be seen below, first Turkish refugees from Balkans settled in these villages arrived to the region much earlier, i.e. when these villages were still inhabited by Greeks.

The exact time of Tsakonian settlement in this area is not clear. Ari Çokona gives the time of Tsakonian settlement as 17th century⁸⁷. Referring to the linguistic details concerning the variant of Tsakonian spoken in these villages, and particularly emphasising the very well-preserved nature of the dialect, Kostakis suggests that the settlement should have taken place no earlier than the second half of the 17th century, and perhaps during the late 18th century, following the tumults in Peloponnese provoked by Orlov⁸⁸. Kostakis supports his argument also referring to the account of Evliyâ Çelebi on Tsakonia. As stated above, his account of the region in Morea, where the Tsakonian dialect is spoken, is much larger than today. According to Kostakis, this has to do with emigrations from the area. Departing from this, he argues that Tsakonians of these villages should have left Morea after Evliyâ Çelebi's visit. He also draws attention that the Greek name of Misakça clearly indicates the origin of the settlers of this village, i.e. Vatika area of Laconia, which is located *outside* the present confines of Tsakonia⁸⁹.

Migratory movements from continental Greece to Anatolia ensuing the Orlov revolt were also accelerated by the growing need for workforce throughout the 19th century, in especially western Anatolia⁹⁰. As suggested by Kostakis, these movements might involve also Tsakonians' migration from Peloponnese to Marmara. In any case,

⁸⁵ Σία Αναγνωστοπούλου, *Μικρά Ασία 19^{ος} αι.-1919. Οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες*, Ellinika Grammata: Athens, 1998, p. 215.

⁸⁶ Önder Balıkcı, Ahmet Pesen, *Bir Sevdâdır Bandırma*, Bandırma Belediyesi, 2010, p. 137.

⁸⁷ Ari Çokona, *20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri*, Literatür: Istanbul, 2016, p. 146.

⁸⁸ Κωστάκης, 1969, pp. 44, 47; Κωστάκης, 1979, pp. 36-38.

⁸⁹ Κωστάκης, 1969, pp. 46-47; Κωστάκης, 1979, p. 37.

⁹⁰ As of early 20th century, memories of these migratory movements from Peloponnese and Aegean islands were still alive among the Greeks of Asia Minor; cf. for instance: Μ. Θαβωρίτης, *Μνημές Μικρας Ασιας*, Athens, 1972, p. 229.

throughout the 19th century, the area around these villages witnessed an ever-increasing immigration of Greeks from continental Greece and Aegean islands⁹¹.

However, it seems also probable that the migration might have taken place during the Ottoman-Venetian wars of the late 17th century, which had also an extremely destabilising impact on the area. As was the case with Karystia region of Evvoia, from where migratory movements headed towards Karaburun Peninsula across the Aegean⁹², it is highly probable that depopulation of war-torn areas such as Vatika in Peloponnese have to do with this period. Indeed, as of 16th century, Vatika was a military settlement where a local unit of Greeks were assisting the Ottoman garrison against Venetian forces, in return for full tax exemption⁹³. Thus, it is highly probable that as Ottoman forces retreated from the area during the Venetian occupation, inhabitants of Vatika might have emigrated to Anatolia, taking refuge in these villages. Indeed, this hypothesis fits into suggestions by both Kostakis and Çokona.

References to these villages are quite rare in the sources concerning historical routes in Anatolia; and this in contrast to other settlements in the region⁹⁴. The same applies to exhaustive studies on Greek settlements of Asia Minor listing all the villages, districts (mahalas) etc. Most of them seem silent on these two villages⁹⁵, except for a recent study by Ari Çokona, who gives all the relevant details on both villages, including their origin, dialect and details on daily life⁹⁶.

In the Ottoman registers (tahrir defteri) of the year 1516, the names of both villages appear, being recorded under the “vilayet of Biga”. According to these registers, “Musaca” had 43 and Havutça had 45 houses⁹⁷. As might be guessed, there

⁹¹ Nikos Nakracas, *Anadolu ve Rum Göçmenlerin Kökeni* (trans. İbrahim Onsunoglu), Belge Yay.: Istanbul, 2003, pp. 122-123.

⁹² Δ. Χατζηκωνσταντής, *Ιστορία της Καρύστου*, Athens, 1947, p. 51; Μαριάννα Κορομηλά, Θεοδωρή Κοντάρια, *Ερυθραία. Ένας ευλογημένος μικρόκοσμος στην καρδιά της Ιωνίας*, Panorama: Athens, 1997, p. 95; Μιχάλης Ιντζές, *Ανατολικά της Χίου, Δυτικά της Σμύρνης*, Vaniat, Thessaloniki, 2006, pp.85-86.

⁹³ Bülent Akyay, “Evlüyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesine göre Benefşe (Menekşe)”, *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi / Journal of Turkish World Studies*, 11/2 winter 2011, p. 137.

⁹⁴ cf. Franz Taeschner, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına göre Anadolu Yol Ağı* (trans. N. Erceli), Bilge: Istanbul, 2010, pp. 199-200.

⁹⁵ cf. Παντελής Κοντογιάννης, *Γεωγραφία της Μικράς Ασίας*, Athens, 1921 (reprint: 2000), pp. 256-265; Αναγνωστοπούλου, pp. 212-218, 636-644; Nakracas, pp. 122-125.

⁹⁶ Çokona, pp. 146-147.

⁹⁷ Recep Dündar, “59 Nolu Tahrir Defterine göre Biga Sancağı’nda Yerleşim ve Nüfus”, *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, vol. 6/2, p. 1143.

seems no reference on the origin of villagers. In any case, during this period as well, human circulation and migratory movements in this area were not rare⁹⁸.

In the Ottoman Archives, eight documents were found on the so-called “Tsakonian villages of Marmara”. Although they are not so detailed as to give information on daily life, customs, language etc, they reflect the last and the most difficult years of Tsakonians in the area.

The first two documents sent by the Interior Ministry to the sanjak of Biga, date from the early months of 1892. The document is about the complaints of the inhabitants of Misakça, of violations of their pastures by Turkish refugees (*muhacirler*). These refugees probably settled in the area after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. The first document is dated of January 5, 1892⁹⁹ and the second is of March 8, 1892.¹⁰⁰ In both documents there are references to a letter of complaint by the inhabitants of Misakça, signed by the *muhtar* of the village. On the document dated of January 5, his name is referred to as “Pavli, son of Mihali”. From both documents, it is understood that the complaints were not taken seriously by the local authorities, and as such the issue was referred to the Interior Ministry. Thereupon, the Ministry sent two successive documents to Biga, with the mandate to conduct detailed research of the matter and to solve the problem. Unfortunately, outcome of the process is unknown. It appears however, such problems were rare. According to Kostakis, except for tumultuous periods like those of Balkan and the First World Wars, the Greeks of these villages had neither problems nor special relations with Turkish inhabitants of the neighbouring area, since probably they lived in isolation¹⁰¹.

The other documents date from the years of the First World War. The one dated of July 8, 1915 is about temporary displacement of the inhabitants of these villages to Gönen¹⁰². This event is remembered by the inhabitants of these villages as the “first refuge”¹⁰³. According to the document, residents of these villages, a total of 405 people, 127 families were to be settled temporarily in Gönen, apparently because of security concerns caused by the War¹⁰⁴. As we understand from another document which will be

⁹⁸ Dündar, p. 1139.

⁹⁹ BOA, DH.MKT., 1907/111.

¹⁰⁰ BOA, DH.MKT., 1929/118.

¹⁰¹ Κωστάκης, 1979, pp. 27, 44-46.

¹⁰² BOA, DH.ŞFR., 479/28.

¹⁰³ Κωστάκης, 1979, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ cf. Κωστάκης, 1979, pp. 45-47.

given below, their temporary settlement took place in Sarıköy, where already 379 Greeks were living with 2732 Turks¹⁰⁵.

Another document, dated of August 17, 1916, concerns in turn settlement of Turkish refugees in the region. The document was sent via telegram to the governorship (mutasarrıflık) of Çanakkale by the Housing Branch (iskân şubesi) of the General Directorate for Nationalities and Refugees (Aşâir ve Muhâcirîn Müdüriyyet-i Umûmiyyesi) of the Interior Ministry. Accordingly, the ministry asked to be informed as soon as possible on how many empty houses there were in the village Misakça, appropriate for Turkish refugees to settle there¹⁰⁶. But it is not clear whether their settlement was decided and carried out. In any case, Turkish refugees were not settled in this village before 1922. As noted above, although refugees from the Balkans started arriving in the area immediately after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, most of them settled in these villages after 1922. Kostakis confirms this clearly, according to whom, until 1922, the inhabitants of both villages were only Christians, except for a customs officer in Misakça and a few gendarmes¹⁰⁷. He gives the date on which inhabitants of both villages left the area for Greece on a small steamer as 26th of August 1922¹⁰⁸.

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From another document, dated February 2, 1919, also sent via telegram by the same authority, it is understood that “the first refuge” of the Greeks of both villages lasted about three and a half years¹⁰⁹. According to this document, it was decided that Greek inhabitants of these villages return to their homes and necessary measures for their recovery be taken¹¹⁰.

Nevertheless, repatriation was not easy. According to a document dated of February 22, 1919 sent by the General Directorate of Security (Emniyet-i Umumiyye Müdüriyyeti) to the province of Çanakkale, Greeks of both villages who still resided in Sarıköy *nahiye* of Gönen, attempted to get back but they could not succeed because of the reaction of Turkish refugees already established there¹¹¹. It seems that these problems persisted for several months. In another document from the same authority

¹⁰⁵ Αναγνωστοπούλου, p. 641; Çokona gives the number of Greek residents here as 420 (Çokona, p. 146).

¹⁰⁶ BOA, DH.ŞFR., 67/30.

¹⁰⁷ Κωστάκης, 1969, p. 42; Κωστάκης, 1979, pp. 24-26.

¹⁰⁸ Κωστάκης, 1969, pp. 41-42.

¹⁰⁹ cf. Κωστάκης, 1979, pp. 45-46.

¹¹⁰ BOA, DH.ŞFR., 96/41.

¹¹¹ BOA, DH.ŞFR., 96/258.

dated of April 6, 1919, local authorities were given order to check whether the Greek refugees came back and were able to resettle in their homes¹¹².

Another document, dated of March 13, 1919 gives details on the security problems in the area. Written by the governor (mutasarrıf) of Çanakkale to the Interior Ministry, the document is about activities of irregular armed groups in the area, which threaten the villagers¹¹³. Accordingly, during the night of 7-8 March 1919, an armed gang (çete) of Greeks arrived Misakça by small boats and attempted to attack on the village. The three gendarmes there, with the help of villagers resisted and after a half-hour skirmish, irregulars withdrew¹¹⁴.

From what has been said under this last section, it becomes clear that the last years of the “Tsakonian villages of Marmara” witnessed a de facto process of population exchange, involving various types of displacement and migratory movements. Indeed, from the last quarter of 19th century onwards, the wider area of Marmara basin witnessed endless waves of Turkish refugees. If one doesn't count the wave of Muslim refugees following the Greek Revolution, who spread all over the Ottoman Empire, the first massive wave came along with the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, followed by another in 1880s from Thessaly. Needless to say, Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 witnessed another massive wave of Turkish refugees, triggering further tumults, to be exacerbated by the conditions of First World War. Thus, Turkish War of Liberation was the last phase of this long and extremely painful process, which eventually led to the official decision on population exchange between Turkey and Greece.

Concluding Remarks

The most typical characteristic of Tsakonia region in Peloponnese is isolation. As a mountainous and remote area located away from large urban centres, isolation seems to have been the destiny of this area for centuries. Thus, isolation determined the human geography of the region, with distinct language, culture and customs. This condition, like in other similar insular settings, paved way to labour migration and maritime entrepreneurship, resulting eventually vast trade networks across the Mediterranean and Black Sea. Throughout the Ottoman period, and even after the

¹¹² BOA, DH.ŞFR., 98/60.

¹¹³ BOA, DH.ŞFR., 620/55.

¹¹⁴ cf. Κωστάκης, 1979, pp. 42-43, 47.

independence of Greece, focal point of these networks had been Istanbul. From 16th to 19th centuries, Tsakonian businessmen who worked and invested mainly in and around Istanbul sustained their links with their homeland and contributed to the wealth of their villages and towns. It is due to these links and networks that Tsakonia became one of the wealthiest regions of Morea in 18th and 19th centuries.

Apart from business networks, there were also farming-based colonies across the Aegean, which were not part of these networks and as such, which had no close links with Tsakonia. They remained isolated where they emigrated and sustained their cultural characteristics. These are the Tsakonian-origin Greek settlements on the southern shores of Marmara region, which are referred to as “Tsakonochoria of Marmara”, with their distinct linguistic and cultural characteristics. These settlements were founded after migratory movements from Morea to this part of Anatolia probably around 17th-18th centuries, and probably due to political instability, security concerns and prospects of better living conditions.

Direct references to Tsakonia in Ottoman sources are quite rare. Apart from geographical and cartographical works, which provide indirect information on the region, the only source that gives highly valuable details on Tsakonia is Evliyâ Çelebi, from around mid-17th century. References in the Ottoman Archives on this area seem quite scarce as well, except for the indirect ones referring to the Tsakonian villages of Marmara. These documents enlighten some important aspects of the last period of Tsakonians’ life in that region. They also shed light on the details of transformation of demographic structure in the region, which looks like an informative sample of a huge area extending from Western Balkans to Eastern Anatolia.

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Appendix: Tsakonian Words recorded by Evliyâ Çelebi

words and phrases			Meaning in Modern Greek	Meaning in 17th c. Turkish, as given by Evliyâ Çelebi	Meaning in modern Turkish	English Meaning
Ottoman version (Evliyâ Çelebi, 1928)	Latin Alphabet version (Evliyâ Çelebi, 2003)	Alternative spellings				
انا	Ana	Ena	Ένα	bir	bir	one
دویا	Duya	doya	Δυο	iki	iki	two
ترویا	tiruya	truya, troya	Τρία	üç	üç	three
ترو	tero	tro, tru	Τέσσερα	dört	dört	four
پاندو	pando	Pandu	Πέντε	beş	beş	five
اکسو	akso	Ekso	Έξι	altı	altı	six
آفتو	ofto	afto, aftu	Επτά	yedi	yedi	seven
اوچتو	ohto	oçto, oçtu,	Οκτώ	sekiz	sekiz	eight
آنکو	anko	ango	εννέα	dokuz	dokuz	nine
دوقا	doka	Duka	δέκα	on	on	ten
آندی	andi	-	ψωμί	etmek	ekmek	bread
قوتا	Kota	Kuta	Θεός, Αλλάχ	Allah	Allah, Tanrı	God
خرسو	Hirso	-	Χριστός	Allah	İsa Mesih	Jesus Christ
مارییه	Mariya	Mariye	Παρθένος Μαρία, Παναγία	Meryem Ana	Meryem Ana	Mother Mary
ناررو	narvo	narro, narru	νερό	su	su	water
قالی	kali	-	ξύλο	odun	odun	wood
اوری	ori	uri	ματιά	bakmak	bakmak	look
دوغانی	duğani	doğani	σταρένιο ψωμί	buğdayetmeği	buğdayekmeği	wheat bread
چییا	çiya	-	άκρη	uc	uç	tip, end
شومو	şomo	şumo, şomu	τροφή	ta'âm	taam, yemek	food
فوقا	fuka	foka	κοιλιά	karın	karın	abdomen
اپشيله	ipşile	-	μάτι	göz	göz	eye
اونی	oni	Uni	γάιδαρος	eşek	eşek	donkey
مری	miri	Meri	γάτα	kedi	kedi	cat
شامری	samiri	şamri, şamiri	σήμερα	bugünkügün	bugün	today
طانجالا	tancala	-	σπίτια	evler	evler	houses
طانجه	tanca	Tance	σπίτι	ev	ev	house
أظانو	azanu	Azano	σήκω	kalk	kalk	stand up
ماتمی	matimi	matmi	μητέρα	ana	ana, anne	mother
شاتی	şatimi	Şatmi	κορίτσι	kız	kız	girl
ایزه می	izemi	-	γός	oğul	oğul	son
قمشی میینی	kaşimeni	kamşimini	κάθισε, κάτσε	otur	otur	sit down
ای یو	iyyo	eyyo, eyyu	κρύονερό	sovuksu	soğuksu	cold water
اومه خو	omehu	umeho, omeho	δεν υπάρχει, δενέχω;	yokdur	yoktur	there is no... I don't have...
ازراچی	izvaçi	izraçi, ezraçi	πηγαίνω	gitmek	gitmek	go