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The Architectural Transformation Of The Ottoman Provinces Under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, 1788-1822

Abstract

While recent movements in social and economic history encourage us to turn our gaze toward the provinces, the majority of the recent accounts of Ottoman art and architecture remain resolutely focused on the patronage of the imperial court in Istanbul. This thesis aims to expand this view, standing as the first analytical study devoted to the art and architecture of provincial notables in the Ottoman Empire. More specifically, this dissertation documents and analyzes the flourishing of cultural and architectural production on the empire's western frontier under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, who governed what is now Greece and Albania for more than thirty years (r. 1788-1822) during the so-called "Age of Revolutions." Ali Pasha could be considered part of a new class of provincial power-holders that began to emerge throughout the empire in the eighteenth century. By tracing the governor's capacity to commission Western-style portrait paintings or to construct urban architectural complexes including palaces, mosques, and even Christian monasteries, this thesis demonstrate that this shift in the political order translated into new, localized strategies for display and representation that both responded to and challenged conventions of architectural patronage established in Istanbul. A diverse range of evidence including architectural monuments, epigraphic inscriptions, European diplomatic sources and archival documents in both Ottoman Turkish and Greek uncovers the significant role that a provincial actor like Ali Pasha played in building theaters of influence outside of the palace system.

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THE ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN PROVINCES UNDER

TEPEDELENLI ALI PASHA, 1788-1822

M. Emily Neumeier

A DISSERTATION

in

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For my mother and father, Ms. Mary and Dr. N

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ABSTRACT

THE ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN PROVINCES UNDER TEPEDELEENLI ALI PASHA, 1788-1822

Emily Neumeier

Renata Holod

While recent movements in social and economic history encourage us to turn our gaze toward the provinces, the majority of the recent accounts of Ottoman art and architecture remain resolutely focused on the patronage of the imperial court in Istanbul. This thesis aims to expand this view, standing as the first analytical study devoted to the art and architecture of provincial notables in the Ottoman Empire. More specifically, this dissertation documents and analyzes the flourishing of cultural and architectural production on the empire's western frontier under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, who governed what is now Greece and Albania for more than thirty years (r. 1788-1822) during the so-called "Age of Revolutions." Ali Pasha could be considered part of a new class of provincial power-holders that began to emerge throughout the empire in the eighteenth century. By tracing the governor's capacity to commission Western-style portrait paintings or to construct urban architectural complexes including palaces, mosques, and even Christian monasteries, this thesis demonstrates that this shift in the political order translated into new, localized strategies for display and representation that both responded to and challenged conventions of architectural patronage established in Istanbul. A diverse range of evidence including architectural monuments, epigraphic

inscriptions, European diplomatic sources and archival documents in both Ottoman Turkish and Greek uncovers the significant role that a provincial actor like Ali Pasha played in building theaters of influence outside of the palace system.

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INTRODUCTION

A Theater of Fortune and Triumph

This dissertation is a spatial and cultural history of the westernmost frontier of the Ottoman Empire under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, who governed most of what is now northern Greece and southern Albania for more than thirty years, from 1788 until 1820 CE (Fig. 1 & 2). During his time as governor, Ali Pasha ushered the region into an age of prosperity, with his capital of Ioannina serving as a center for the so-called Greek Enlightenment as well as a commercial hub for merchants hailing from Malta to Trieste. An Albanian Muslim descended from a family of local notables, Ali Pasha enjoyed a precipitous rise to authority in his youth.¹ The governor would eventually come to rub shoulders with the likes of Lord Byron and Napoléon, who took great interest in this individual situated at the geographic intersection of Western Europe and the Ottoman realms. Ali Pasha was also quite an active builder, whose numerous architectural interventions—from palace complexes to coastal fortifications—shaped several cities in the region as we know them today. This is particularly the case for Tepelena, Gjirokaster, Preveza, and Ioannina, whose dramatic profile of a towering citadel jutting out onto Lake Pamvotis was the result of several building campaigns launched by the governor (Fig. 3).

As a historian of art and architecture, I am most interested in Tepedelenli Ali Pasha because, among the provincial governor class, he is the most prolific patron of architecture in the history of the Ottoman Empire. There are, of course, other names and

¹ Ali Pasha's formational years have been painstakingly reconstructed by Dionysios (Dennis) Skiotis in "From Bandit to Pasha: First Steps in the Rise to Power of Ali of Tepelen, 1750-1784," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 3 (Jul., 1971), 219-244.

buildings that come instantly to mind when thinking of examples of regional architecture in the Ottoman provinces: the palace of Ishak Pasha in Doğubeyazit, the mosque of Mehmed Ali Pasha in the Cairo citadel, the Khan of As'ad Pasha al-'Azm in Damascus. It is not my intention to insist that Tepedelenli Ali Pasha was unique; in fact, I would like to propose that we should understand him as part of a more general phenomenon of provincial power-holders in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who carved out and defined their territory through their patronage of architecture. Yet, Ali Pasha remains an exemplar of this trend, seemingly leaving no corner of his realm untouched. In his own name and with his own funding, Ali Pasha built city walls, palaces, gardens, fortifications, mosques, dervish lodges, roads, waystations, and even a church or two. No other provincial power-holder was able to build as much or shape as deeply the world around him. This dissertation seeks to reconstruct and understand this world, and how it came to be.

There are many reasons why the story of patronage in the provinces, and, more specifically, the patronage of Ali Pasha, has been left largely unwritten. One of these reasons is that these spaces of provincial patronage have in many cases almost completely vanished. In his day, Ali Pasha was a divisive figure at the Ottoman court, and in the end he lost his life at the hands of the sultan's army. Quite a few of Ali Pasha's constructions were lost or damaged in the immediate aftermath of his execution. Thus, while this dissertation is about the governor's rise to authority, the narrative of Ali Pasha's architecture is also necessarily linked with his equally dramatic fall. Even though this study examines material that was constructed only about two hundred years ago, in many instances I have had to adopt methodological strategies from fields like

archaeology and anthropology as I attempt to locate and interpret buildings that no longer exist today.

Ali Pasha's long reign ended in 1822, when he was removed from his position and killed by order of Sultan Mahmud II.² The governor's considerable military strength, as well as his active involvement in European politics, eventually made him a liability in the eyes of Istanbul. When the sultan ordered his immediate deposition, Ali Pasha, still hoping to negotiate some kind of peaceful resolution, resolved to bunker down in his fortified palace complex within the Ioannina citadel. As the Ottoman troops made their way to the city to besiege the bastions, the British consul William Meyer observed in a dispatch to London that Ali Pasha, despite his sons' appeals to flee, "desired to meet his fate in the capital of that country, which [had] been the theater of his fortunes and his triumphs."³ After a protracted siege lasting about two years, the sultan's men finally managed to capture and behead the "Lion of Ioannina."

I have adopted Meyer's description of Ali Pasha's territory as a "theater of fortune and triumph" for the title of this introductory chapter, as this phrase succinctly frames the driving question of this project: how does a shift in the political order lead to, and is engendered by, the emergence of a new breed of architectural patron within the Ottoman Empire? By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman provinces had

² Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, hereafter BOA), Istanbul, HAT 400/21018a (17 Cemaziyelevvel 1237 H/ 9 February 1822 CE). Dionysios Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix: Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution" (Unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 1971), 179-180.

³ William Meyer to Thomas Maitland, Preveza (6 May 1820), published in Eleutherios Prevelakis and Kallia Kalliataki Merticopoulou, ed., *Epirus, 'Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution: Consular Reports of William Meyer from Preveza* (Athens: Akademia Athenon, 1996), 104.

in fact become a series of “theaters” in which local rulers, such as Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, laid claim to their power through extensive building programs.

Ali Pasha’s architectural legacy has also been complicated by the emergence of the modern states of Greece and Albania, whose governments in the twentieth century adopted policies of destruction or neglect towards Ottoman-era monuments in keeping with each country’s nationalist ideology (Fig. 4 & 5). In Communist Albania, the Ottomans were condemned as a political regime defined principally by religion and a dynastic order.⁴ In Greece, the Ottoman period has been typically framed as a time of foreign “occupation.”⁵ The consequent lack of interest in preserving and studying Ottoman material in the twentieth century is further reinforced by the wealth of academic literature devoted to pre-historic and Classical sites, which have proven to be more effective vehicles for the construction of Greek and Albanian national identity.⁶ As a result, the architecture of Ali Pasha, a controversial figure who was born in Albania and died in Greece, tends to fall through the disciplinary cracks of Ottoman studies and surveys of Balkan history, which typically focus on a geography defined by twentieth-century national borders. By examining this provincial power-holder through the lens of

⁴ See Dritan Egro, *Historia dhe ideologjia: Një qasje kritike studimeve osmane në historiografinë moderne shqiptare* (Tirana: Instituti i Historisë, 2007).

⁵ This notion of occupation is embedded in the phraseology of modern Greek historians, who conventionally refer to the Ottoman period as the “Tourkokratia,” or “Turkish dominion.” The term “kratia,” which can simply be translated as “rule, dominion,” is used in Greek exclusively to indicate periods in which foreigners govern over the “indigenous” Greek population, a paradigm that implies that there was little to no overlap between these two putatively distinct groups: Venetokratia, Frangokratia, Vavarokratia, etc.

⁶ Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2007), 78-85.

architecture and, more broadly, space and landscape, this dissertation also offers a more syncretic view of life in this region during the age of budding nationalisms.

The Age of the ‘Ayan

The topic for this study began in Yozgat. Today a sleepy town of about 80,000 people in the central plains of Anatolia, Yozgat is quite remote, a three-hour drive from any major city, and a far cry from Turkey’s mega-urban sprawls of Istanbul or Ankara. It is precisely for this reason that, when I first visited the city in the summer of 2010, I was struck by the elegant yet weighty Baroque mosque situated in the heart of the modern town (Fig. 6 & 7). My encounter with this building launched in my mind a series of questions about the nature and mechanisms for architectural patronage in the Ottoman Empire. What were the political, ideological and economic forces driving the construction of such a mosque complex? And how could we explain the appearance of this structure in the seemingly furthestmost corners of the provinces?

The central congregational mosque in Yozgat was in fact built by the Çapanoğlu family, with the first phase of construction ending in 1779. This mosque served as the focal point of a wider effort on behalf of the Çapanoğlus to transform their home village of Yozgat into a veritable capital city in a matter of years.⁷ Like Ali Pasha, the Çapanoğlus were part of a wider phenomenon of provincial elites who held sway over large territories of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the nineteenth century—typically

⁷ Hakkı Acun, *Bozok Sancağı (Yozgat İli)’nda Türk Mimarisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 14-22; W.J. Hamilton, “Observations on the Position of Tavium,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 17 (1837), 76; Mehmet Duru, “Yozgat Çapanoğlu Camii ve Vakfiyeleri,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981), 71-89. I have presented a paper on the development of Yozgat under the Çapanoğlu family: “‘There is a Çapanoğlu Behind This’: Transformations in Patronage, Architecture and Urbanism in the Ottoman Provinces, 1779-1804” (Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, October 10-13, 2013).

referred to by scholars as *'ayan*. It has proven challenging for Ottoman historians to establish an all-encompassing definition for this group of notables, mostly due to an inherent diversity of backgrounds, leadership and organizational style, types of positions held, and relationship with the center. Yet it can be stated generally that, in the eighteenth century, the choicest offices and revenues that had previously been given to members of the Istanbul elite became available to provincial land-owners who were able to buy official titles outright or obtain them in exchange for service to the state. In this way, non-elite notables were incorporated into the Ottoman administrative apparatus on a regional level.

The rise of a new group of provincial administrators and the de-centralization of government appointments went hand in hand with two factors: the legalization of the life-term tax-farming grant (*malikane*) in 1695, and the growth of regional economies based on trade and the management of frequent wars that necessitated the transfer of troops, money and goods from one region to another.⁸ As the Ottoman government became increasingly embroiled in clashes with foreign powers and faced a rising deficit in the central treasury, it granted more autonomy to local notables who proved effective at quickly marshalling men and supplies. The rise of these provincial power-holders was a gradual process, and it was only in the last decades of the eighteenth century when a clear hierarchy formed, distinguishing larger and smaller *ayan* families. By the turn of the

⁸ Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994), 658-63; and Dina Rizk Khoury, "The Ottoman centre versus provincial power-holders: an analysis of the historiography," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Late Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (New York: Cambridge University, 2006), 140-43.

eighteenth century, a half dozen families spread throughout the empire managed networks of lesser notables from their regional bases of power (Fig. 8).

It was only in the 1960s that Ottoman provincial elites began to receive major treatment in the historical literature, exemplified by Albert Hourani's classic article "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables."⁹ While Hourani ultimately focused on the provinces of Greater Syria during the political reforms of the mid-nineteenth century (i.e. slightly later than the heyday of the *ayan*), his work was still influential in that it proposed writing history through the view of "patrician" politics, rather than from the court of the sultan.¹⁰ Taking his cues from social history and Marxist theory, Hourani observed the ability of urban notables to serve mediating roles in Ottoman governance and to develop patron-client relationships among the populace.

From the 1970s up through the 1990s, historians adopted this paradigm of the "politics of notables" to explore the *ayan*, focusing predominately on determining the socio-economic bases for this group's power. Scholars such as Gilles Veinstein, Bruce McGowan, Yuzo Nagata, and Halil İnalcık attempted to document and determine the extent to which access to foreign trade, tax-farming rights, and ability to acquire and form a large number of *çiftlik* (farming villages) contributed to the appearance and endurance of the *ayan* in the eighteenth century.¹¹ As a result, historians in the late-twentieth century

⁹ In *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. William Polk and Richard Chambers (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), 41-68.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 45. Also see James Gelvin, "The 'Politics of Notables' Forty Years After," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 40, no. 1 (Jun. 2006), 19-29.

¹¹ Yuzo Nagata, *Some Documents on the Big Farms (çiftlik) of the Notables in Western Anatolia* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1976); Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University,

held these provincial power-holders as the key for understanding the inner workings of the Ottoman state at the ground level.

There has been much debate about how to characterize these "greater" ayan in terms of their relationship with the Ottoman government.¹² Were they semi-autonomous power-holders? Or loyal servants to the sultan, acting as political intermediaries between the central government and its subjects? It is in this respect that analyzing the ayan in terms of their architectural patronage may prove to be the most instructive for historians. The extensive material record left by these families is an under-used resource for analyzing how they navigated their status and identity within a fluctuating administrative system. Answers to questions about space and architecture—for instance, whether an ayan was able or inclined to requisition building specialists from the center, or preferred working with more local workshops instead—serve as a kind of barometer for wider political dynamics. Additionally, precisely because the ayan were not part of the elite classes in Istanbul, their buildings are fraught with the aspirations endemic to any arriviste class looking to secure its legitimacy. In the midst of social upheaval and

1981), 171-72; Halil İnalçık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, *Çiftlik*s: State, Landlords and Tenants," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, eds. J.L. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (Leuven: Peeters, 1983), III, 124; Gilles Veinstein, "On the *Çiftlik* Debate," in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, eds. Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany: State University of New York, 1991), 35-56; Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 125-140.

¹² Robert Zens, who wrote his dissertation on Osman Pasvantoğlu of Vidin, has been particularly concerned with determining more specific classifications: "Ottoman Provincial Notables in the Eighteenth Century: A Comparative Study," in *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies: Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO) at the University of Zagreb*, ed. Ekrem Causevic, Nenad Moacanin, and Vjerran Kursar (Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2006), 245-52.

disorder, the ayan managed, seemingly against all odds, to initiate an explosion of building activity throughout the Ottoman territories.

There have always been government officials and local notables commissioning buildings in the Ottoman provinces. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, high officials would be sent to a province, set up public foundations (*vakıf*), and then in a few years time move on to their next position in another location. Local families also commissioned buildings, but typically possessed the means to fund only one or two foundations.¹³ By the eighteenth century, the financial capital concentrated in the hands of the ayan families enabled them to fund the construction of numerous public and private structures in a matter of two or three decades. In provincial capitals such as Ioannina, Manisa, Yozgat, and Damascus, large clusters of real estate including mansions, mosques, inns (*khan*), shops (*dükkan*), religious schools (*medrese*), and baths (*hamam*) formed multi-functional urban units. Such a prolific vision of patronage calls into question the paradigm of a decentralized Ottoman state; money may not have been flowing into the coffers of the imperial capital, but that does not mean it was not being put to good use.

For the ayan, these buildings were not simply static markers of their power but also performative spaces, where their authority was repeatedly renewed and activated through public and semi-public ceremonies. Scholars such as Tülay Artan and Shirine Hamadeh have already begun to explore eighteenth-century Istanbul as a site for the

¹³ Stefan Weber, "Changing cultural references: Architecture of Damascus in the Ottoman period (1516-1918)," in *Multicultural Urban Fabric and Types in the South and Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Maurice Cerasi, A. Petruccioli, A. Sarro, and Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2007), 200-1.

display of wealth and power through elaborate spectacle.¹⁴ My study aims to expand the discussion beyond the mansions and gardens along the Bosphorus in order to analyze how the ayan may have been engaging in similar practices within their provincial spheres.

“Ayan studies” have enjoyed a surge of interest in recent years. Karen Barkey gives pride of place to the ayan in her comparative history project that seeks to explain the longevity of the Ottoman Empire through its “machinery and mechanisms.”¹⁵ She reveals a flexible state open to constant brokerage and “negotiation” between imperial authorities and peripheries. Abandoning the traditional rise-decline model for the Ottoman Empire, she argues that the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries marked a turning point in Ottoman statecraft in the opening up of horizontal networks of political patronage in the provinces, but that this shift did not necessarily point towards systemic disintegration. In another recent monograph, Ali Yaycıoğlu takes up Barkey’s claim that the eighteenth century saw a profound change in the procedures of governance; still he contends that the new “social and political order...did not bring long-term stability.”¹⁶ Yaycıoğlu explores how, despite political uncertainty, riots, and revolution, the Ottoman state endured to become “a horizontal and participatory empire, in which

¹⁴ Shirine Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2007), especially 48-56; and Tülay Artan, “Architecture as a theatre of life: profile of the eighteenth century Bosphorus” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1989).

¹⁵ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 2008).

¹⁶ Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University, 2016), 13.

central and provincial actors combined to rule the empire together.”¹⁷

With this momentum of historical interest in provincial power-holders like Ali Pasha or the Çapanoğlu family, the time appears ripe for an investigation into how a “horizontal” empire played out in terms of the organization of space, landscape, and the built environment. There have already been important gestures towards answering this question. First and most notably is the work of Ayda Arel, whose 1993 article began a scholarly conversation about the intersections between political instability and architecture, in this case looking at the fortified “feudal” estates of the Cihanoğlu family in Aydın.¹⁸ Yet, despite further calls to examine “ayan architecture”¹⁹ and the appearance of a handful of regional catalogs documenting the buildings of some of these provincial dynasties,²⁰ there has been no large-scale attempt to interpret and analyze this new and wide-spread phenomenon in eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture.

Although this dissertation focuses on Ali Pasha and his architectural legacy, I have always kept an eye to the original questions and motivations that initially drew me to the present material. In other words, I try to remember that in order to arrive in Ioannina, I first had to go to Yozgat. Towards that end, I employ comparisons and references when appropriate to other examples of ayan architecture that I have

¹⁷ Idem, 2.

¹⁸ Ayda Arel, “Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-Classical Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 212-218.

¹⁹ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, “Architectural Patronage of Ayan Families in Anatolia,” in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete V*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University, 2005), 321-342.

²⁰ Acun, *Bozok Sancağı (Yozgat İli)’nda Türk Mimarisi and Tüm Yönleri ile Çapanoğulları ve Eserleri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2005). İnci Kuyulu, *Kara Osman-oğlu ailesine ait mimari eserler* (Erzurum, Turkey: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1996).

encountered during my research, in order to provide a broader context for Ali Pasha's architectural interventions and to underline the ways in which his efforts could be considered innovative, transformative, or conservative. Ali Pasha's star looms so large in the constellation of Greek and Albanian nationalist historiography, it is sometimes easy to forget that his story is an Ottoman one as well. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire could also be considered "horizontal" in that the provincial power-holders operating on the highest levels of wealth and regional governance were looking askance to their peers and were engaged in a competition to carve out their own territories of influence, defined by architectural nodes in the provincial landscape.

Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and His Realm

In the mid-eighteenth century, Ali Pasha was born into "the first-rank of Muslim Albanian aristocracy."²¹ Both his father and grandfather had served as the governors of the district (*sancak*) of Delvine.²² Ali's father died when he was still a young man, but he went on to forge his own path and distinguish himself in the military service of Kurt Ahmed Pasha, the governor of the district of Berat. Ali would ultimately butt heads with his patron, and worked to make contacts and raise enough funds to hire his own mercenaries. In 1784, he convinced the Porte with the support of Venetian diplomats to promote him to *mir-i miran* (a pasha of two tails, a military distinction) and governor

²¹ Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 41. There is some debate over when exactly Ali Pasha was born, most say 1750.

²² Within the Ottoman system of government, the empire was divided into provinces (*eyalet*), which were in turn divided further into smaller districts or sub-provinces (*sancak*). This system would change quite a bit after the modernization reforms. In the pre-Tanzimat era, the *sancak* was the most important unit of government administration in the provinces.

(*mutasarrıf*) of the Delvine district, following in the footsteps of his forebears.²³

In short order, Ali Pasha proceeded to expand his zone of influence by acquiring the titles to a number of other adjacent administrative districts, including the governorship of Trikala (Ott. Tırhala, 1786) and Ioannina (Ott. Yanya, 1788) as well as the position of *derbendler başbuğu* (Commander of the Mountain Passes) in 1787.²⁴ This last title was of particular importance, as it allowed Ali Pasha to place his own men to monitor all of the key mountain passes throughout the wider province (*eyalet*) of Rumelia, i.e. most of the southern Balkans. Thus, as the traveler Henry Holland surmised, Ali Pasha's "dominion has been derived, not from any transient effort of revolution, but from a slow and persevering system of aggrandizement, and a policy compounded of caution and enterprize, which has given pretence to usurpation and permanence to conquest."²⁵

Based in his capital of Ioannina, Ali Pasha continued to gather positions for himself and his family, including the districts of Eğriboz and Karli-ili for his son Muhtar Pasha around 1798-99, the province of the Morea (1807) and then the Trikala district (1812) for his eldest son Veli Pasha, and finally the district of Berat for Muhtar and his

²³ Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 47.

²⁴ Kemal Beydilli, "Tepedelenli Ali Pasa," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 40 (2011), 477; BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 29/1345 (29 Cemaziyelahir 1205 AH/ 5 March 1791 CE). A few years later, Ali Pasha arranged for his son Veli Pasha to be appointed in this position, in 1792-94: BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 853/36500 (29 Şaban 1213 AH/ 5 February, 1799). It appears, however, at some point that the position reverted back to his father, as Ali Pasha is referred to as the "*derbendler nezareti*" in 1812: BOA, Istanbul, C.DH. 22/1060 (10 Şevval 1227 AH/ 17 October 1812 CE). Ali Pasha was actually first appointed Yanya *mutasarrıf* in 1784, but was then removed from the position when the people of Ioannina revolted: Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 48.

²⁵ Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. During the Years 1812-1813* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815), 98.

other younger son Salih Pasha in 1811 (See Fig. 2).²⁶ Besides managing the collection of taxes in a considerable geographic area and ensuring that these revenues were sent on time to the sultan's treasury, Ali Pasha also proved himself to be indispensable to the Porte by maintaining a corps of troops that could be summoned and sent forth at a moment's notice.²⁷

This study is concerned with the way in which Ali Pasha's architectural efforts reified a brand of local identity politics. The question demands an explanation of localism or locality as it manifested itself in the provinces under Ali Pasha's governorship. The most logical starting point in defining the contours of the "local" would be the various administrative districts to which Ali Pasha and his sons laid claim. We can enumerate the names of these districts, but, nevertheless, determining the exact geographic boundaries of the territory remains a difficult task.

In this period, the Ottoman conception of space did not entail drawing lines on a map. Rather than relying on a graphic system, which could be imprecise and prone to dispute, the Ottomans defined empire through textual inventory. The state Ottoman archives in Istanbul are overflowing with lists upon lists: registers identifying a particular provincial district by its central capital city, then listing the numerous surrounding villages (*kariye*) that roughly determined the boundaries of the geographic unit. Working

²⁶ BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 853/36500 (29 Şaban 1213 H/5 February 1799 CE); TS.MA.d. 9901 (29 Receb 1227 H/ 8 August 1812 CE). National Archive, London, FO 78/58, J.P. Morier to Lord Howick, Zante, 19 March 1807. Memorandum from Ali Pasha, Ioannina (21 May 1811), published in *Archeio Ali Pasa: Sillogis I. Chotzi, Gennadeiou Vivliothikis tis Amerikanikis Scholis Athinon*, eds. Vasilis Panagiotopoulos and Dimitris Dimitropoulos, 4 Volumes (Athens: National Institute of Neohellenic Research, 2007), II, no. 571, 209-211.

²⁷ Ali Pasha, for example, was sent to put down other rebellious governors, such as Kara Mahmud Bushatli in Skodra and Osman Pasvantoğlu: Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix, 48.

with a register listing the hundreds of agricultural properties owned by Ali Pasha and his sons, I have launched a project to geo-locate these villages with GIS. One of the outcomes of this investigation is a methodology for understanding more precisely the makeup of provincial districts in the early modern Ottoman Empire (Fig. 9).²⁸

What we can say is that Ali Pasha and his sons eventually governed over a territory that approximately comprised what had once been the ancient regions of Epirus, Acarnania, and Thessaly, with the Ottoman districts falling along similar geographic boundaries, i.e. the Ionian Sea to the west, the Pindus mountains in the north, the Vermio and Olympus mountains to the east, and the Gulf of Corinth to the south (Fig. 10). This area—and, really, the Balkans in general—can be characterized as a system of plains and mountain ranges. Access from one micro-region to the next is restricted to key choke points through the mountains, hence the significance of Ali Pasha winning the title of Commander of the Passes.

Dramatically divided from the rest of Greece by the Pindus Mountains, Epirus (what is now north-west Greece and southern Albania) has maintained a long tradition of regionalism and even insularity well before the early nineteenth century. In the fourth and third centuries BCE, the area was ruled by the Epirote League, a loose federation of tribes.²⁹ After the Fourth Crusade, the Despotate of Epirus broke away from the

²⁸ This project will be introduced in detail in an article currently under preparation. I also debuted this project and my methodology in my paper: “Visualizing an Agro-economic Regime in Ottoman Greece and Albania with GIS” (Presented at the Digital Ottoman Platform workshop, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, June 19-25, 2016).

²⁹ N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 557-594.

Byzantine Empire, transforming into a self-governing entity.³⁰ Meanwhile, the Ottomans had to rely on a kind of *de facto* autonomy for this area from the very beginning of their rule in the fifteenth century; the historian Dennis Skiotis has pointed out that Ali Pasha could in fact be considered just one in a long line of “indigenous power elite” who had ruled over Ottoman Epirus for centuries.³¹

Ali Pasha was notable, however, in that he successfully consolidated a number of micro-regions and tribes of diverse language, ethnicity and creed under a coherent political order. The governor is the archetype of the Balkan strongman, savvy in tribal politics and winning both the fear and respect of the local populace by administrating with a firm hand. Ali Pasha himself highlighted his ability to unify this region as one of his great achievements as a governor. During an audience with the traveler Thomas Hughes, Ali Pasha boasted that “he had passed and repassed over all parts of [his country] in every season of the year, when a thousand muskets were aimed against his life; but that now we should find perfect security and tranquility diffused over the whole district.”³²

The *Alipasiada*, an epic poem commissioned by Ali Pasha in the early nineteenth century, picks up on this theme of the governor and his followers as the heralds of unity in the region. The narrator, Hacı Sehreti, writes:

³⁰ Myrto Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus: A Topography of Transformation, Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnanina, Greece* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 21.

³¹ Skiotis, “The Lion and the Phoenix,” 16. Also see the Pit for Religious chapter for conquest citation. Also see Machiel Kiel, “Yanya,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 43 (2013), 317-321.

³² Thomas Smart Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, 2 Volumes (London: J. Mawman, 1820), I, 474.

I tell of the wondrous deeds of all of the noted warriors (*gazades*)
Who performed these [acts] brilliantly [in the service] of these viziers.
With my pen I tell of the things they have done,
Giving the Albanians and Rumelians order (*nizami*).³³

The poem itself—an epic folk song written in the Epirote Greek dialect by a Muslim in Ali Pasha’s court—already highlights the complexity of local identity in the region. Meanwhile, this passage highlights how the vizier framed his claims to legitimacy by deploying the wider and deeply Ottoman concept of *nizam* (order, system, regularity, law), a familiar construct used by the Ottoman sultans to make their own claims to power, perhaps most notably in the contemporaneous *Nizam-i Cedid* (New Order) reforms instituted by Sultan Selim III.³⁴

Bringing the people of Epirus together under a single banner was a long, drawn-out process. Perhaps, Ali Pasha’s greatest coup in this regard was the conquest in 1802 of the Souliotes, an impregnable mountain community who had previously refused to recognize his authority as governor. Another significant move towards political expansion was Ali Pasha’s victory in a long internecine dispute with Ibrahim Pasha, the governor of Berat, resulting in the Porte’s removal of Ibrahim from his position in 1812 and the ceding of the district to Ali Pasha. Indeed, the *Alipasiada* noted the ability of the governor

³³ Quoted from the version of the *Alipasiada* as published in K.N. Sathas, ed., *Istorikai Diatrivai* (Athens: A. Koromilas, 1870), 129. There are several manuscript versions of this poem; I know of at least three copies in the Gennadius Library and National Library in Athens, as well as a copy in the National Archives in Tirana. Although the different versions generally hold to the same narrative, there is a good deal of variation in terms of individual couplets, with deletions and additions being made as part of the oral transmission process.

³⁴ For a discussion of Ottoman statecraft framed by the concept of *nizam*, see Gottfried Hagen, “Legitimacy and World Order,” in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 55-58.

To usher in the age (*devri*) of Ali Pasha in all of the towns (*kasabades*),
Where they desire to make conflict (*nizades*) with this [man].³⁵

In the face of almost constant resistance, how did the vizier consolidate power throughout the region, ushering in “the age of Ali Pasha,” and what was the role of architecture in this process? It is important to note that the majority of the buildings discussed in this thesis are concentrated in Epirus (the provincial districts of Yanya, Delvine, and Avlonya/Berat), the heartland of Ali Pasha’s realm. From the governor’s port city in Preveza to his hometown of Tepelena, Ali Pasha commissioned fortifications, residences, and religious foundations—all in a homogenous, recognizable style—to secure a new, unifying order.

Ali Pasha’s unique geographic position on the western frontier of the Ottoman Empire made him a leading protagonist in the Eastern Question, and his putative role in the Greek Revolution has given rise to a vast literature on the governor of Ottoman Epirus. These political contingencies meant that the region under question experienced an unprecedented “opening” to the West, with both antiquarians and diplomats from Western Europe arriving in Ali Pasha’s realm and circulating throughout the area. During the governor’s rule, foreign consuls from Britain, France, and Austria were stationed at the court in Ioannina. The dual strands of Romanticism and Philhellenism prevalent in the governor’s own day led to an explosion of literature in nineteenth-century Western Europe preoccupied with Ali Pasha as the quintessential Oriental despot.³⁶ The myth of

³⁵ Sathas, ed., *Istorikai Diatrivai*, 328.

³⁶ Perhaps the most famous example is Lord Byron’s epic poem in which Ali Pasha is a protagonist: Lord Byron (George Gordon), *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: A Romaunt* (London: Thomas Davison, 1812). Alexandre Dumas included a sensational tale about Ali Pasha in his collection of crime stories: *Crimes célèbres*, 8 Volumes (Paris: Administration de librairie, 1839-42), VII and VIII. There was also a British

Ali Pasha in Western Europe endured into the first half of the twentieth century, with the most well-known popular biography of the governor being William Plomer's *Ali the Lion* (1936).³⁷ A later academic noted in regards to this European fascination with Ali Pasha that "a legend full of blood and thunder grew up around the 'Mahometan Bonaparte,' so that however readable these books are, they are seldom history."³⁸

Running alongside these popular narratives surrounding the life of Ali Pasha is a varied historiography of a more academic bent. Several decades after Ali Pasha's death, the scholar Panagiotis Aravantinos (d. 1870), who primarily lived and worked in Epirus when it was still under Ottoman rule, penned what is one of the most important biographies of the governor.³⁹ What makes Aravantinos's history valuable is that the author utilized not only the numerous accounts of Western travelers who frequented Ali Pasha's court, but also Greek chronicles and local documents to which he had access. About a century later, the historian Dennis Skiotis forged new territory by examining Ali Pasha according to both Greek chronicles as well as documents from the State Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, but unfortunately he never published his thesis and the full scope of

theater production of Ali Pasha's life staged one year after the governor's execution: John Howard Payne, *Ali Pacha; or, The signet-ring. A melo-drama, in two acts, as performed at Covent-Garden Theatre, London* (New York: E.M. Murden, 1823).

³⁷ William Plomer, *Ali the Lion* (London: J. Cape, 1936). In terms of popular biographies, there is also Gabriel Remérand, *Ali de Tébélen: Pacha de Janina (1744-1822)* (Paris: Paul Geuthrer, 1928); and Stoyan Christowe, *The Lion of Yanina; A narrative based on the life of Ali Pasha, despot of Epirus* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1941).

³⁸ Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 8. The "Mahometan Bonaparte" moniker comes from Lord Byron.

³⁹ The volume was published posthumously: Panagiotis Aravantinos, *Istoria Ali Pasa tou Tepelenli* (Athens: Katastimaton, 1895).

his work has not received the attention it deserves.⁴⁰ The best-known volume on Ali Pasha to contemporary academics, however, is Katherine Fleming's *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (1999).⁴¹ Fleming primarily takes up the cultural representation of Ali Pasha among Europeans by examining diplomatic archival sources as well as the published travel accounts. Reading these sources against the grain, she highlights the tension of this external Orientalizing gaze against what she argues is Ali Pasha's own mission to present himself as a capable administrator and to use these mythologizing forces to his own advantage.

This dissertation builds upon this previous scholarship not only by examining Ali Pasha according to categories of space and the built environment, but also by bringing together and triangulating a wide range of sources that have thus far received scant scholarly attention. I begin with the material record itself. In the summer of 2012, I made my initial research trip to Ioannina, followed by extended field surveys in Greece (2013 & 2014) and Albania (2013 & 2015). During these trips, I had the opportunity to track down, examine, and photograph what is left of Ali Pasha's architectural legacy, with the assistance of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, the Greek Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, and the Institute of Monuments in Albania. When I set out to write a history of Ali Pasha's architecture, my first task was a simple one: to locate every building with which the governor was directly associated. This became the basis of the gazetteer that is included as an appendix to this study. For the purposes of

⁴⁰ Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix." His 1971 short article "From Bandit to Pasha" is often cited in the secondary literature on Ali Pasha.

⁴¹ Katherine Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1999).

this project, I defined “patronage” as ordering initial construction as well as appropriating and/or renovating earlier structures.

In between these trips in the field, I also conducted research in various archival collections throughout Europe. I have made extensive use of the diplomatic reports from the British consuls who were stationed in Ioannina and Preveza during Ali Pasha’s rule, which are now located at both the National Archive as well as the British Library in London.⁴² These eye-witness accounts are invaluable in that they provide an alternative view to the published European travel narratives. While the travel narratives—also immensely valuable for the study of Ali Pasha—were of course composed after the fact, sometimes several years after a particular journey, the diplomatic correspondence between Ioannina and London has more of a sense of immediacy as consuls fired off missives monthly or even weekly while events unfolded in Ali Pasha’s court. The diplomatic record also offers a great deal more information than the travel accounts in regards to military constructions; after all, one of the principal missions of these British agents was to ensure Ali Pasha’s friendship with the crown and to monitor the testy situation between the British, French, Russian and Ottoman forces on the Ionian Sea.

In addition to this European view on Ali Pasha’s building activity, I have also delved into the State Ottoman Archives in Istanbul as well as the archives of the Ministry of Pious Endowments in Ankara. Aside from the collection of imperial orders tracking

⁴² The British consuls and diplomatic agents stationed in Ali Pasha’s territory were John Phillip Morier (1803-1810), David R. Morier (Deputy Consul 1807-1808), William Martin Leake (Lieutenant, 1803-1807, 1808-1810), George Foresti (1809-1812), James Cocks (1818-1819), and William Meyer (1819-1835). Technically, consular materials should reside in the National Archive, within the archival collection of the Public Records Office. But, as I learned during my field work, it was rather common for foreign service officers to hold on to correspondence after they were decommissioned, and, as a result, some of this material entered the British Library as part of personal archival collections.

Ali Pasha's actions and movements (*Hatt-i Hümayun*), these archives are most valuable in that they contain a score of registers recording the movable and immovable property of the governor as well as his pious endowments (*vakıf*). By perusing such registers, most of which have never previously been published, I have been able to identify and glean socio-economic information about a number of Ali Pasha's public foundations, some of which no longer stand and otherwise have left no other trace in the material or archival record. In a few cases, I was able to use details about a particular building found in the Ottoman archives to locate a previously unidentified monument in the field.

Besides the European and (state) Ottoman archival documentation, this dissertation has also benefited greatly from an extraordinary local resource on Ali Pasha's governance in Epirus, and that is the archive of the vizier's own chancery. This collection of approximately 1,600 documents, written for the most part in demotic Greek, today resides in the Gennadius Library in Athens. Due to the often turbulent nature of the transition from empire to nation state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these kinds of regional archives are quite rare in Ottoman studies, a field often critiqued for its resolute reliance on the archival documentation in Istanbul, an accident of survival that demands creative solutions from scholars hoping to avoid a top-down, state-centric view on history. In addition to spending time at the Gennadius Library, I have also made use of the recent publication of the Ali Pasha Archive by the Hellenic National Research Foundation, a resource yet to be fully exploited by Ottoman historians.⁴³ In addition to this archival collection that provides more of a ground-level view of the vizier's

⁴³ See Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*. In his recent volume, Yaycıoğlu notes the potential value of Ali Pasha's archive at the Gennadius: *Partners of the Empire*, 89.

architectural patronage, I also explore epigraphic inscriptions, Greek folk songs, and contemporary literary works when appropriate to round out the local reception of Ali Pasha's building endeavors. By bringing together this multiplicity of sources, therefore, I have set out to draw one of the richest historical portraits of the governor to date.

Approaching Ottoman Architecture from the Provinces

The architecture of the Ottoman Empire has largely been defined by Istanbul, particularly the large mosque complexes dotting the Golden Horn, whose slender minarets and wide domes lend the city its celebrated silhouette. While, in many ways, the capital served as a microcosm of empire, the narrative of one city's urban development cannot adequately account for a geographic territory that once spanned three continents. Scholars such as Heghnar Watenpaugh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu have begun to address this issue by exploring the "Ottomanization" of the provinces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereby architectural forms developed by court workshops in Istanbul were disseminated and replicated throughout the empire, announcing the supremacy of Ottoman suzerainty.⁴⁴ Yet what happened subsequently in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, traditionally characterized as a time of imperial decline and decentralization of power in the provinces, remains relatively unexamined—a blank space on the map of architectural history.

⁴⁴ Heghnar Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 9-10. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "In the Image of Rûm": Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 70. Also see Irene Bierman, "Franchising Ottoman Istanbul: The Case of Ottoman Crete," in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: "A Supra-National Heritage,"* eds. Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur (Istanbul: YEM, 2001), 199-204; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 70-78.

This blank space is the result of a persistent perspective ultimately focused on the sultan and imperial patronage emanating from Istanbul. Because sultanic authority extended less powerfully into the provinces by the eighteenth century, this lens does not fully elucidate the scope of architectural activity in this later period. In his recent synthetic overview on the architecture of the Ottoman Empire, the art historian Doğan Kuban contends that “In Ottoman history, a clear distinction must be made between architectural activity in the capital and architectural activity in the provinces. It was in the capital that the history of Ottoman architecture was written.”⁴⁵ A more fruitful history of Ottoman architecture, however, must take into account hybridity across regional spaces and consider provincial patronage patterns of socio-political actors beyond the palace.⁴⁶

My project seeks to offer an alternative narrative of patronage by chronicling the flourishing of building activity at the hands of provincial power-holders. I argue that this new group of administrators were responsible for transforming the architectural fabric of towns all over the empire from the beginning of the eighteenth century. This study thus also provides an opportunity to better study the Ottoman city in the early modern period, a historiographical complement to the preponderance of academic literature on modernization efforts in late-nineteenth-century cities throughout the empire.⁴⁷ These

⁴⁵ Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture* (Woodbridge: Antique Collector’s Club, 2010), 571. English translation of *Osmanlı Mimarisı* (Istanbul: Yapi-Endüstri Yayınları, 2007).

⁴⁶ Tülay Artan, “Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History,” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, eds. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya (New York: Routledge, 2003), 87-88.

⁴⁷ For studies on late nineteenth-century Ottoman cities, see Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840/1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2007); Sotirios Dimitriadis, “Transforming a Late Ottoman Port-City: Salonica 1876-1912,” in *Well-Connected Domains: Towards an Entangled Ottoman History*, eds. Pascal Firges, Tobias Graf, Christian Roth and Gülay Tulasoğlu (Leiden:

studies are perhaps the one notable exception to the rule of Ottoman architecture being a field dominated by the capital, with historians motivated to situate the urban development of cities—especially Mediterranean port cities—within emerging global economies.

Borrowing, and expanding upon, a term from Catherine Asher’s study of provincial governor palaces in Mughal India, I refer to the architecture of these Ottoman provincial power-holders as “sub-imperial” in that these buildings operate within the context of an imperial order, yet cannot be considered as participating in a state-driven discourse of sovereignty.⁴⁸ Especially in the case of Ali Pasha, we find intriguing examples in which architecture can even serve as a potential site of transgression or threat against this imperial order. The architectural historian Gülrü Necipoğlu has demonstrated how, in the sixteenth century, Ottoman monuments (principally religious) stood as different configurations of a standardized vocabulary of canonical forms, expressing the political status of their patrons.⁴⁹ She describes this system of formal vocabulary as an architectural “decorum” governing over patronage. Even though this system had already undergone a series of transformations in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,⁵⁰

Brill, 2014), 207-221; and Stefan Weber, *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation (1808-1918)* (Aarhus [Denmark]: Aarhus University Press, 2009).

⁴⁸ Asher seems to use the term to imply any architecture constructed for administrators in the Mughal provinces, including governors (*şabadārs*), landholders (*jagirdars*), and chieftains (*zamindars*). Catherine Asher, “Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India,” *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), footnote 1.

⁴⁹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 119-120.

⁵⁰ These transformations in architectural patronage in the imperial center were largely brought about by the rise of royal women as well as chief eunuchs: Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1993), 206-209; Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Ashgate, 2006), 4; Shirine Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 6.

I believe that it is nevertheless useful to investigate to what extent Ali Pasha and his architecture attempted to push the boundaries of decorum for an individual of his rank. By pursuing this line of inquiry, we can open up a paradigm of patronage that allows architectural monuments to be semantic spaces for reckless ambition, even irreverence.

One clear area in which we can see Ali Pasha stepping outside the bounds of decorum as formulated in the center is architectural epigraphy. There is still nothing in the way of a general analytic study of Ottoman inscriptions, and how their format and spatial relationship with monuments changed over time.⁵¹ Yet it is safe to say that, by the early nineteenth century, there was a fairly strict set of expectations in terms of what was appropriate for a public text, especially for the foundation text for a building: the inscription should be in Ottoman Turkish, usually organized into pairs of cartouches, and ideally bear a *tuğra* (the sultan's unique monogram) that would convey the endorsement of the sultan.⁵² Many provincial inscriptions did adhere to this format, such as the foundation inscription of the congregational mosque in Yozgat established by the Çapanoğlu family. The inscription itself (Fig. 11) is in Ottoman Turkish, and bears what appears to be the *tuğra* of Sultan Abdülhamid I.⁵³ As a family of notables who maintained

⁵¹ The nascent field of Ottoman epigraphy focuses predominately on the earlier periods, see Colin Heywood, "The 1337 Bursa Inscription and its Interpreters," *Turcica* 36 (2004), 215-232; and Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York, 2003), 33-44. F. Dijkema offers a useful but short overview in his catalog *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 1-12. The Database for Ottoman Inscriptions (DOI) is an effort currently underway to build a digital catalog of Ottoman inscriptions, beginning with Istanbul and with plans to expand beyond to the provinces: <http://info.ottomaninscriptions.com/>, accessed September 8, 2016.

⁵² For an explanation of the *tuğra*, see Mübahat Küçüköğlü, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, 1994), 71-75.

⁵³ The inscription serves to date the initial construction of the mosque to 1779 CE (1193 AH): Hakkı Acun, *Bozok Sancağı (Yozgat İli)'nda Türk Mimarisi*, 15.

fairly close and congenial relations with the Porte, the Çapanoğlus likewise opted for a foundation inscription that rehearsed a visual and textual vocabulary very much in line with what was being produced in Istanbul.

Meanwhile, the epigraphic record in Ali Pasha's corner of the empire reveals a more heterodox field of public texts, exemplified by an extraordinary epigraphic program commissioned by the governor to commemorate his re-construction of the walls of Ioannina. The only known surviving portion from this program today resides in the city's Byzantine Museum, an oblong plaque of white marble that consists of twenty lines of demotic Greek verse, organized into ten rhyming couplets (Fig. 12). This inscription, which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4, was once placed prominently at the southern portal to the Ioannina kastro that faces the lake (Fig. 13, Gate B in Fig. 15).⁵⁴ The Greek text, which proclaims Ali Pasha as the descendant of the local ancient king, with nary a tuğra in sight, was originally paired with a short Ottoman Turkish text that also hailed the governor as the "victorious overlord" of the city (Fig. 14).⁵⁵ Although they

⁵⁴ The precise placement of this inscription is confirmed by an old photograph included in the article Alexandros Philadelphais, "Anaskafai Nikopoleos: Christianika Mnimeia Prevezis," *Praktika Archaïologikis Etaireias* (1915), 240-241. Also see A. Petronitis, "Architektones kai Mixhanikoi stin Ipiresia tou Ali Pasa," in *Figos: Timitikos Tomos gia ton Kathigiti Sotiri Dakari* (Ioannina: Panepistimio Ioanninon, 1994), 382.

⁵⁵ In 1970, the scholar Machiel Kiel was able to photograph this text in its original location, which was the left niche above the southern lake entrance to the citadel. The text has unfortunately gone missing in the intervening decades; it was no longer in place when I first visited Ioannina for fieldwork in 2014. My sincere thanks to Dr. Kiel for so generously sharing this information and his photograph with me. Looking at the photograph, which has never been published, we can see that this inscription was of very high quality, with three lines of Arabic script cut in shallow relief, surrounded by a thin raised band forming a cartouche around the text:

- (1) The patron of the charitable works [Sâhib ul-hayr ve 'l-âtar]
- (2) And overlord of this praise-worthy fortress, [ve musayyad hada l'hisn al-mu'tabir]
- (3) The victorious vizier Ali Pasha, 1230. [Al-vezîr al-muzaffer 'Alî Pâşâ 1230]

The English translation is my own. The transcription of the text was adapted from that given to me by Machiel Kiel. A Greek translation of this same inscription was first published in Christos Soulis, "Tourkikai

no longer survive today, we can presume that similar epigraphic programs appeared above the other main gates to the Ioannina kastro, all of which feature square or rectangular-shaped niches about the same size as the one that once contained the inscription now in the Byzantine Museum (Fig. 15).

It seems that the Ottoman authorities removed and destroyed the other portions of this epigraphic program shortly after Ali Pasha's death, replacing them with a set of inscriptions in Ottoman Turkish that more closely adhered to the imperial model. In all three instances of this destruction and replacement (in Gates A, C, and E), the new Ottoman Turkish inscriptions have clearly been fitted into niches that were originally designed to accommodate larger plaques. Above the main gate to the walled city from the bazaar district (Gate A) is an inscription dated 1843-44 CE (1259 AH), only about twenty years after Ali Pasha's death (Fig. 16). Accompanied by a nicely carved tuğra for Sultan Abdülmecid I, this text begins with proper obeisance to the ruler, giving praise to God, "who gave us Abdülmecid Han."⁵⁶ As a sign of humility, the name of the new provincial governor, Osman Nuri Pasha does not appear in the inscription until the fourth line of text. Interestingly, this inscription does not record any kind of actual architectural intervention in the walls; one would expect to see some kind of repairs (*inşa, tamirat*, etc.) mentioned. The inscription simply states that it is "with great pride that [the sultan]

Epigrafai Ioanninon," *Ipeirotika Chronika* (1933), 92-93. The date provided here in Arabic numerals, 1230 AH, corresponds with the Julian year 1815 CE given in the Greek inscription (represented by Greek letters, according to a numbering system dating back to the classical period but also frequently found in contemporary church inscriptions in the same region). There is another interesting example of Greek and Ottoman Turkish appearing in the foundation inscription that commemorated Ali Pasha's construction of the walls of Tepelena in 1805. This inscription, which has never been published, is now at the local History Museum in Tepelena.

⁵⁶ A Greek translation of this inscription can be found in Souli, "Tourkikai Epografai Ioanninon," 95-96.

affixes the name of the governor of Ioannina Osman Nuri Pasha to the gate of the kastro,” the subtext being that this name was replacing the earlier epigraphic declarations made by Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, the traitor to the throne.

A similar inscription was also placed above the entrance to the inner citadel (Gate C), which had once served as an entrance to Ali Pasha’s palace complex located there.⁵⁷ The repeated references to the sultan’s victory and conquest (*muzaffer*, Line 2; *zafer*, Line 5) in this inscription, although somewhat formulaic, also provide a sense that this later epigraphic program was designed consciously as an act of *damnatio memoriae* against the former vizier and his unorthodox inscriptions.

A number of the plaques that were originally commissioned by Ali Pasha to be placed above the gates of Ioannina were also flanked by zoomorphic figures, another example of the governor stepping beyond the norms of self-presentation in Ottoman architectural space (Fig. 17 & 18). Looking at the examples from Gate A, these figures comprise lively animal scenes, the one on the left side depicting what appears to be a snake encountering a quadruped (most likely a lion from the tail) and the plaque on the right showing a lion with one of its front paws resting on an orb, while a stag flees in the background. We can be sure that these plaques were in place as part of the original epigraphic program, and not part of a later repair campaign, because plaques of similar size and iconography can be found in other fortifications that Ali Pasha constructed throughout the region.⁵⁸ These plaques, while no doubt serving a more generic

⁵⁷ This inscription has also been translated into Greek in Souli, “Tourkikai Epografai Ioanninon,” 95.

⁵⁸ On the SW bastion of the Agios Andreas fort (c. 1808-09) in Preveza is a plaque with a lion that quite closely resembles the example on the main gate of Ioannina. But perhaps most interesting of all these

apotropaic purpose in their consistent placement above central points of entry to fortresses, clearly respond to a visual tradition of placing the lion of St. Mark on fortifications established by the Venetians when they sporadically ruled the coastal regions of Epirus throughout the early modern period.⁵⁹ When Ali Pasha set out in the early nineteenth century to construct his own series of coastal fortifications and defensive city walls, even though the Republic of Venice itself was no longer a political reality, the machinery of its image-making continued to operate, humming quietly in the background along the shores of the Adriatic.

As is often the case with iconographic programs, it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion about the precise intention behind or reception of this imagery. As mentioned before, the location of these plaques above main entrances suggests at least a simple apotropaic function, endowed with the ability to ward off evil. On the other hand, there is a possibility that these plaques may have served more specifically as heraldic emblems, an attempt on the part of Ali Pasha to create his own insignia.

examples, however, is a plaque found above the entrance to Ali Pasha's triangular fortress on the Actium peninsula (c. early nineteenth century) facing Preveza, which shows a human figure reigning in a chained lion, with a mosque (distinguished by its minaret) situated in the background.

⁵⁹ Examples of this phenomenon abound throughout the Adriatic, but perhaps to best demonstrate a potential connection with Ali Pasha's constructions we should look no further than the Venetian strongholds in Corfu and Lefkada (Santa Maura to the Venetians). In Corfu Town, the so-called New Fortress, built in stages throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, prominently features a large rectangular plaque with the winged lion of St. Mark above the main entrance to the citadel. Meanwhile, the smaller fortress guarding the harbor at Lefkada has a similar, albeit smaller-scale, configuration, with a lion of St. Mark carved in low-relief (and now quite badly damaged) framed and placed centrally over one of the gates. It is interesting to note how several of the lions found in Ali Pasha's buildings have their paw resting on an orb—a generic symbol of dominium—perhaps best interpreted as a visual adaptation of the open codex, the gospel of St. Mark, with which the lion of Venice is typically associated.

At least in Western travel accounts, Ali Pasha is frequently referred to as the “Lion of Ioannina.” In his 1823 biography of the vizier, Alphonse Beauchamp claims that “a coat of arms was *found* for [Ali Pasha] by one well skilled in heraldry; it consisted of a *Lion in a field Gules embracing three young Lions*, the emblem of his dynasty.”⁶⁰ Within the regional culture of the mountain warrior, buoyed by a contemporaneous tradition of Greek folk song, a great warrior (*pallikari*) was often compared to a lion (*aslan*), an animal that connotes bravery as well as fierceness.⁶¹ In the *Alipasiada*, the preamble of the poem explicitly describes the governor in such terms:

He is the crown of the Albanians, the lion (ασλάνι) of Rumelia...
Albania has not produced another warrior (παλληκάρι) such as he.
The hero of the Albanians, the fearsome lion (λειοντάρι).⁶²

In this excerpt from the song, Hacı Sechreti draws not only on the vocabulary in the Ottoman Turkish context of the lion (*aslan*) as a brave man, but also the Greek term denoting lion (*leiondari*) as well. Thus, in the case of the lion plaques that can be found in the walls of Ioannina, it is possible that the reliefs took on a heraldic function, with the lions referring to the vizier as a great warrior, conjuring up imagery that is simultaneously being evoked in popular folk song.

Why look to the provinces? These apotropaic and perhaps even heraldic plaques represent a rich iconography of patronage that operates within a local context, engaging

⁶⁰ Emphasis in the original text. Alphonse Beauchamp, *The Life of Ali Pacha of Janina, Vizier of Epirus, surnamed Aslan, or the Lion, from various authentic documents* (London, Lupton Relfe, 1822), 261. According to François Pouqueville, the French consul of Ioannina, the author of this coat of arms came from Bergamo, a city in the Lombardy region of northern Italy: *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*, 4 Volumes (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1824), II, 4, footnote 2.

⁶¹ For the use of this term to describe mercenary warriors, see Letter from Tair Papouli to Ali Pasha, Trikala (15 June 1820), published in Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, III, no. 1311, 453.

⁶² Sathas, *Istorikai Diatrivai*, 129-130.

visual, literary and oral tradition. They are also extraordinary within Ottoman architecture, in which figural blazons are rare.⁶³ It is unlikely that Ali Pasha intended such engravings to be “read” as openly rebellious against imperial sovereignty—best to say that the vizier rather turned to alternative vocabularies of legitimacy that did not necessarily rely upon a glowing endorsement from the sultan. Nevertheless, after Ali Pasha’s execution, the new governing authorities in the district felt compelled to neutralize these epigraphic experiments by putting up their own inscriptions that look squarely to Istanbul in establishing hierarchies of power. Above the gates of Ioannina, the sultan’s tuğra looks down on Ali Pasha’s lions, a frozen conversation between center and periphery.

Scope and Organization of the Dissertation

The first three chapters of this study detail Ali Pasha’s specific interventions in the building typologies that form the core of Ottoman architecture: the palatial, military and religious.

The first chapter documents the palatial residences constructed and maintained by the vizier. I argue that Ali Pasha introduced a new approach to the governor’s palace, itself a building type that remains virtually unexplored in Ottoman architectural history, by consolidating his position in the citadels of all the different provinces under his control. I also demonstrate that Ali Pasha built up a network of roads and waystations in order to support his court’s frequent movements from one residence to another. This kind

⁶³ The use of blazons was common in Mamluk architectural patronage, but did not continue in the Ottoman provinces of Egypt and Greater Syria: Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City*, 106.

of mobility between palaces was generally not possible for earlier Ottoman governors, who were typically only assigned to one province at a time. Understanding the construction of residences as a connected network, therefore, points to the role of provincial governors in creating new patterns of mobility and marking space in the empire.

The following chapter poses the question: “Who has the right to build a fortress?” In the course of a decade, Ali Pasha commissioned a total of twelve coastal fortifications on the Adriatic, in addition to the city walls of Ioannina, Tepelene and Gjirokaster—a tremendous effort in terms of both finances and labor. This building activity was undertaken and supported on Ali Pasha’s own initiative by his own funding. These local building projects, as well as Ali Pasha’s occasional clashes with imperial neighbors and Istanbul over the construction of these fortifications, question the assumption that the capital was always spearheading projects to defend the border.

Chapter 3 explores the religious monuments constructed and rebuilt under Ali Pasha’s patronage. I examine unpublished endowment documents to trace Ali Pasha’s construction of mosque complexes and dervish lodges in urban centers as well as in more remote settlements. I also lay out archival and epigraphic evidence to reveal that Ali Pasha himself funded and commissioned a monastic church complex in southern Albania to house the final resting place of Saint Kosmas, a famous preacher who was put to death by Ottoman administrators at the end of the eighteenth century purportedly for inciting sedition. This discovery is significant, as the construction of a church by a Muslim official in the Ottoman Empire is wholly unprecedented in the historiography of Ottoman architecture, suggesting that circumstances were much more fluid in provincial

architecture than previously assumed.

The final chapter of the dissertation follows Ali Pasha's unusual experiments in inserting himself within the local historic topography. I examine how Ali Pasha emerged as a major player in the scramble for classical antiquity, routinely appropriating the ancient past to secure his own political legitimacy in the region. Several of Ali Pasha's constructions, especially mosques and city walls, incorporate spoliated stone blocks and sculpture from ancient sites. Ali Pasha and his sons also compelled European archaeologists traveling through their territory to conduct excavations, and proudly displayed the finds in their palaces. Indeed, Ali Pasha dispels the notion often rehearsed in travel accounts of an Ottoman population indifferent to the antiquities lying at their feet. To the contrary, Ali Pasha laid claim to this antique heritage as his own cultural patrimony, frequently referring to himself as the new Pyrrhus (the ancient Greek king of Epirus). The fact that Ali Pasha endeavored to position himself as the rightful heir to the region's historical past offers an intriguing vision of modern identity alternative to European universalism or Greek nationalism at a time when these movements were in their formative stages.

CHAPTER 1

“Amidst no common pomp”: Re-defining the Governor’s Palace

Ali Pasha’s numerous palaces, which he constructed in every major city under his jurisdiction as well as throughout the surrounding hinterlands, introduced and reified a new style of political order in the region. In the previous centuries, it had become standard for a governor to maintain a residence in the urban center of the province or district that he managed. Such an administrator would also keep some kind of family estate in his place of origin.⁶⁴ One aspect of Ali Pasha’s residential architecture that sets it apart from this established pattern is the sheer quantity of sites. In earlier periods, a governor or governor-general serving in the Ottoman provinces would hold typically only one appointment at a time.⁶⁵ Yet, by the early nineteenth century, Ali Pasha along with his sons were administering a contiguous territory that comprised no less than eight adjacent districts (see Fig. 2).⁶⁶ Within a geographic area reaching from the Adriatic to the Aegean, this First Family of Epirus exercised their prerogative of newly constructing or of occupying governors’ residences in all of the large cities under their control.

⁶⁴ Such an arrangement can be found in fifteenth-century Filibe (now Plovdiv in Bulgaria), where the governor İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey had a house in the city as well as a family residence in the village of Markovo: Grigor Boykov, “Anatolian Emir in Rumelia: İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey’s Architectural Patronage and Governorship of Filibe (1460s–1470s),” *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1-2 (2013), 141.

⁶⁵ I am using the terms “governor” (*sancakbeyi, mutasarrıf*) and “governor-general” (*beylerbeyi, vali*) to distinguish between an administrator of a district (*sancak*) versus a wider province (*eyalet*), respectively. For a full examination of the provincial administrative apparatus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Metin Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University, 1983). In his appendix, Kunt reproduces a register showing the income for all provincial administrators in 1527 (pp. 104-108); in this list, there is no case of a single individual holding more than one district at a time.

⁶⁶ These districts are Yanya, Avlonya, Delvine, Berat, Yenişehir, Eğriboz, İnebahtı, and Karli-ili. Ali Pasha’s son Veli Pasha was also the governor-general of the *eyalet* of the Morea from 1807 to 1812, maintaining his residence in the provincial capital at Tripoli.

Although this chapter will occasionally address the households maintained by Ali Pasha's sons, I will primarily concentrate on the vizier's own efforts in palace construction and management. This sampling will provide a view to the polycentric and versatile nature of Ali Pasha's administration.

The palace was the heart of Ali Pasha's court. It was the setting where networks of political patronage among local notables, one of the keys to the governor's long-term success, were initially forged and repeatedly performed. As a result of Ali Pasha's mapping—or, in fact, creating—his expanding administrative jurisdiction with urban palaces, prominent “coordinates” within the landscape, his court became increasingly mobile. The governor's entourage routinely circulated among these residences, along a well-developed system of roads and way-stations. Thus, these palaces served not only as stages for the rituals sustaining the governor's authority, but also as physical reminders of Ali Pasha's political omnipresence.

What was a day in the life of Ali Pasha's court like? To answer this question, I will make use of the extensive archival record left behind by the governor's own chancery. The mere existence of this cache of documents reveals the inner workings of the hustle and bustle of palace life. The governor's scribes, writing from whichever city Ali Pasha happened to be at the time, were constantly sending off communications to their agents in Istanbul, foreign neighbors on the Ionian Islands, or to the leaders of nearby villages to requisition troops or summon workers for one of the vizier's latest building projects. I will also use European travel accounts, which often provide lengthy descriptions of Ali Pasha's residences and the activities within. As Western travelers were typically barred admission to other structures such as mosques or dervish lodges,

Ali Pasha's palaces were the monuments to which these individuals had the most ready access, and from which they formed opinions about this individual and his domains.

A rather poetic description of one of Ali Pasha's residences comes from none other than Lord Byron. His narrative poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* concerns the journey of a disillusioned young man searching for insight in foreign climes. Much of the text is considered to be semi-autobiographical and based on Byron's own journeys through Italy and the Ottoman lands. Ali Pasha—and his architecture—are given pride of place in the work. As our hero Childe Harold approaches the governor's palace in Tepelena, the passage reads,

The Sun had sunk behind vast Tomerit,
And Laos wide and fierce came roaring by;
The shades of wonted night were gathering yet,
When, down in the steep banks winding warily,
Childe Harold saw, like meteors in the sky,
The glittering minarets of Tepalen,
Whose walls o'erlook the stream; and drawing nigh,
He heard the busy hum of warrior-men
Swelling the breeze that sigh'd along the lengthening glen.

He pass'd the sacred Haram's silent tower,
And underneath the wide o'erarching gate
Survey'd the dwelling of this chief of power,
Where all around proclaim'd his high estate.
*Amidst no common pomp the despot sate,
While busy preparation shook the court,
Slaves, eunuchs, soldiers, guests, and santons wait;
Within, a palace, and without, a fort;
Here men of every clime appear to make resort.*⁶⁷

However dramatic this rendering of Ali Pasha's palace in Tepelena, which Lord Byron

⁶⁷ Emphasis is my own. Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: A Romaunt*, 88: Canto II, Stanzas LIV and LV.

visited in 1809,⁶⁸ it nevertheless touches on some of the most salient characteristics of these households. First, these urban residences were all predicated on a commanding view of the wider area, but not necessarily of the town itself. In other words, all of these palaces were staged in such a way that the building complex stood in visual dialog with the surrounding landscape, especially with the main routes of entry to the city in question. Second, these palaces stood in slightly removed locations from the town, taking on a distinctive military character by being protected by fortification walls and guarded gateways: “within, a palace, and without, a fort.” Last, this passage also dwells on the great diversity in class and background of the people who circulated within the court, from French engineers and Maltese physicians to the local archbishop: “Here men of every clime appear to make resort.” Byron’s traveling companion John Hobhouse recalled that, upon entering the palace in Tepelena, the two men came upon various groups of soldiers assembled in different parts of the courtyard and grooms caring for fully caparisoned horses. The pair subsequently met two physicians from Ali Pasha’s retinue, one French and the other a local Christian “who spoke the German, French, Italian, Turkish, and Albanian languages” in addition to his own mother tongue of Greek.⁶⁹

I have adopted a phrase from Byron’s text, “Amidst no common pomp,” as the title of this chapter because I contend that it is in Ali Pasha’s palaces that the governor

⁶⁸ Lord Byron traveled to what is now Greece and Albania with John Cam Hobhouse, otherwise known as Lord Broughton. Byron’s correspondence as well as Hobhouse’s diary from this journey are preserved, but the most accessible and thorough account of the trip is Hobhouse’s published volume *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, 2 Volumes (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1817).

⁶⁹ *Idem*, 97-99.

aspired to extend beyond the standard routine expected of Ottoman functionaries at his level, and to explore new methods for the presentation of his accumulated wealth and power. The ceremony and “pomp” of audiences with Ali Pasha at his various seraglios impressed foreign diplomats and travelers alike, and these formalities are described extensively in the dozens of accounts written at this time.

The construction and design of Ali Pasha’s residences were multi-vocal because these structures and the rituals performed within anticipated a number of different audiences. Local elites, neighbors from the Ionian Islands, messengers from the Porte, and Western Europeans all collided with and observed each other in these spaces. Additionally, these palaces also served as repositories for Ali Pasha’s considerable material wealth, which far exceeded the revenues of provincial governors in previous centuries. This economic prosperity was put on display for visitors in the form of luxury goods, such as embroidered textiles or weaponry embellished with silver-work and gemstones. Whether understood as stages for ritual or staging points to facilitate court mobility, Ali Pasha’s residences innovate upon the tradition of the governor’s palace and its form and function in the Ottoman realm. Ultimately, these innovations point to a political culture at the turn of the eighteenth century in which provincial officials secured their authority with ever-expanding horizontal networks of patronage.

The Governor’s Palace in the Ottoman Empire

Before examining the role of Ali Pasha’s palaces in his political administration, it is necessary both to clarify the term “palace” and how it can be deployed in the Ottoman context. In this chapter, “palace” is used interchangeably with the term “saray,”

originating from an old Persian root meaning more generally a dwelling. Upon entering Turkish in the tenth century, the word came to imply the seat of government or a princely household.⁷⁰ Within the context of Ottoman architecture, the most restricted definition of “saray” applies to an official residence of the head of state, i.e. the sultan, and his dynastic household. Studies of palatial architecture in the Ottoman Empire have naturally revolved around the royal sarays in Istanbul, (most famously, the Topkapı Palace), as well as the earlier sultanic residences in Edirne.⁷¹

In the Ottoman lands, the term “saray” not only described the dwellings of the sultan, but was also used more generally to refer to any large residence of an individual or family of high political rank. In Istanbul, these palaces were located both in the city center as well as in the suburbs along the shores of the Bosphorus.⁷² In the *Tuhfetü'l-Mi'marin*, one of the autobiographies of the great sixteenth-century Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan, the various palaces constructed by the Royal Architects Corps are mentioned, and this list includes not only the main imperial palaces (the Saray-ı 'Atik and

⁷⁰ Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, “Saray,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 36 (1999), 117.

⁷¹ Gülrü Necipoğlu's *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991) remains the seminal work on palatial architecture in the Ottoman architecture. Another classic is Sedat Eldem's formalist survey of imperial pavilions and kiosks: *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 2 Volumes (Istanbul: Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü Rölöve Kürüsü, 1973). Also see the thorough and beautifully illustrated volume Metin Sözen, *Devletin Evi: Saray* (Istanbul: Sandoz Kültür Yayınları, 1990), especially pp. 54-61 for the royal palace at Edirne.

⁷² Unfortunately, mostly due to a lack of textual and material evidence, our understanding of elite palaces in Istanbul still could be considered quite sparse, especially when held up against the volume of literature that exists for other early modern cities such as Florence or Rome. One article that attempts to reconstruct a lost royal palace in Istanbul based exclusively on archival evidence is Tülay Artan's “The Kadirga Palace: An Architectural Reconstruction,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 201-211. For the development of palaces in Istanbul, also see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2009), 201-202; and Nurhan Atasoy, *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 1972), 14-43.

the Topkapı Palace), but also palaces for valide sultans (like the one at the Silivri Gate for Valide Nurbanu Sultan), grand viziers (palace of Rüstem Pasha in Kadirga Limanı, the palace of Nişancı Mehmed Pasha in Üsküdar), and a grand admiral Kapudan Sinan Pasha on the hippodrome.⁷³ These palaces of the Ottoman elite also served as sites of political ceremony and reception, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when ever-greater authority was granted to individuals such as the grand vizier and the valide sultan.⁷⁴

Looking beyond the palaces of the royal family and high-ranking court officials in Istanbul, one of the purposes of this chapter is to introduce a wider discussion about another important type of residential architecture in the Ottoman Empire—the palace of the provincial governor. This class of building reflected the political realities of running an empire. Throughout the Ottoman realm, in every district and province there was an official residence for the respective governor and governor-general.⁷⁵ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, several provincial governor residences were also princely palaces, as it was standard practice to send the young heirs to the throne (*şehzade*) to various districts—most notably Manisa and Amasya—to hone their skills in state-craft.⁷⁶ In later

⁷³ Howard Crane, Esra Akın, and Gülrü Necipoğlu, trans. and ed., *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 72.

⁷⁴ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 29-31.

⁷⁵ This system changed in the mid-nineteenth century, when provinces and districts began to base their administration from the *hükümet konağı*, usually translated as “government office,” a type of civic architecture separate from the governor’s residence that housed offices and meeting chambers. To my knowledge, there is still no good scholarly account of this important shift in Ottoman administrative architecture.

⁷⁶ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 45-47; Ertuğ, “Saray,” 120. The prince’s palace (Saray-ı Amire) in Manisa no longer survives, but is described by numerous travelers, including Michele Membré and Evliya Çelebi, as

centuries, the princes became increasingly restricted to the confines of the harem in the Topkapı Palace, and the business of running the provinces was largely left to individuals who had worked their way up within the palace system.

The governor's saray, then, served an important role in the administration of the empire.⁷⁷ In this chapter, I will primarily discuss the palaces of administrators operating at the district-level of government, where a good deal of day-to-day affairs were handled, although much can also be applied to the residences of the provincial governors and their council.⁷⁸ All of these palaces were usually urban, semi-public spaces, where the local administrator would receive guests and hold court, seeing to the everyday matters of the given district by listening to petitions or meeting with town officials and notables. The governor's palace thus functioned as an important locus of political influence in the provinces, the place where everyday subjects to the sultan could experience meaningful contact with the administrative apparatus of the government.

On the very outskirts of empire in tributary states such as Wallachia or the Kurdish Khanate, vassal rulers would also maintain large palaces as their seats of power. In his 1655 journey to Bitlis, Evliya Çelebi describes the Kurdish Khan's palace in the city's great citadel, "which has layer on layer of Persian and Turkish-style ornate chambers and splendid courtyards [...] Every khan and every king for the past eight

being in a walled enclosure to the north of the city: Nuran Tezcan, *Manisa Nach Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 110-13.

⁷⁷ The terminology used to describe these structures in Ottoman documents varies widely. In the time of Ali Pasha, so at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "saray" is often interchangeably used with "konak," as, for example, "vali sarayı" or "paşa konağı."

⁷⁸ Géza Dávid, "Administration, Provincial," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File Books, 2009), 16.

hundred years has built and added to it, and Abdal Khan especially spent several Egyptian treasures and made it into a palace of Kaydafa.”⁷⁹ Another impressive example of a residence of a vassal ruler is the Mogoșoaia Palace, situated on a walled estate northwest of the center of Bucharest, constructed by the Prince of Wallachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Fig. 19).⁸⁰ Serving as geographic bookends, the Khan’s palace in Bitlis and the residence in Bucharest both speak not only to the prestige of these local dynastic families, but also to their latitude in carrying on daily affairs more or less at their own discretion.

Despite the role of provincial palaces as sites of ceremony and encounter between government administrators and the general public, the systematic study of these structures as a building type remains virtually unexplored in the field of Ottoman architecture. One reason for this lacuna could be the absence of much physical evidence on the ground today, a situation that obscures the prevalence and importance that these buildings once had in the Ottoman landscape. Many provincial residences from the early modern era were eventually destroyed by fire or lost their relevance after various modernization reforms, and were left in ruin or demolished to make way for new types of civic architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1834, the traveler Richard Burgess met with the new governor of Ioannina, the man who had replaced Ali Pasha, still residing in the old palace on the citadel.⁸¹ By the 1870s, just a

⁷⁹ Robert Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 59.

⁸⁰ See Radu Popa, *Mogoșoaia: The Palace and Museum of Brancovian Art* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1967).

⁸¹ Richard Burgess, *Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a summer's excursion in 1834* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1835), 65-68.

few decades later, this same structure seems to have been torn down and replaced with another building that was in a neo-classical style. A detail from an 1899 panoramic view of Ioannina confirms this process of erasure and new construction (Fig. 20). In the photograph, where Ali Pasha's palace had once stood [no.1] there is a flat, open area, while the new building [no.2] stands in what used to be part of the courtyard of the old governor's mansion. Today, the city's Byzantine Museum occupies the same footprint of this newer building.⁸²

An exhaustive examination of the provincial palace in the Ottoman Empire falls beyond the scope of this dissertation, yet it is my intention to demonstrate that a sustained look at Ali Pasha's residences in Epirus offers a rare opportunity to consider the salient characteristics of what a sub-imperial palatial architecture in the administration of the Ottoman provinces may have looked like, and how it may have changed over time. Ali Pasha's emphasis on residential architecture stands in contrast to the building patterns of Ottoman provincial administrators from previous centuries, who tended to focus the majority of their investments on pious endowments, which would in turn support large, urban mosque complexes. Although Ali Pasha and his sons did construct mosques and, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, also garnered local support through the patronage of dervish lodges and churches, his palace complexes remain the most substantial and visibly impressive contribution to the urban landscape of the cities in his territory.

⁸² What now stands as the Byzantine Museum of Ioannina was first built as a royal pavilion in 1958 by the Hellenic Army, then as late as 1986-1995 it was renovated to accommodate the museum and regional offices of the Greek Archaeological Services.

While it is true that the majority of these governor palaces in the Ottoman provinces no longer survive, several examples can be examined using a combination of sources, including observations of physical remains in the field, archival documents, literary chronicles, travel accounts and archaeological excavations. One important historical source for understanding how the wider Ottoman administration represented itself in the provinces is the *Seyahatname*, the seventeenth-century account of the Ottoman traveler par excellence, Evliya Çelebi.⁸³

The *Seyahatname* offers a good deal of information about urbanism and architecture throughout the empire, and this account has already been used to great effect by art historians in this regard.⁸⁴ Evliya's descriptions of cities are fairly programmatic. For every district capital, he includes information about the power hierarchy in the area, identifying who occupies all of the important administrative positions at this local level. In terms of architecture and landscape, Evliya then in turn usually provides a short description of the governor's palace and its location in the urban fabric, as well as any other larger residences of note.

Evliya sometimes refers to the provincial governor's palace as a residence belonging to a specific individual; for example, he calls the *vali sarayı* in Delvine the

⁸³ There are several editions of the 10-volume *Seyahatname*. I will be making reference to a recent edition that provides a transliteration into modern Turkish: Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff and Yücel Dağlı, ed., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 10 Volumes (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi 1996-2007). There is as of now no comprehensive English translation of this valuable resource, only a smattering of select portions of the text in various publications.

⁸⁴ See Machiel Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania, 1385-1912* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1990), 4.

“palace of Memo Pasha.”⁸⁵ This raises the question of who technically owned these residences, and who was responsible for their upkeep. Although addressing this question for the full span of the Ottoman Empire would require more research, it seems at least at the turn of the eighteenth century that these residences were tied to a political position, not a person, and were technically owned by the state—and, by extension, the sultan.⁸⁶ Thus, it would have been the central government’s legal and fiscal responsibility to build and maintain these structures. This is an important distinction, as it appears that Ali Pasha directed and funded the construction of his numerous palace complexes without much oversight from the Porte.⁸⁷

In one incident, Ali Pasha thwarted the government’s authority to install or remove a governor from a position, which was signaled by the physical occupation of the provincial palace. This took place in Manastir (modern Bitola, Macedonia), which was the capital city for the wider Ottoman province of Rumeli—the district of Yanya fell under the jurisdiction of this province. A document dated 1815 (1230 AH) in the Prime

⁸⁵ Kahraman, ed., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 297; Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 59.

⁸⁶ For example, in 1815, Istanbul saw to it that sufficient funds were collected from neighboring *kaza* (judicial districts) to construct the *vali sarayı* in Manastir (Bitola), which was the capital of the Rumeli province: BOA, Istanbul, HAT 1273/49342 (1230 AH/ 1814-15 CE). There are other examples from around the same time in which Istanbul was sending architects and funds to construct or repair governor residences in both Silistra and İzmit: BOA, Istanbul, C.DH. 18/894 (10 Safer 1232 AH/ 30 December 1816 CE); and C.DH. 24/1186 (17 Muharrem 1223 AH/ 15 March 1808), respectively.

⁸⁷ For documents related to Ali Pasha commissioning and funding the construction or repairs for his palaces, see, for example, Register of workers at the Ioannina Kastro (September 19, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 102, 184-187; Report from Ali Pasha’s Silahdar regarding repairs to the saray in Preveza (February 5, 1808), *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 361, 669-671; and Register of repair work done at the saray in Tepelena (August 16, 1809), *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 500, 96-97. It is also notable that all of the governor palaces occupied by Ali Pasha appear in an Ottoman register listing the governor’s immovable property, which was drawn up shortly after his death: BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d. 9767 (29 Şevval 1241 AH/ 6 June 1826 CE).

Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul explains that Ali Pasha intentionally destroyed the palace at Manastir amid a great deal of turbulence over the position of governor-general.⁸⁸ For a short period in 1801-02, Ali Pasha was appointed the governor of the province of Rumeli, but was then subsequently removed.⁸⁹ What followed was a power struggle between Ali Pasha and a rival named Behram Pasha, who also occupied Manastir for some time. By 1815, it seems that Ali Pasha was able to summon his old supporters among the notables of the city and was again in power, only to be removed once more in 1817.⁹⁰ It was at this time that Ali Pasha moved his troops to Sofia to establish a temporary capital there, and “so that future governors would not be able to hold a residence in Manastir, by some ruse [Ali Pasha] had the palace there burned to the ground.”⁹¹ The vizier was nothing if not thorough; local reports confirmed that “everything besides the kitchen is completely burned and is beyond repair.” Ali Pasha clearly understood the symbolic potential of the governor’s palace, and in order to prevent any other political rival from usurping his position by occupying the residence built by Istanbul, he saw to it that the site was, in a word, neutralized.

Besides serving as staging points for ceremony, Ali Pasha’s palaces were also significant infrastructure projects in their own right, evidence of the governor’s ability to gather considerable resources in terms of physical labor and materials. For example, in a

⁸⁸ BOA, Istanbul, HAT 1273/49342 (1230 AH/ 1814-15 CE).

⁸⁹ BOA, Istanbul, HAT 50/2361a (30 Rebiülevvel 1217 AH/ 21 July 1802 CE).

⁹⁰ The official notice of Ali Pasha’s second removal from office comes in November 1817: BOA, Istanbul, HAT 629/31087a (1232 AH/ 1816-17 CE).

⁹¹ “Ve gelecek vali fimaba’d Manastir’de ikamet’e mahal bulmamak için sani’a ile sarayı yakdirmiş olması melhuz olduđu”: BOA, Istanbul, HAT 1273/49342 (1230 AH/ 1814-15 CE).

series of documents from Ali Pasha's personal archives, we learn of a team of workers employed in constructing a palace for Ali Pasha in the suburbs of Tepelena, in the village of Veliqot.⁹² This palace, which unfortunately no longer survives, was evidently a large construction, as the workers, who were led by a Master Panos and Vasilis, toiled for at least twelve months on the project.⁹³ The traveler Thomas Hughes mentions that the poor in Ioannina suffer in winter for lack of fuel, because the vast woods covering the nearby mountains had been stripped bare due to the increasing growth of the city, including "the large and numerous serais which Ali and the other members of his family have built."⁹⁴ In the construction of palaces, therefore, Ali Pasha was, for better or worse, making a lasting impact on the cities that he governed, as well as the ecology of their surrounding environments.

Ali Pasha's Urban Palace Complexes

Ali Pasha and his sons constructed palace complexes, fortified residences and garden pavilions in every major city throughout northern Greece and southern Albania. I present here Ali Pasha's palatial architecture in three cities that were key to his administration: the capital of Ioannina, Ali Pasha's hometown of Tepelena, and the Mediterranean port city Preveza. I will then discuss how the siting of these three

⁹² Register of the labor of Mastouros Panos in Veliqot, Ioannina (October 11, 1808), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 430, 796-97.

⁹³ Memorandum of Mifti Pagouris, Tepelena (August 2, 1809), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 494, 92-93.

⁹⁴ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 501.

palaces—within the heart of the city, but behind the walls of the citadel—departs from the practices of earlier Ottoman administrators in the region.

The highest concentration of palatial architecture under the patronage of Ali Pasha and his sons was, naturally, in Ioannina, the capital of the Yanya district and the cultural and economic powerhouse in the wider region. The approximate location of these residences can be observed in an 1820 map of Ioannina now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, drawn by the cartographer Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (Fig. 21). While Du Bocage seems never to have traveled to Greece, he received detailed descriptions and drawings of the area from on-site correspondents such as François Pouqueville, the French consul assigned to Ali Pasha's court.⁹⁵ Looking at this map, produced in the last year that Ali Pasha was officially in power, i.e. at the end of his building career, we can see the central governor's palace in the Ioannina citadel [1], a newer palace constructed by Ali Pasha *extra muros* on the Lithartisa hill in the southern part of the city [2], the residences of his sons Veli Pasha [3] and Muhtar Pasha [4] at the foot of this hill, and the “old” and “new” garden palace complexes in the northern suburbs of the city [5].⁹⁶ Through the construction of no less than five palace complexes in Ioannina, Ali Pasha and his sons completely transformed the texture of the city fabric during a lightning-fast building campaign that took place in under a decade, from approximately 1804 to 1811.

⁹⁵ Aliko Asvesta, “Barbié du Bocage in the Gennadius Library: A Preliminary Investigation,” in *New Griffon 12: Hidden Treasures at the Gennadius Library*, ed. Maria Georgopoulou (Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 2011), 49. Parts of this correspondence can be found in Du Bocage's personal papers at the Gennadius Library in Athens, under the designation MSS 128.

⁹⁶ Bocage also includes a small residence of Ali Pasha on the island in the lake, not shown in the detail of the map reproduced here.

Ali Pasha's illustrious career as the vizier of Epirus began and ended in the palace complex in the southeastern citadel of the walled city, referred to in Ottoman sources as the *iç kale*, the inner fortress. Modern Greeks in Ioannina today continue to refer to the citadel as such (το Ιτζ Καλέ), preserving the memory of this place as a distinctively Ottoman locus of power. Although it is not clear when exactly construction began on this site, which included both the external walls and bastions as well as the palace buildings inside, we can safely say that the majority of these structures had to have been erected between 1784, when Ali Pasha was appointed governor to the province, and June 1805, when the traveler William Martin Leake refers to this area as the "new serai."⁹⁷ Leake also confirms that the head architect for the project was Ali Pasha's chief engineer Petros, an Albanian Christian from the city of Korçë.⁹⁸ Only scanty elements of the palace complex still stand today. As mentioned above, the central apartments where Ali Pasha received his guests continued to be used as the provincial palace for the local governor until 1870, when the structure burned down.⁹⁹ After this time, the citadel was used as a

⁹⁷ William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 Volumes (London: J. Rodwell, 1835), I, 223. When Ali Pasha constructed the palace on the Litharitsa hill in 1807, the residence in the citadel became known as the "old palace," which is how Hughes refers to the building during his 1814 journey: Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 471. Again, a document in the Ali Pasha Archive lists a number of workers employed in constructing the "kastro" of Ioannina in 1801: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 102, 184-187. Most secondary sources claim that the date of foundation for this complex was 1795, looking to the work of Leandros Vranousis, *Istorika kai Topografika tou mesaionikou Kastrou ton Ioanninon* (Athens: Etaireias Ipeiroton Meleton, 1968), 49 and 54. Aravantinos wrote that Ali Pasha bought up the houses in the citadel in 1789 in order to begin construction on his new palace: *Chronografia tis Ipeirou*, 2 Volumes (Athens: S.K. Vlastou, 1856), 148, footnote 2.

⁹⁸ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 253.

⁹⁹ Varvara Papadopoulou, "Citadel of Ioannina," *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2009), 168. There is an Ottoman register from 1842 that records the repair to the reception area (*arz odası*) and private quarters (*harem*) of the palace due to damage from an earthquake: BOA, Istanbul, C.DH 187/9341 (Şaban 1257 AH/ September-October 1841 CE).

military encampment with a hospital, and the remains of the palace essentially remained undisturbed until excavations were undertaken by the 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in 2006-08.¹⁰⁰

Although the full results of these excavations are still forthcoming, the preliminary reports, combined with my own on-site observations of the physical material as well as historical sources, makes it possible to reconstruct the layout of the palace complex as it stood in Ali Pasha's time (Fig. 22). With the exception of the handful of studies on the palace of İshak Pasha in Doğubeyazıt in eastern Anatolia,¹⁰¹ such a detailed examination of the architecture and inner workings of a provincial governor's palace has never been undertaken before, and will greatly assist in our understanding of how this kind of complex functioned day-to-day.

To begin, the citadel could be accessed from a number of entrances, including a water gate opening onto the lake. Yet it seems that the gateway on the north-east side of the fortification walls [no. 1 in Fig. 22] served as the primary point of entry for guests of note, both local elites and foreign visitors, as well as for ceremonial processions (Fig. 23). The gate continues to function today as the main entrance for visitors to the citadel, which is now a historical site in its entirety, managed by the Greek Archaeological Service. Upon first approach to Ali Pasha's palace in the kastro, this monumental portal

¹⁰⁰ Varvara Papadopoulou, "Kastro Ioanninon: H istoria ton ochiroseon kai tou oikismou," in *To Kastro ton Ioanninon*, ed. Varvara Papadopoulou (Ioannina: 2009), 89-95.

¹⁰¹ Yüksel Bingöl, *İshak Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1998); and Hamza Gündoğdu, *Doğubayazıt İshak Paşa Sarayı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991).

stands apart visually from the rest of the exterior fortification walls surrounding the complex on all sides. This stark contrast is achieved primarily with the gate's white limestone fabric, which is much lighter in color than the stone used in the other parts of the wall circuit. The portal also strikes the eye with its elegant double-arch design, fashioned with courses of masonry that are much more carefully and uniformly fitted than the stones in the fortification walls flanking the entrance on either side. It should also be kept in mind that this entrance also would have been surmounted with a kind of observation kiosk or belvedere that no longer survives, but can be seen from behind in a sketch by Edward Lear from 1849 (Fig. 24). A similar configuration can be found in the main gate to the citadel of Agios Andreas in Preveza built by Ali Pasha, also no longer surviving save for the rare photograph (Fig. 25).

It would certainly be appropriate to situate this portal and its vaguely classicizing design within an Adriatic sphere, looking to the several examples of monumental gateways of Venetian fortifications (Fig. 26). Yet the combination of portal and belvedere also recalls the first entrance of that great showpiece of Ottoman palatial architecture, the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. We know from archival records and older images that the portal construction facing the Hagia Sophia once included a belvedere with grilled windows looking out onto the meydan (Fig. 27). Gülrü Necipoğlu has argued that this belvedere participated in a wider architectural rhetoric found throughout the palace that testified to the sultan's powers of omniscience, reminding the populace of the sovereign's perpetual gaze over the city.¹⁰² In a similar fashion, we can interpret the main

¹⁰² Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 32-33.

portal of the Ioannina citadel as part of an Ottoman conception of palatial design whereby the purpose of the central entrance is both to impress as well as convey the sense that the visitor or inhabitant is under constant surveillance. This argument is supported by the fact that the entrance was defended by a dense concentration of guard houses and barracks [no. 2 in Fig. 22], as well as of the cannon embrasures in the outer bastion to the right, bearing down on any visitor approaching the gate (Fig. 28).

Upon passing through this main portal, visitors would thus find themselves in a wide, open enclosure [no. 3] that constituted the heart of the residential complex. On the western side of this enclosure was the public reception area of Ali Pasha's palace [no. 4], accessed from a projecting staircase on the northern side of the structure. Both traveler accounts and historical drawings of the palace confirm that these central apartments were an elaborate version of the *konak* house ubiquitous to the Eastern Mediterranean. That is, Ali Pasha's palace consisted of a two-storied structure with the ground floor sturdily constructed of masonry and reserved for storage and other service functions, while the living and reception rooms were on the upper story built with a lighter wattle and daub technique and covered with painted plaster (Fig. 29).

The public apartments were apparently connected by a narrow, covered gallery [no. 5] leading to the private quarters of the palace, or the harem [no. 6], where the women and children of the household resided.¹⁰³ Directly adjacent to what was the harem on the south-eastern side of the courtyard is the Fethiyye Mosque [no. 7], once the metropolitan church of the city that was first converted into a mosque at the very end of

¹⁰³ These structures are almost completely gone today, but the archaeological service in their excavations exposed the foundations of these buildings, which are now visible on the site and from satellite imagery.

the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁴ As will be discussed in Chapter 3, it seems that the mosque was almost completely reconstructed, decorated in a local baroque style, in the second half of the eighteenth century, just before Ali Pasha came to power. Nevertheless, as Ali Pasha's new palace complex rose up around this mosque, it was immediately drawn into this new spatial configuration, bridging the new governor's claim to both religious as well as military authority.

Just north of the Fethiyye Mosque were some separate service buildings for the palace, including a large kitchen capable of feeding Ali Pasha's extensive retinue [no. 8]. On this side of the courtyard was also the entrance to a long staircase that exited the external fortification walls and led down to a wooden pavilion [no. 9] used for launching fowling parties onto the lake. The pavilion unfortunately also no longer survives but can be observed in European prints from the time (Fig. 30). While the eastern half of the citadel revolved around the functions of the court, the entirety of its western half was primarily devoted to military defense: barracks, gunpowder magazines, and cannon works [no. 10] (Fig. 31).¹⁰⁵ With this kind of investment in a security system, it is no wonder that Ali Pasha managed to keep the sultan's troops at bay for almost two years within this fortified palace complex.

In 1807, after Ali Pasha had put the finishing touches on his palace in the Ioannina citadel, he began construction of another fortified residence beyond the walled

¹⁰⁴ Brendan Osswald, "From *Lieux de Pouvoir* to *Lieux de Mémoire*: The Monuments of the Medieval Castle of Ioannina through the Centuries," in *Discrimination and Tolerance in Historical Perspective*, ed. Gudmundur Halfdanarson (Pisa: Pisa University, 2008), footnote 17.

¹⁰⁵ This area is currently under intensive renovation undertaken by the Archaeological Service, with the end goal being a numismatic museum in the kitchen of the barracks.

city and south of the bazaar area on a natural rocky outcrop (Fig. 32, also see the palace in the background to the left in Fig. 30).¹⁰⁶ This hill was named Litharitsa, and it afforded an even better view of the surrounding region. Almost nothing of the Litharitsa palace remains today, except for the foundations and sub-structure of the building (Fig. 33). The majority of the upper stories were lost by fire during the Ottoman siege of Ioannina in 1820-22, and the charred ruins were recorded about two decades later by the French artist Dominique Papety (Fig. 34). An Ottoman inscription found at the top of the platform indicates that the upper stories were re-constructed in 1884.¹⁰⁷ From traveler's descriptions and Du Bocage's map, we can understand that visitors would have approached the palace complex from the north-west, now a municipal park adjacent to the archaeological museum. Here, an initial gateway would have lead into an open courtyard where guards and petitioners gathered, then a second gateway opened onto a flight of stairs that brought visitors up to a large reception chamber that provided a magnificent panorama of the area.

As also can be seen in Du Bocage's map, Ali Pasha's sons Veli and Muhtar Pasha eventually completed their own residences as late as 1812 in the middle of the city at the foot of their father's Litharitsa complex.¹⁰⁸ Muhtar Pasha's palace was obliterated by

¹⁰⁶ Du Bocage provides the date of 1807 on his map. This must be the date of completion, as there is a report by French engineers listing a number of artillery to be placed in the "chateau fort" of Litharitsa in 1806: Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 150.

¹⁰⁷ The simple inscription written in *sülüs* script provides the date of completion for the reconstruction/renovation project: 8 Rebi-ül Ahir 1302 AH/ 26 December 1884 CE. The plaque can be found on the left side of the entrance to what is now the Litharitsa Café and Restaurant.

¹⁰⁸ In his map, Du Bocage labels Veli Pasha's palace as being constructed in 1811; John Hobhouse's visit to Muhtar Pasha's palace in 1812 provides a terminus ante quem for this complex: Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, 59. Both of these palaces can be seen very clearly in a sketch from Edward Lear, now

Ottoman authorities in the late nineteenth-century to make way for modern military barracks and a clock tower, which can still be seen today, and nothing survives of Veli Pasha's residence except for the kitchens and the mosque and medrese that he endowed in 1804.¹⁰⁹

Looking beyond Ioannina, Ali Pasha also constructed a large urban palace complex in his hometown of Tepelena. The governor had again commissioned the Master Petros for the task, and work had to have been completed by 1804.¹¹⁰ This palace was likewise placed within the walls of the new citadel, which had also been built by Ali Pasha and most likely completed in 1800.¹¹¹ The whole complex dramatically overlooked the great Vjosa [Gr. Aoos] river (Fig. 35), and is described by William Leake as “one of the most romantic and delightful country-houses that can be imagined.”¹¹² Similar to Ioannina, none of the buildings from the palace survive, although they were still standing in ruin in 1904 (Fig. 36).¹¹³

located at the Houghton Library at Harvard University: Edward Lear Landscape Drawings, 1834-1884 (MS Typ 55.11, MS Typ 55.26, TypDr 805.L513), no.761 (Ioannina, May 1849).

¹⁰⁹ Vakıf Genel Müdüroğlu, Ankara, Vakfiyye 629/743/491 (11 Cemaziyelevvel 1219 AH/ 18 August 1804 CE).

¹¹⁰ William Martin Leake mentions that it was Petros who was responsible for the saray in Tepelena, as well as the bridge spanning the Vjosa next to the citadel: *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 223. Also see Petronitis, “Architektones kai Mixhanikoi stin Ipiresia tou Ali Pasa,” 371. The terminus ante quem for the palace is established by the journey of Leake.

¹¹¹ The dating for the citadel is based on a bi-lingual inscription in both Greek and Ottoman Turkish that can today be found in the History Museum in Tepelena. Although it is very badly damaged, on the Ottoman Turkish side of the inscription the Arabic numbers “15” can be discerned, which I posit may be part of the Hijri date 1215, which would correspond with the years 1800-1801 CE.

¹¹² Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 31.

¹¹³ Mary Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 242.

As the citadel is not a protected heritage area and is still used today for private housing, tracing the archaeological remains of these structures at the moment is difficult (Fig. 37). Still, primarily looking at the descriptions of Lord Byron and his traveling companion John Hobhouse, we know that the complex resembled the main palace in Ioannina.¹¹⁴ The collection of buildings were situated around a wide open courtyard [no. 2 in Fig. 37], and included a large two-storied residence with public reception areas and private living quarters, as well as a garden and adjacent Friday mosque. The main entrance to the palace in the citadel was a monumental gateway [no. 1 in Fig. 37], facing south towards the bazaar district. The formal architectural vocabulary of a double-arched portal strikingly resembles the main entrance to Ali Pasha's palace in the Ioannina citadel, although it is not as sophisticated in its execution (Fig. 38). The visitor would then progress through an elaborate bent entrance and emerge in the enclosure of the court.

The only image of Ali Pasha's palace in Tepelena comes from *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron* (Fig. 39).¹¹⁵ This engraving is based on a drawing by the artist William Purser, who did travel to the region, serving as the draughtsman for the architect George Ledwell Taylor from 1817 to 1820.¹¹⁶ It is not

¹¹⁴ Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, I, 156.

¹¹⁵ William Brockedon, Edward Francis Finden and William Finden, *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron*, 3 Volumes (London: John Murray, 1833-1834). Volume 1 also includes a view of Ioannina and a portrait of Ali Pasha.

¹¹⁶ Curator's comments on "A Mohammedan Funeral" by William Purser, ca 1820-1830, 1890,0512.133, The British Museum website, accessed May 25, 2016, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx. Richard Stoneman, *A Luminous Land: Artists Discover Greece* (Getty Publications, 1998), 166.

clear, however, if Purser was able to travel as far north as Tepelena. The depiction of Ali Pasha's residence and the adjacent mosque do reflect the basic elements of the local architectural vocabulary in its broadest strokes, with the central apartments being a two-story konak with ground floors in stone and a lighter upper story faced with an arcade. Yet the scale of the mosque and the palace are almost certainly exaggerated, especially when compared with Edward Lear's drawing of the Tepelena mosque years later (See Fig. 123). Additionally, in the engraving, the complex is also situated in a wide, open area, not looking at all like an enclosure behind the walls of a citadel. It also seems unlikely that the palace's arcade would have been decorated with Ionic columns and trilobed "Moorish" arches—the standard signifier deployed by Western Europeans in this period to indicate an "Oriental" setting, regardless of the specific geographic context. This image is perhaps best understood, therefore, as the work of an artist who was generally familiar with the palatial and religious architecture in the region and had assuredly read Hobhouse's written descriptions of the place, all filtered through an Orientalist lens that privileges sensationalist grandeur over scientific accuracy.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, this view still succeeds in capturing the essence of this complex at Tepelena as a space where Ali Pasha's religious and political authority converged.

The third urban center where Ali Pasha built multiple palaces was Preveza, a former Venetian dependency that ultimately fell under the governor's direct jurisdiction

¹¹⁷ Elisabeth Fraser demonstrates that these kind of large-scale illustrated publication projects in France and Britain, which were the result of a team of authors, engravers, and artists, necessarily have to be considered as "plural" or "multivocal" in nature, and not reflective of a single authorial voice: Elisabeth Fraser, "Books, Prints, and Travel: Reading in the Gaps of the Orientalist Archive," *Art History* 31, no. 3 (Jun. 2008), 343.

in 1806 (Fig. 40). Upon taking control of the city, Ali Pasha first inhabited what is described as a "chateau" in a contemporary French map (Fig. 41).¹¹⁸ This building seems to have been located in the fortress of Agios Andreas, and was most likely an existing structure that had been used by the former Venetian and French administrators.¹¹⁹ Only two years after Ali Pasha entered Preveza for good, the governor's agent writes from Preveza to report that the "serayi" had been damaged in a storm, almost certainly referring to that located in Agios Andreas.¹²⁰

Eventually, in 1812, the traveler Henry Holland witnessed the construction of a new large palace at the point ("Bouka/Bocca") of the peninsula, located exactly at the narrowest part of the straits.¹²¹ Labeled as the "Sérail" on Bocage's map of Preveza (see Fig. 41), this palace on the point seems to have been more or less directly located above the ruins of an earlier fortress that constituted the heart of the early modern city,

¹¹⁸ This map, also produced in 1820 by Du Bocage, was published in the account of François Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, 6 Volumes (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1821); Nikos Karabelas, "O Anglos theologos Thomas S. Hughes stin Preveza kai ti Nikopoli," *Prevezanika Chronika* 41-42 (2005), 137.

¹¹⁹ A French plan of the fortress produced in 1798 shows a large structure overlooking the sea and due south of the main gateway, labeled "quartier du Commandant": Service Historique de la Défense, Vicennes, R-18-4-10-B-202, reproduced in James Curlin, "«Remember the Moment when Previsa fell»: The 1798 Battle of Nicopolis and Preveza," in *Preveza B: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for the History and Culture of Preveza (16-20 September 2009)*, eds. Nikos Karabelas and Michael Stork (Preveza: Actia Nicopolis Foundation, 2010), 296.

¹²⁰ Report from Ali Pasha's Silahdar regarding repairs to the saray in Preveza (February 5, 1808), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 361, 669-671

¹²¹ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 64. With Ali Pasha transferring the provincial palace to the new site on the peninsula in 1812, by 1813 Thomas Hughes reports that the *voyvoda* of Preveza was then residing in the palace at Agios Andreas, what Hughes calls the "old seraglio...the court of which we entered by a massive gateway:" Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 411.

represented in a plan in the late seventeenth century by Vincenzo Coronelli (Fig. 42).¹²² It is unclear to what extent Ali Pasha's new construction re-used material or followed the layout of the earlier structure, because none of these built elements survive today. Yet by some stroke of luck, the area has managed to avoid the urbanization of the modern city, and now largely consists of an open field and park area. Large blocks of cut masonry that are still discernible in the vicinity of the Bouka palace indicate that this site may be a profitable candidate for future archaeological excavations, which could reveal the complex early modern palimpsest of the area (Fig. 43).¹²³

Rare images from the collection of the Swedish-Greek photographer Frédéric Boissonnas prove that Ali Pasha's palace complex was essentially intact as late as the 1930s (Fig. 44).¹²⁴ Following this photo as well as contemporary descriptions from European travelers, we can assert that Ali Pasha's palace on the peninsula consisted of a format that is by now rather familiar: a series of structures—reception apartments, private quarters, kitchens, gardens, bathhouse—surrounding a large courtyard and enclosed by high walls. The most distinctive features of this complex include a special access point to

¹²² The history of political rule in Preveza during the early modern period is incredibly complicated. Evliya Çelebi visited the town in the 1670s, reporting that the fortress was in fact constructed in the sixteenth century by Sultan Süleyman I, and included a garrison of 250 men, 100 small houses, and a mosque, also built by Süleyman: Kahraman, ed., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 282-283; Spiros Ergolavos, *Evliya Teselebi stin Ipeiro* (Ioannina: 1995), 32. The town was taken by the Venetians in 1684, only to lose it again in 1699. Venice captured Preveza again in 1717, this time holding on to the city until the fall of the republic in 1797.

¹²³ Yet, given the current economic climate in Greece, on top of the fact that Ottoman and Venetian monuments do not rank high on the to-do list of the archaeological services, this project is not likely to get off the ground in the foreseeable future.

¹²⁴ The view of the new palace at Preveza has been taken from the west, on the bastions of the Agios Georgios fortress. My sincere thanks to Nicholas Karabelas for drawing my attention to these images and granting me access to them.

the water for launching boats directly from the palace, whose court also served as a kind of shipyard.¹²⁵ There was also a battery of canons just at the tip of the peninsula, serving as a counterpoint to the triangular fortress at Actium that was located directly across the strait, less than a kilometer away (labeled as “Fort” in Fig. 41).

In sum, in all three of Ali Pasha's large palatial cities—Ioannina, Tepelena, and Preveza—the governor elected to build his residences in fortified locations that, while well-protected, still afforded prime views of the surrounding areas. The palaces in Ioannina and Tepelena were elevated on natural promontories, while Ali Pasha's residence in Preveza commanded a view of the straits as well as the city's harbor. Anyone making their approach to these various cities, whether a villager from the surrounding hinterland or foreign traveler, would have been confronted with a clear view to the vizier's palace (Fig. 45). All of these residences were urban complexes, located in the middle of the city, but still defended by massive walls and thus physically separated or removed from the rest of the population: “within, a palace, and without, a fort.”

A clear model for this urban-yet-separate pattern can be seen in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul (Fig. 46). Even though architectural historians tend to place more emphasis on the horizontal expanse of this complex, hierarchically defined by a series of increasingly-secluded courtyard spaces, it is equally notable that the Topkapı is located on a promontory.¹²⁶ The sultan's residence stands protected behind multiple layers of outer walls. Yet, because of its vantage, it can still be clearly observed from the

¹²⁵ William Goodison, *A Historical and Topographical Essay Upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante: With Remarks Upon the Character, Manners, and Customs of the Ionian Greeks...and Reflections upon the Cyclopean Ruins* (London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1822), 94.

¹²⁶ Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, xvi.

Bosphorus and Golden Horn. In comparison, when describing Ali Pasha's palace at Litharitsa in Ioannina, Leake writes that the building,

Though not so spacious as the *Sultan's palaces on the Bosphorus*, deserves still greater admiration in respect of the surrounding scenery. Standing upon the summit of a fortress which now incloses (sic) the hill of Litharitsa, it forms by *its light Chinese architecture* a striking contrast with the solid plainness of the basis on which it rests. The parapets of the fortress are armed with cannon, and the lower part of it consists of casemated apartments, so that it may stand a siege after all the upper structure is destroyed.¹²⁷

The fact that Leake so casually flits from the Bosphorus Straits to the walls of the Forbidden City in order to characterize Ali Pasha's palatial architecture points to the extraordinarily wide currency of the walled, urban palace as an architecture of imperial power in the early modern period.¹²⁸ The mutual acts of self-presentation and surveillance, looking and being seen, that are at work in all of these buildings—from Istanbul to Beijing—are similarly being engaged in Ali Pasha's major palaces, with these structures situated in central locations that proclaimed the governor's ascendance to authority in a given city. It should also be noted, however, that, even in its conception, the palace at Litharitsa equally anticipated the vizier's potential downfall, designed from the beginning as a site for a dramatic last stand.

Ali Pasha's decision to take the high ground, so to speak, was a marked departure from the settlement patterns of previous government administrators in these cities in earlier centuries. Again, the chronicles of Evliya Çelebi, who passed through this region

¹²⁷ Emphasis is my own. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, IV, 151-52.

¹²⁸ More specifically, we can note that, with Leake writing only a decade after the famous Macartney Embassy to Beijing in 1793, this reference to the Qing palace would have come easily to the mind of an educated young British man, who no doubt was inundated with a slew of images and textual descriptions of this architecture shortly after the fact.

in the year 1670, offer a glimpse of these provinces almost a century before Ali Pasha came to power.¹²⁹ In most of the major cities that would eventually come under Ali Pasha's control—such as Tepelena, Gjirokaster, Ioannina, Arta, and Preveza—Evliya describes a firm division of military and civic power that was expressed architecturally within these urban centers. Typically, the *dizdar ağası* (castle steward) and his garrison of soldiers occupied the inner citadel, while the provincial governors and regional administrators (such as the *sancak beyi*, *voyvoda*, or *şehir kethüdası*) resided in large palaces located outside of the inner citadel and in the heart of the city, amid the public institutions such as mosques, tekkes, bazaars, medreses, and imarets that formed the nuclei of Ottoman neighborhoods. For example, according to Evliya, the inner citadel of Ioannina, which would later become Ali Pasha's primary seat of power (“the İç Kale”), was in the seventeenth century only occupied by the castle steward and the head of the local Janissary corps, while Mustafa Pasha, the provincial governor of the time, resided in what Evliya describes as a “magnificent palace,” still within the walled city but outside of the inner citadel.¹³⁰

Although a more in-depth investigation is needed, even a cursory survey of some of Evliya’s travels reveals that this separation of authority was seen in many provincial districts throughout the empire. This generalization is supported by a comment Evliya makes about the political situation in Diyarbakır, as “nowhere else [in the empire] is it

¹²⁹ Evliya’s journeys in Epirus can be found in the eighth volume of his *Seyahatname*. For Evliya in Albania, see Dankoff and Elsie, *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions*, 75 [Gjirokaster], and 93 [Tepelena]. For Evliya in what is now modern Greece, see Ergolavos, *Evliya Tselebi, Taksidi stin Ipeiro*, 32-34 [Preveza], 43-46 [Arta], and 56-57 [Ioannina].

¹³⁰ Kahraman, ed., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 287; Ergolavos, *Evliya Tselebi, Taksidi stin Ipeiro*, 56-57.

customary for pashas to enter the citadel—let alone to reside there—except here in Diyarbekir. Here all the viziers take up residence in the citadel,” stressing that this mode of habitation is the exception, rather than the rule.¹³¹

The bifurcation of military muscle and civic bureaucracy reflected and corresponded with an important wider development in the transition of cities from the Byzantine/Despotate period to Ottoman rule. Essentially, the citadel—which had once been the fortified Byzantine settlement—was transformed in the Ottoman period into an area used principally as a military garrison, while the city itself expanded beyond fortification walls and into the adjacent countryside. The Ottoman tendency in this region to expand beyond the Byzantine walls is highlighted in Evliya's account of Arta, where the traveler reports the castle steward occupying what was the former Byzantine residence in the citadel, referred to as the old “royal palace” (*kiral sarayı*), while the official residence of the *şehir ağası* Yusuf Pasha was located due south of the walls in the city, near the church of Agias Theodoras.¹³²

More than a century after Evliya's travels, Ali Pasha broke with this established tradition of spatially separating civic and military power by placing his palace complexes in the cities of Ioannina, Preveza, and Tepelena within the inner citadel, forcing the administrative structure of the city back behind the walls.¹³³ This move was not only

¹³¹ Martin Van Bruinessen and Hendrik Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 133.

¹³² Kahraman, ed., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 285; Ergolavos, *Evliya Tselebi, Taksidi stin Ipeiro*, 43-46.

¹³³ A noteworthy exception was the court of the *kadi*, or the head legal authority in the region, which, according to Du Bocage's map, was located outside of the walled city. Thus, the local courts managed to maintain at least geographic autonomy from Ali Pasha's administration.

practical—Ali Pasha seemed to be paranoid (as it turns out, rightly so) about attacks from foreign invaders, rival governors as well as Istanbul itself. Furthermore, the reclamation of what had once been military garrisons for his palaces also signaled a consolidation of Ali Pasha's military and political authority.

The Peripatetic Court

While Ali Pasha participated in the established tradition of an Ottoman governor maintaining a palace in his appointed administrative district, he also innovated upon this convention by initiating in a matter of years the construction of multiple palace complexes throughout his territory and pursuing a policy of continuous mobility between them. Beyond the major complexes in Ioannina, Tepelena, and Preveza, Ali Pasha also maintained a number of other residences throughout his territory. These include other, smaller administrative seats in towns such as Gjirokaster and Arta. Ali Pasha's sons Veli, Muhtar and Salih, who were appointed as governors to districts adjacent to their father's, maintained their own palaces in Berat, Larissa, Trikala, Nafpaktos (Lepanto), and Tripoli. Veli Pasha was known, for example, to preside over the district of Thessaly (Yenişehir) in a large mansion in Tirnavos, which the French artist Louis Dupré visited and described in all of its "barbarous magnificence" (Fig. 47).¹³⁴ All of these provincial palaces, in conjunction with even smaller residences throughout Greece and Albania, made it possible for Ali Pasha and his court to progress through the territory with ease and establish physical loci of power in almost every corner of the region.

¹³⁴ Louis Dupré, *Voyage à Athenes et à Constantinople* (Paris: Dondey- Dupré, 1825), 22-23. According to Ottoman sources, the palace was known as "Gülbahçe:" BOA, Istanbul, C.AS 557/23363 (29 Şevval 1263 AH/ 10 October 1847 CE).

Towards this end, Ali Pasha also established smaller homes in more remote but strategic or symbolically-charged locations. In the first years of the nineteenth century, he was endeavoring to expand his territory. After Ali Pasha secured the allegiance of a new region, his first act to celebrate this victory was typically to occupy or construct a residence. The palace was essential in controlling an area because the administrator had to maintain an official presence in the town. Upon wresting the district of Delvine from Ibrahim Pasha, for example, his workers set about building a new residence in the citadel of Gjirokaster, re-using wooden beams pilfered from the large houses of Gardik, a village whose population had been completely eradicated due to their alliance with the French as well as with this rival governor.¹³⁵ In a blatant act of spoliation, which in this case can be used in the fullest sense of the word, Ali Pasha seized the very skeletons of the fine houses that had broadcast the financial success of his enemies, and used the material in his own palace in Gjirokaster. The British consul William Meyer reports that in 1820, when Ali Pasha finally negotiated successfully for Parga, one of the former Venetian mainland dependencies under protection of the British crown,¹³⁶ he appropriated the residence of the former commanding officer, Captain Bruton, and with “a great metamorphose” transformed the structure into a large mansion: “In a few months but a

¹³⁵ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia*, 494.

¹³⁶ Ali Pasha eventually took control of the mainland dependencies of the former Venetian Republic (Butrint, Preveza, Vonitsa and Parga), which by 1800 were part of the Septinsular Republic and under the direct protection of Istanbul and Russia. The Christian populations of these mainland dependencies opposed Ali Pasha being the administrator of these towns, and successfully arranged to have a *voivoda* sent directly from Istanbul instead: National Archives, London, FO 78/58, Letter from J.P. Morier to Lord Howick, Zante (January 21, 1807). These negotiations for Parga are reflected in diplomatic correspondence from the time: National Archives, London: FO 78/90, Papers of Sir Robert Liston, 1818.

few vestiges will be left of what it was.”¹³⁷ Ali Pasha thus would not simply occupy the residence of a former administrator, but rather preferred to either build an entirely new construction or heavily renovate the existing structure.

All of Ali Pasha’s residences, from the citadel in Ioannina to his perch in Gjirokaster, are best imagined as a connected network of staging points, which facilitated Ali Pasha’s itinerant court (Fig. 48). Ali Pasha was always on the move; boasting that “he had passed and repassed over all parts of [his country] in every season of the year.”¹³⁸ It is even something of a trope in the numerous European travel accounts and diplomatic reports that no one can ever seem to find Ali Pasha.¹³⁹ When the consul John Morier arrives in Ioannina, Ali Pasha is in Tepelena; when Leake travels to Tepelena, the governor is in the nearby Premeti; in Ioannina, John Hobhouse received the pasha’s apologies for not being in the city to welcome him because “a little war” in a nearby province was taking a few more days than had been expected.¹⁴⁰ Under Ali Pasha’s administration, the governor maintained the complementary dyad of having fixed capital cities and frequent peregrinations, creating movable and inter-connected bases for his power. Both travel accounts and archival documents reveal that Ali Pasha was frequently

¹³⁷ William Meyer to Colonel Travers, Preveza (February 24, 1820), in *Epirus, ‘Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, I, 61. This house is mentioned in an Ottoman register listing Ali Pasha’s properties as a konak inside of the fortification with a stone cistern and fifteen rooms—huge by the region’s standards: BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d. 9767 (29 Şevval 1241 AH/ 6 June 1826 CE), 94.

¹³⁸ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 472.

¹³⁹ Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, 45.

¹⁴⁰ Respectively, National Archives, London, FO 78/47, Letter from J.P. Morier to Lord Harrowby, Ioannina (February 26, 1805); FO 78/57, Letter from William Martin Leake to Lord Harrowby, Corfu (January 21, 1805); Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople*, 57.

on the road, either conducting military campaigns, or, perhaps even more crucially, tax collection. William Goodison remarks that Ali Pasha made an annual journey to Preveza (and presumably to his other provinces as well) accompanied by a large body of troops in order to collect the revenues due to him.¹⁴¹

However tempting it may be to ascribe Ali Pasha's intensive mobility to his more adventurous days as a young mountain warrior, roaming the mountain passes of Tepelena, performing frequent journeys throughout such a wide territory demanded a great deal of co-ordination and planning. Ali Pasha's peripatetic, or itinerant, movements followed annual circuits or established routes from one city to the next. In order to facilitate his frequent movements throughout the provinces, Ali Pasha invested his resources in maintaining and building up the infrastructure that defined this network. The major roads connecting the main cities under Ali Pasha's control were constantly under repair, and there were also several improvements in bridges and embankments.¹⁴² Travelers were constantly impressed with the high quality of the roads in Ottoman Epirus, noting that a person could navigate the region's treacherous mountain passes and marshy swamps along paved causeways.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Goodison, *A Historical and Topographical Essay Upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante*, 93-94.

¹⁴² Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, 44-45; Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 459.

¹⁴³ For a discussion of the Arta-Ioannina road, see Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople*, 54, and the Arta-Salaora causeway is described on pages 45-48; Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 436; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 201; and Charles R. Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817* (London; New York: Longmans, Green, 1903), 232-33.

Along these roads were also *hans*, inns positioned the length of a day's travel apart, which served as waystations for travelers, merchants and messengers. In several locations, there are still remains of large hans where we know from travelers that the best apartments were always reserved for the governor.¹⁴⁴ By far the most impressive example of Ali Pasha's "roadside architecture" still seen today is the fortified palace at Pente Pigadia, or the "Five Wells" (Fig. 49).¹⁴⁵ The site is located in a small village approximately half-way along what used to be the main road from Ioannina to Arta (the national highway now runs about two kilometers west of this route).¹⁴⁶ Considering the fact that the structure was badly damaged in the Ottoman campaign against Ali Pasha,¹⁴⁷ the central building remains in relatively good condition. Cruciform in plan, the han features slanting walls built with masonry techniques resembling Ali Pasha's fortifications in Ioannina and Preveza (see Chapter 2). A more compact version of the governor's urban residences, the han at Pente Pigadia has two main levels, with the

¹⁴⁴ In the case of Salaora, a small post on the northern shore of the Gulf of Arta, the principal building there "is a small palace of the Vizier's, employed as a place of occasional repose when he is travelling between Ioannina and Prevesa...The habitable rooms form wings to the central gallery; but two apartments only are fitted up for the reception of the Vizier and his great officers. There we were not permitted to occupy:" Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 78-79. At Salaora today, which is simply a remote uninhabited place off the side of the road, this building no longer stands, but the foundation platform is still clearly visible. Ali Pasha's chancery archive attests Salaora as a lively shipping station; one document mentions construction work done by a Master Antoni Monasterli in 1808: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 376, 705.

¹⁴⁵ Giorgos Smiris, *To diktio ton ochiroseon sto pasaliki ton Ioanninon (1788-1822)* (Ioannina: Etaireia Ipeirotikou Meleton, 2004), 159-161; Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 436.

¹⁴⁶ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 220.

¹⁴⁷ Chrisomallis to William Meyer, Preveza (April 7, 1821), in *Epirus, 'Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, I, 334. Around the monument today are extensive ruins that suggest a wider fortification system as well as even the older structures of the village that once surrounded the han. This site would potentially be an interesting candidate for future archaeological survey.

bottom level used for storage and stables and the top floor serving as the apartments.¹⁴⁸

The building is not only conveniently located along the road, but also commands a breathtaking view of the Louros River valley. With this imposing waystation-palace, Ali Pasha had created the ideal home away from home.

The fortified character and positioning of the han at Pente Pigadia also illustrates another crucial point about Ali Pasha's peripatetic movements and his construction of roadside architecture. Namely, it illustrates the significance of his position as the *derbendler başbuğu*, or Commander of the Passes. As outlined in the introduction, the Ottoman province of Rumeli is defined by a series of mountain chains and river valleys, where passage from one area to another is funneled through key chokeholds. The job of the *derbendler başbuğu* was to fortify, maintain and defend these points, and one of Ali Pasha's major political coups early in his career was his appointment to this position in 1788. Such a move made the governor quite powerful, as, at least in Epirus, whoever controlled the mountain passes, controlled the territory at large. In the Ottoman register describing the architecture at Pente Pigadia, the han is described as "being positioned above the Ioannina pass," emphasizing the special designation of this site as one of the *derbend* that the vizier was under obligation to protect in this position. Ali Pasha not only made use of and built up a road network, but it was also his responsibility to monitor these waystations, especially at the mountain passes, with the expectation from the central authorities that he would be able to quash rebellions and threats to security with a firm hand.

¹⁴⁸ An Ottoman land register described the building as including 12 rooms and 2 "divanhane," or meeting chambers: BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d. 9767 (29 Şevval 1241 AH/ 6 June 1826 CE).

Registers of Ali Pasha's landed property now at the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul further attest that, in the hundreds of farming villages (*çiftlik*) recorded as being in the direct possession of the governor, Ali Pasha sometimes kept a residence as part of his estate, to be used when passing through that particular area.¹⁴⁹ The scale of this architectural network only begins to emerge when looking at, and mapping, this archival source: among the *çiftlik* owned by the governor in the district of Yanya and Delvine, he maintained ten *konak* residences of various sizes (Fig. 50, orange points).¹⁵⁰ The Ottoman register also records the *hans* (blue points in Fig. 50) located in these *çiftlik*, which were both available for the governor's use but also generated revenue by offering lodging to other travelers. Looking at the map I have created to show how these different properties were situated in the broader landscape, it is important to note that most of these residences and *hans* were positioned directly along the main road arteries connecting Ali Pasha's court cities of Ioannina, Tepelena, and Preveza. Thus, even though these residences are located in farming villages owned by the vizier, we can assert that these houses could be considered less a part of a *villa rustica* tradition—i.e. countryside hubs for large agricultural estates—and more as prominent nodes along a wider transportation network.

¹⁴⁹ *Idem.*

¹⁵⁰ I included in this number a residence in the village of Vargiades, a building that does not appear in the Ottoman register. The level of detailed information about these villages is uneven in the archives, as the registers were drawn up gradually by different individuals. The accounting for Ali Pasha's *çiftlik* in the *nahiye* of Tziachorvita, which is the district in which the village of Vargiades appears, is rather sparse, with no breakdown of revenue according to agricultural products, nor any mention of immovable property. There are several travelers, however, who mention this large residence belonging to the governor in the town, which is one of the key transit hubs in the valley: Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817*, 242; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 224.

The appearance of these large residences and hans along the region's road system also point to the fact that the governor would not be making these journeys alone. Rather, he was usually accompanied by large retinues of soldiers and court officials for these peregrinations. William Haygarth observed an occasion where one such impromptu exodus took place:

The society [in Ioannina] is more civilized than in any other town in Greece. The Pasha, though illiterate himself, is fond of conversing with learned men, and keeps them constantly about his person. Ali left Ioannina before my departure, and crossed the Pindus with a considerable body of troops, in order to have an interview with his son in Thessaly. I overtook him in Triccala, and found that he had brought all the literati of his capital with him, though he intended to be absent only a very short time.¹⁵¹

In the early modern period, sovereigns would often travel through their territory to ensure that local centers be tied to an ideology of empire. For example, the Safavid Sultan Shah Abbas, intent on rotating the site of his court, progressed throughout his territory, dotted with dozens of small but luxurious residences for this purpose.¹⁵²

Another ruler that set the standard for the imperial progression was Charles V, who, despite the construction of his palace at the Alhambra and residence at the Hofburg in Vienna, never truly established a geographic center for his court, and was constantly rotating among territories in Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Austria.¹⁵³

In the same way, Ali Pasha sought to rehearse his authority repeatedly in various regional centers through the construction of palaces and his perpetual migration from one

¹⁵¹ William Haygarth, *Greece, a Poem, in Three Parts* (London: Bulmer and Co., 1814), 128.

¹⁵² Yves Porter and Arthur Thevernart, *Palaces and Gardens of Persia* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 109.

¹⁵³ Glyn Redworth and Fernando Checa, "The Kingdoms of Spain: The Courts of the Spanish Hapsburgs, 1500-1700," in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Regime 1500-1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), 52-56.

to the next. This network, or constellation, of palaces introduces one of the most notable shifts in how space was controlled and defined in the Ottoman provinces during this period. As outlined in the introduction, Ali Pasha was part of a wider phenomenon of rising regional elites. Of this new group of local administrators, Ali Pasha was perhaps the most successful in negotiating his appointment to multiple provinces, and then extending his political influence even further by having his sons placed in the adjacent districts. In previous centuries of Ottoman rule, it would have been unusual for one individual to maintain so many residences in such a broad territory and have the right to move freely from one to the other. Thus, Ali Pasha's endless circulations between his palaces both test the boundaries of what was acceptable for a man of his office and speak to the fragility of his power base, which constantly had to be renewed and re-established. They also reflect the increasing dependence of the Porte on local elite.

The Taste of Tyranny

Both the urban palaces and roadside residences of Ali Pasha can best be understood as a kind of strongman architecture, conveying on multiple levels the governor's ability to maintain a tight grip over the affairs of his territory. Maximilian Hartmuth has documented and discussed in detail one striking example of how this process of self-aggrandizement worked, a series of murals found on both the exterior and interior of Muhtar Pasha's palace in Ioannina.¹⁵⁴ These wall paintings, now lost, reportedly depicted Ali's son tending to livestock as well as on the hunt. The murals also

¹⁵⁴ Maximilian Hartmuth, "The Visual Strategies of Late Ottoman Provincial Strongmen and the Problem of the Didactic Use of Images in Islam," in *14th International Congress of Turkish Art Proceedings*, ed. Frédéric Hitzel (Paris: Collège de France, 2013), 381-388.

showed Muhtar, surrounded by his own officers, witnessing the execution of two unidentified men “whom the hangman is tying to a gibbet with the same rope: others exhibit decapitated trunks with the blood spouting out from the veins and arteries.”¹⁵⁵

Hartmuth argues that these grisly images stand as evidence for the “acute sense of visuality” of Ali Pasha and the sons he raised, “of identities anchored in the periphery.”¹⁵⁶

Besides serving as canvases for the display of conspicuous acts of violence, these palaces equally provided opportunities for the vizier and his family to telegraph their conspicuous consumption of luxurious objects as well as their investment in expensive decorated apartments.

Interestingly, many of the foreign travelers who visited these houses were quick in their accounts to draw a connection between these two themes—violence and decadence—in order to demonstrate the base character of the governor himself. The Reverend Thomas Smart Hughes provides an extensive report on Ali Pasha’s palace in the coastal town of Preveza, a “magnificent new seraglio which the vizier has built at the entrance to the bay.”¹⁵⁷ Hughes notes the complex’s richly decorated state apartments and long galleries with views to the sea, and characterizes the exterior as “built of wood, upon a basement of stone, painted in the most gaudy colours.”¹⁵⁸ It was common in the region for the more elite konak-style houses to have both the interior and exterior of the upper

¹⁵⁵ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 458. These paintings are also noticed by Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817*, 240-41.

¹⁵⁶ Hartmuth, “The Visual Strategies of Late Ottoman Provincial Strongmen,” 384-385.

¹⁵⁷ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 423.

¹⁵⁸ *Idem*, I, 424.

stories decked out in fantastic baroque designs in paint and plaster. A sketch of Ali Pasha's palace in Ioannina (Fig. 51) as well as a contemporary example from Gjirokaster (Fig. 52) provide an idea of the "gaudy colours" encountered by Hughes. After his physical description of the palace in Preveza, Hughes reflects on the nature of Ali Pasha's residential architecture in comparison to buildings produced by earlier civilizations that had once ruled the same region:

Of all arts, architecture gives us the most decided character of an age. In the ruins of ancient Greece, we discover the grandeur of a generous and free people by the remains of magnificent edifices destined equally for utility and decoration: in the modern buildings scattered over the same tract we observe inelegant but gaudy structures, framed of the most perishable materials, and built only to last during the life of their possessors. Thus the buds of genius are withered by the breath of despotism, and insecurity, contracting the mind, forbids it to look forward into futurity...¹⁵⁹

Steeped in a British classical education, Hughes draws upon the Vitruvian ideals of *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas* (stability, utility, beauty) as his key criteria for the assessment of architecture.¹⁶⁰ When compared to the monuments of Greek antiquity, Ali Pasha's palaces are found to be lacking in both permanence and elegance. Hughes's repugnance for the "modern buildings" of Greece aligns with the neoclassical movement (often referred to as the Greek Revival) in Britain that advocated for both sobriety and

¹⁵⁹ Idem, I, 424.

¹⁶⁰ This is by far the most quoted passage of Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*, 1.3.2: "Haec autem ita fieri debent ut habeatur ratio firmitatis, utilitatis, venustatis": Indra Kagis McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 199 and 376, note 174. Ever since Vitruvius was rediscovered in fifteenth-century Italy, the ancient Roman author and his treatise on architecture and civil engineering held firm sway over the next several centuries of architectural production and theory in Western Europe. England was no exception, and this enthusiasm for forging a creative lineage back to the classical world (with explicitly nationalist motivations) is exemplified in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, or *The British Architect*, (1715-25), the first professional survey of British architecture that honored both Inigo Jones and Andrea Palladio: John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958 third revised edition), 188-89.

minimal color in architecture, emphatically turning away from the more boisterous Palladianism and continental baroque styles.¹⁶¹ Thus, in the eyes of Hughes, Ali Pasha's palaces—conglomerate, asymmetrical structures decked out in bright floral painting in a local baroque style—were bound to fall short.

The narrative of democracy versus despotism as it plays out in architecture is a long-standing trope that continues into the present day—think of the widely-circulated photos of US soldiers lounging on the gilded furniture they found in the palaces of Saddam Hussein after the invasion of Baghdad in 2003 (Fig. 53). This underlying concept of taste being tied to moral character, a culturally-specific notion established by thinkers like Kant in eighteenth-century Europe, is difficult to shake when discussing Ali Pasha's palatial architecture, especially because almost all of the textual descriptions we have of these structures are from Western visitors. What do we make of these “gaudy” interiors, the piles of weapons and carpets, the murals of harsh justice being served?

Ritual, Ceremony and Style: The Performance of Power

To begin to answer such questions, I address in this section the concept of the palace as theater, where Ali Pasha staged himself as the Ottoman governor par excellence to multiple audiences. Even though Western travelers comprise only one of these audiences, their detailed descriptions of these cross-cultural encounters lend valuable insight into the rituals and routines of Ali Pasha's court. Meanwhile, within the local Epirote context, the governor's palaces are intricately linked to the concept of the *otzaki*

¹⁶¹ Marc-Antoine Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture* (1753), which maintained that structural beauty corresponds to strict functional necessity, served as the lodestar for this architectural movement: J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870* (London: John Murray, 1972), 82-83.

[Gr. οτζάκι; Tr. ocak], a term that literally refers to a hearth, but, metaphorically speaking, denotes the dynastic line of a great family. In this sense, the term comes very close in meaning to the ancient Greek *oikos*. This theme comes up again and again in the corpus of Greek poetry commissioned or immediately inspired by Ali Pasha himself; for example, in an epigraphic inscription dedicated to the massacre of the Gardikiotes, the governor's family is referred to as "the Moutzochousatic otzaki" ("Οντζάκι Μουτζοχουσάτικον"), a nod to Ali Pasha's grandfathers, Moutzo and Houso.¹⁶² Ali Pasha's palaces reify the *otzaki*, serving as a central gathering place and justifying the governor's dynastic legitimacy. This idea is most evident in Ioannina, with the cluster of Ali Pasha's palace on the Litharitsa hill and the residences of his two sons Muhtar and Veli situated directly below, establishing genealogies in the geography itself (Fig. 54).¹⁶³

Within and around these palaces, ritual and ceremony contributed to the idea of Ali Pasha as a capable and legitimate administrator. These rituals were also full of pomp and circumstance, lavish displays of luxury items as well as the size of the court attending the pasha. As mentioned, these rituals are best observed in European travel accounts, in which can be found a few dozen descriptions of some kind of formal encounter with the governor. In the common case of a foreigner being summoned to one of Ali Pasha's palaces for an official audience, the ritual typically begins with an ostentatious procession through the city. For example, when Henry Holland visited Ali Pasha at the Litharitsa palace in Ioannina,

¹⁶² This inscription is in part recorded by Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 498.

¹⁶³ Hartmuth, "The Visual Strategies of Late Ottoman Provincial Strongmen," 384.

Two white horses, of beautiful figure, and superbly caparisoned in the Turkish manner, were brought to us from the Seraglio; conducted by two Albanese soldiers, likewise richly attired and armed. Mounting these horses, and a Turkish officer of the palace preceding us, with an ornamented staff¹⁶⁴ in his hand, we proceeded slowly and with much state through the city, to the great Seraglio.¹⁶⁵

These kinds of processions must have been quite the spectacle for the local inhabitants of the city. Unfortunately, we have no way of recovering the kind of reactions these rituals elicited from the populace, save for one description from John Hobhouse of a small parade led by Mahmut Pasha, the son of Veli Pasha: “As the young Pasha passed through the streets, all the people rose from their shops, and those who were walking stood still, every body paying him the usual reverence, by bending their bodies very low, touching the ground with their right hand, and then bringing it up to their mouth and forehead... The Bey returned the salute by laying his right hand on his breast, and by a gentle inclination of his head.”¹⁶⁶ In this example, we can understand that, during these processions, the “audience”—the inhabitants—were active participants in this ritual as well, expected to stop their daily activities in acknowledgement of the passage of the pasha or one of his extended family, with an exchange of deferential bows and salutes.

Once the special guest arrived at the palace in question, they would dismount their charges within the inner courtyard, and make their way upstairs into the apartments dedicated to holding audiences. Guests would usually be made to wait for some time in

¹⁶⁴ An example of this kind of object can be seen on display at the National History Museum in Athens. The label attributes the object to Ali Pasha, although it is not clear how this provenance was established: Object no. 3765.

¹⁶⁵ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 120.

¹⁶⁶ Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, 61.

an adjacent antechamber, then would be led into the central apartment—the *selamlık*—for their meeting with the governor. Many visitors note in their account that the interior decoration of these palaces would overall be plain and perfunctory, with the rich painting and furnishings being almost exclusively dedicated to this main audience chamber. Ali Pasha’s audience chambers were filled to the brim with jeweled weapons, large carpets from both Persia and France, and Venetian plate-glass windows.¹⁶⁷ Thus, this central apartment can itself be considered like a showroom or stage set, everything included in that space primed for the express purpose of impressing visitors.

Upon entrance into the apartment, visitors would find Ali Pasha at the far end of the room, seated in the place of honor, which was in the corner furthest from the door, and closest to the fireplace, a literal *otzaki*,¹⁶⁸ which was typically decorated with elaborate plaster molding. The guests would then be invited to sit with the governor on a long row of cushions, the *divan*. Although none of Ali Pasha’s palaces still stand, we can gain an approximate idea of this kind of scene from a sketch by William Haygarth, who recorded his own visit with the governor in Ioannina in August 1810 (See Fig. 51). In this drawing, the artist has captured the different stations and duties of the various participants in such a meeting, with Ali Pasha in the center and the visitor seated to the left, while the *dragoman*, or translator, stands nearby to facilitate communication, in this case

¹⁶⁷ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 498. The famed Greek politician Kapodistrias visited Ali Pasha’s palace in the Ioannina citadel, and wrote of the sumptuous interior, including a “carpet of Gobeline manufacture lying on the floor of the divan”: Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 158: Comte Capo d’Istria (Ioannis Kapodistrias) to the Comte de Romanzow, “Notions sur Ali Vezir de Joannina” (1811), copied by Guillame de Vaudoncourt in St. Petersburg in 1813, 7-8.

¹⁶⁸ These kinds of fireplaces decorated with lively plaster molding and paint can be found throughout the region. Perhaps one of the most exuberant examples of this type can be found in the Zekate House in Gjirokaster, Albania.

translating Ali Pasha's Greek to Italian. Just behind the translator, a turbaned man sits crouched on the floor; this is one of Ali Pasha's secretaries, drawing up a *buyuruldu*, or the requisite letters a traveler would need to carry through the governor's territory in order to prove that he was under the protection of the vizier. In the opposite corner, a group of men in various costumes are served coffee and converse among themselves. The variety of activities that took place in these audience halls again highlight the fact that these palaces were not private residences in the modern sense; rather, they were semi-public spaces where Ali Pasha dispensed justice and conducted his diplomatic affairs. Sometimes, the architecture itself aided in these transactions. Travelers frequently report that an array of swords and rifles, wrought in silver inlay and filigree, would be suspended above and behind Ali Pasha on the wall, and Haygarth also represents this here.

One of the most striking aspects of the Haygarth sketch is how crowded the scene is. Ali Pasha's palaces were populated with an extensive retinue of soldiers, officers, scribes, and religious leaders. An important archival source providing a better sense of the makeup of these retinues are several registers now found in Ali Pasha's archive at the Gennadius Library. Multiple documents from different dates throughout the governor's tenure record the loaves of bread required to feed Ali Pasha's court for a period of several days. One of these registers, dated 1801, lists approximately 250 people who needed about 3000 loaves of bread for only a few days.¹⁶⁹ Included in this list are military officers (*delibaşı*), scribes, stewards, Sufi dervishes, and even prisoners (the Souliotes

¹⁶⁹ Register made by the "Distributor of Bread" in Ali Pasha's court, Ioannina (March 26, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 73, 120-129.

were being held captive on the island in the lake). The fact that Ali Pasha can provide sustenance for this number of people on a daily basis also speaks to the munificence of the governor, and it is no wonder that the palace kitchen in the Ioannina citadel has a prominent position in the courtyard, being one of the first buildings that comes into view from the main entrance. In a similar fashion, the imperial kitchen holds a similar pride of place in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.¹⁷⁰

Of particular importance for these audiences in the central chamber of Ali Pasha's palace is control through site, in other words the primacy of the governor's gaze. His seat provides a vantage point from which Ali Pasha could monitor the surrounding landscape and military exercises of the courtyard. As I have stressed above, the urban palaces were loci of the gaze: seeing and being seen. During their audiences with the vizier, foreign travelers would often note the view from the reception area. On the occasion of Hughes's visit to the palace in the citadel of Ioannina, after the customary coffee and nargile pipe, Ali Pasha had his attendants bring in the pistols that the Englishman had gifted him and "fire[d] them off in the balcony of the serai, appearing much pleased at the loudness of the report."¹⁷¹ During the same visit, the governor brought Hughes to the same balcony to have him watch the "*djereed*" in the courtyard, a lively military exercise involving a sham fight between two parties on horseback, hurling blunt yet dangerous wooden javelins at the opposing team (this game can be seen in the foreground of Fig. 29). Hughes was then immediately conducted into a small "treasury" adjacent to the palace,

¹⁷⁰ Necipoglu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 72.

¹⁷¹ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 471-475.

which held the standards of the vizier, the three horse-tails attached to long poles and carried before Ali Pasha in battle. These standards are the material evidence of the governor's official Ottoman title, a pasha of three tails. Thus, Ali Pasha's palaces were also important sites for the performance of justice and military capability, demonstrated through a strong military character in all of the main palaces, addressing petitioners daily, and the display of weapons and standards.

Besides his main palace complexes, Ali Pasha also invested in smaller recreational pavilions and kiosks for the performance of leisure, an essential component of any refined individual of the period. This included the boating kiosk on the Ioannina lake, the hunting lodge at Butrint, and Ali Pasha's garden pavilions in the northern suburbs of Ioannina.¹⁷² Veli Pasha also had a similar pavilion built for himself when he was the governor of the Morea in Tripoli.¹⁷³

Ali Pasha's garden palace complex in Ioannina was located just at the northern edge of the city, next to the Jewish and Muslim cemeteries. Removed from the claustrophobic bustle of the city center, this palace quarter sprawled over an expansive area, all with a view to the lake from a slight promontory.¹⁷⁴ In a detail from the Du

¹⁷² Louis Dupré visited Ali Pasha's hunting lodge in Butrint. Expecting one of the splendid palaces he had heard so much about, the artist was not impressed: "Having reached the base of the fortress, in a large enclosure that we had to cross, we are still looking to discover the place where the powerful ruler of Albania could reside. Only an old hovel resembling the poorest peasant houses near Rome was offered to our eyes; which stood as a specimen of the Turkish kiosk. This was the Pasha's *pied a terre* when he visited that coastline": *Voyage à Athenes et à Constantinople*, 10.

¹⁷³ E. Angelomati-Tsougaraki, *Ta taksidia tou Lord Guilford stin Anatoliki Mesogeio* (Athens: Academy of Athens, 2000).

¹⁷⁴ With the subsequent development of the Ioannina city center, it is difficult to say where this palace area once stood exactly. But a detail from the Du Bocage map may offer a clue. On the map, Du Bocage has indicated a church dedicated to Agia Ekaterini due south of the garden complex area. This church, or

Bocage map of Ioannina (Fig. 55), we see that this complex included a walled “Jardin neuf” with a saray, as well as the “Kato Batchi” or “low garden” with the “old saray.” Immediately to the west of the gardens was a “deer park on the mountain.” This was a walled menagerie of sorts, populated with “a few large deer and antelopes.”¹⁷⁵ Terms like “old” and “new” imply that the creation of this garden palace area was an iterative process, with different features and structures being added over time.

The governor enjoyed using this garden palace for entertaining guests, and as a result many foreign travelers were taken there during their visits in Ioannina. John Hobhouse saw the place in 1809, and found a garden that was “in a wild and tangled state” but “abounding with every kind of fruit tree that flourishes in this favoured climate—the orange, the lemon, the fig and the pomegranate.”¹⁷⁶ Most impressive to visitors, however, was the pavilion built in the middle of the garden, an octagonal salon with a marble floor and seating areas on four sides with gilt latticed openings. By a stroke of luck, we have drawings and a plan of this building, today located at the British Museum, sketched on site by Charles Cockerell when he visited the palace in 1813-14 (Fig. 56 & 57).¹⁷⁷ Cockerell depicts a light and airy interior, with a central domed chamber supported by arches and thin columns. The artist’s flourishes on the ceiling and

at least the plot dedicated to this church, still exists in the modern city. With this fixed point to guide us, we can approximately locate what was once Ali Pasha’s garden palace between the modern streets of Megalou Alexandrou, Voriou Ipirou, Ioannou Vilara, and Evergeton. What is now known as the Suburban Wood of Ioannina (Periastiko Dasos Ioanninon) is most likely the area that Du Bocage indicated as the “deer park.”

¹⁷⁵ Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, 69.

¹⁷⁶ *Idem.*

¹⁷⁷ Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817*, 237.

upper registers of the four seating areas indicates that the upper zone of the pavilion was decorated with elaborate Baroque painting and wood-work. A period-room at the Benaki Museum from a mid-eighteenth-century house in Kozani, a city in northern Greece only about 150 km from Ioannina, provides some idea of the general character of this kind of painted wooden interior (Fig. 58). For visitors, the most memorable feature of this pavilion was the elaborate fountain located in the center of the chamber. Cockerell described the fountain as a series of tiered basins placed in a pool sunk into the marble floor. At the base of this fountain was a larger square basin, which is probably what Hobhouse is referring to when he mentioned “a pretty model, also in marble, of a fortress, mounted with small brass cannon, which, at a signal, spout forth jets of water into the fountain, accompanied by a small organ in a recess, playing some Italian tunes.”¹⁷⁸

When the European visitors saw these garden areas, they invariably insisted on these pavilions as evidence of European intervention or influence in the region; in Ioannina, Hobhouse writes that “The pavilion and its gardens bespeak a taste quite different from that of the country, and most probably the Vizier was indebted to his French prisoners for the beauties of this elegant retirement. We were told that it was the work of the Frank.”¹⁷⁹ Yet all of these garden complexes or pavilions could be considered as participating in the more wide-spread Ottoman tradition of the *sayfiye*, or retreating to summer homes during the unbearably hot months around May to September. In her book *The City's Pleasures*, Shirine Hamadeh explains how in the eighteenth century the

¹⁷⁸ Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, 69.

¹⁷⁹ *Idem*, 70.

Ottoman court began to decamp en masse to the shores of the Bosphorus, and this resulted in an explosion in construction of new summer palaces, especially on the European side of the strait.¹⁸⁰ Similar to these palaces of the Bosphorus, Ali Pasha's garden complex in Ioannina functioned as a space for relaxation and leisure.

Ali Pasha's Treasure

Ali Pasha's palaces were also settings for the collection, storage and display of luxury objects and textiles. The trope of Ali Pasha's treasure as the object of both admiration and envy among his peers plays out both within his contemporary context as well as after the death of the governor.¹⁸¹ As we see from historical sources, Ali Pasha was devoted to the enrichment of his treasury (*hazine*), and the display of precious objects within the saray: on his person, on the walls, in separate rooms, etc. While a full discussion of the material culture of Ali Pasha's court lies beyond the limits of this dissertation, some aspects must be addressed as it cannot and should not be separated from the built context in which these items were stored, displayed, and exchanged.

Within the context of Ali Pasha's court, the ritual of gift exchange played an important role in Ioannina society. Bestowing and receiving objects created a tangible expression of political relationships; Ali Pasha would distribute luxury items as a sign of his favor—such as a flask encased in silver plating, which was gifted by Ali Pasha to the Greek general Manolis Tombazis upon the news of his son's birth (Fig. 59). By far, the

¹⁸⁰ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 48-49.

¹⁸¹ Ottoman documents reveal the scandalous affair of the governor of Rumeli, Hurşid Pasha embezzling choice pieces from Ali Pasha's treasury, including diamond rings, jeweled daggers, and jeweled pistols, after the execution of the governor: BOA, Istanbul, HAT 517/25252 (1238 AH/ 1822-23 CE); HAT 518/25293 (1237 AH/ 1822 CE).

most popular gifts were clocks of European manufacture as well as guns, both of which could be modified to suit the tastes of the owner. An English rifle, whose inscription states that it was given to Ali Pasha by the British crown in 1809, has evidently been “enhanced” with silver chasing, which was a specialty of Ioannina craftsmen (Fig. 60).

Looking into the cultural life of Ali Pasha’s palaces, therefore, affords an opportunity for better observing the economics of running an elite household and the role of conspicuous consumption and the formation of taste in the Ottoman provinces. In the Ottoman Archives, there is an abundance of records that describe the treasuries within Ali Pasha’s various households. When Ali Pasha was killed by the sultan’s forces in 1822, by law all of his properties were seized for the imperial trust. Thus, shortly after Ali Pasha’s execution, the sultan’s accountants arrived to make inventories for all of movable property that was to be taken to Istanbul. These registers are still preserved, and they offer the rare possibility of characterizing the monetary and social value of material objects in an Ottoman elite household.¹⁸² Additionally, by parsing the language of these registers, a careful reading with attention to what could be thought of as the “poetics” of the list can put us in the mindset of Ottoman officials and allows us to understand more historical categories of material evaluation.

As for the objects listed in these registers, there is a loose thematic categorization, beginning with literally hundreds of different kinds of weaponry, mostly swords and pistols, chased with silver filigree in the local manner, which were more part of a man’s

¹⁸² The main registers under consideration are BOA, Istanbul, D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13278 (13 Safer 1238 AH/ 30 October 1822 CE); D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13344 (1237 AH/ 1821-22 CE); and D.BŞM.MHF.d. 13346 (1237 AH/ 1821-22 CE).

daily costume than for actual use. This is followed by tobacco pipes made of amber, as well as ornamental trappings and harnesses for ceremonial or recreational riding. Then there are luxury textiles for dress including fine furs, silks and embroidered velvet. The list of objects interestingly seem to have been divided by gender, with items such as pistols and pipes in the first half of the list, while the second half of the list consists of material normally relegated to the women's part of the inner household: women's clothing, textiles for the home including embroidered cushions and bedding, and fine serving dishes. Another notable feature of the objects in this list is their geographic diversity; the accountants took care to record if a textile or bowl, for example, was imported, with materials collected from England, France, Bulgaria, Egypt, Anatolia, China and India—a direct result of the trading opportunities fostered by Ali Pasha's stewardship of both port cities and land routes. In another register, the Imperial Treasury in Istanbul estimates the total value of these objects to be approximately 350,000 kuruş (piaster). Similar inheritance registers now located in the Topkapı Palace, which record the net worth of court elites in Istanbul, showed that on average these estates were valued at 100-150,000 kuruş. Therefore, by thinking of these palaces not only as “theaters” but also as “containers” in which Ali Pasha stored his valuables—his material wealth—it is also possible to make concrete observations about the economic habits of these provincial patrons.

Ali Pasha's treasury also raises issues surrounding collecting practices, specifically the theme of mobility—the movement of both persons and objects from one geographic location to another—and the role of this mobility in the formation of taste in

the western-most Ottoman borderland regions.¹⁸³ When we talk about mobility and trans-cultural exchange in Ottoman art and architecture, we are often speaking about the circulation of foreign artists and objects at the highest level of Ottoman society, i.e. the imperial court in Istanbul. Yet, Ali Pasha's provinces bordering the Ionian Sea allows us to instead focus on what we could consider "micro-movements" across imperial boundaries, which indicate more the existence of a common regional taste, rather than the interface between two fixed cultures. Similar to the way a recent volume edited by Alina Payne posits the Dalmatian littoral and the Adriatic as a hybrid space of exchange,¹⁸⁴ the coasts of Epirus further south could be equally considered as a productive zone for examining mechanisms for trans-imperial mobility, where the local Christian elite in Epirus served as cultural mediators facilitating the flow of fashionable items into Ali Pasha's territory and the surrounding region.

A notable example of Ali Pasha's engagement with "regional" fashions is an oil-on-canvas portrait commissioned from the painter Spiridon Ventouras in 1818 (see Fig. 1). Despite the number of portraits of Ali Pasha that circulated in European books in the first decades of the nineteenth century, this painting remains the only known instance of the vizier himself ordering and sitting for his own portrait. We can therefore make some observations regarding this painting as an act of self-presentation.

In the portrait, Ali Pasha is positioned in 3/4-view against a dark ground, and decked out in a rich costume befitting his rank and status, with an outer coat trimmed in

¹⁸³ Stephen Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University: 2010), 3-4.

¹⁸⁴ Alina Payne, ed. *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archeology and the Poetics of Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

fur as well as a vest and black velvet cap embellished with dense gold embroidery, a specialty of the craftsmen in Epirus that was exported from the region to Europe. On his right hand, Ali Pasha also wears a ring, its dark color suggesting either an emerald or sapphire, or even perhaps a seal or signet with which he would use to officiate documents; there are several of these impressions in the archives in both Athens and London (Fig. 61). Tucked into the pasha's belt is a pistol with an outer-casing enriched with silver filigree work, which, as mentioned before, is also known as a specialty of the craftsmen in Epirus, and was a primary luxury export from the region.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Ali Pasha's costume is the large medal pinned to Ali Pasha's vest, boasting an enormous cut diamond in its center, surrounded by fifteen smaller diamonds set into a black enamel casing. This same medal is described by the British traveler Thomas Smart Hughes, who was granted an audience with Ali Pasha in Ioannina in 1814. Hughes remarked that "The dress of the vizir...appeared costly but never gaudy;...he has bought a diamond from the ex-King of Sweden at the price of 13,000 l., which, with a number of others, he has had formed into a star, in imitation of one which he saw upon the coat of Sir [Thomas Maitland]: this he now wears upon his breast, and calls it 'his order.'"¹⁸⁵ Thomas Maitland was the British High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands, and we know from diplomatic sources that he had visited the pasha at least once.¹⁸⁶ At such a high-stakes meeting—the British had great interest in Ali Pasha and his ability to curb the French in the region—there is no doubt that Maitland would

¹⁸⁵ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 58.

¹⁸⁶ National Archives, London, FO 78/91, Letter from Thomas Maitland to James Cocks, Corfu (May 6, 1818).

have come in full regalia, wearing the stars of his various knightly orders awarded by the British crown, examples of which can be seen in a later portrait of the commissioner (Fig. 62). Thus, within this painting the exchange of both objects and fashions across the imperial border that defined the western side of Ali Pasha's territory is represented on the very person of the vizier.

On the other side of this imperial border were the Ionian Islands, which also formed a community that was peripheral to the Venetian Republic. In other words, Spiros Ventouras, born in 1761 to a Greek Orthodox family on the island of Lefkada, was himself part of a community in the Venetian "borderlands." Throughout Ventouras's lifetime, the Ionian Islands experienced several political upheavals, primarily the collapse of the Venetian Republic in 1797, which triggered a political vacuum with a revolving door of different occupying authorities, as will be further discussed in Chapter 2. The majority of the population on the Ionian Islands were Orthodox Christians, but the longstanding Venetian influence in this region meant that its inhabitants participated in a wider Adriatic cultural zone, many being fully bilingual in Italian and Greek as well as traveling to Venice (which had the first major Greek printing press) for both intellectual and mercantile opportunities. Like many young men on the Ionian Islands, Ventouras was sent to Venice for his education, where he studied painting for ten years before he returned home in 1795.¹⁸⁷

Once back in Lefkada, Ventouras not only became well-known as an accomplished painter of icons for local Orthodox churches, but also gained a reputation

¹⁸⁷ Despina Themeli-Katifori, "O Spiridon Ventouras ki i antidikia tou me ton Ali-Pasa," *Eptanisiaki Protochronia* 1 (1960), 203.

as a portrait artist, capturing the likenesses of local officials and clergymen alike.

Unfortunately, most of the portraits executed by Ventouras are in private collections and not readily accessible to researchers, but a portrait by Ioannis Korais, another member of the “Ionian Island” school of painter, provides an idea of this rising fashion for portrait painting on these islands (Fig. 63).

Ventouras’s reputation as a portrait painter evidently extended across the narrow strait that divided Lefkada from the Ottoman Empire, all the way to Ali Pasha’s court in Ioannina. In 1818, the governor asked the Ottoman consul in Lefkada, Marinos Lazaris, to make arrangements for Ventouras to cross the strait and come to Ali Pasha’s port city of Preveza so that the governor could have his own portrait made.¹⁸⁸ It seems that Ali Pasha then traveled himself from Ioannina to Preveza so that Ventouras could make some sketches from life. The artist took another four months to produce the painting, which was finally transported in the summer of 1818 to be presented to the pasha at one of his palaces in Ioannina.

The only reason that we know about the circumstances of this commercial and artistic transaction is because the artist Spiridon Ventouras filed a lawsuit against Ali Pasha the following year (1819) in the court of Lefkada, complaining that he had never been compensated for his labor.¹⁸⁹ It seems that the pasha, unlike a famous fictional

¹⁸⁸ *Idem*, 206.

¹⁸⁹ The documents recording this lawsuit are still preserved today in the public archives of Lefkada, and were published in 1960 by the scholar Despina Themeli-Katifori. Interestingly, when Themeli-Katifori brought this evidence to light, she seemed to have no knowledge of the whereabouts of the portrait of Ali Pasha itself. The portrait of Ali Pasha that appears in Fig. 1 is undoubtedly the portrait executed by Ventouras, as the artist’s signature can be found in the right bottom corner. The painting’s sudden appearance back in the public eye is rather mysterious, as it first surfaced again in an auction organized in 2003 by the Vergos auction house in Athens. At the auction, the portrait was sold to a private collector in

dynasty of local power-holders, was not well-known for paying his debts. Nevertheless, the court documents relating to the lawsuit suggest that the painting was ultimately delivered to the pasha in Ioannina, where presumably it remained on display at least until his death a few years later.

We know of many examples of Western-style canvas portraits commissioned by the Ottoman sultans, as early as the famous 15th-century portrait of Mehmed II now in London as well as the several paintings produced for Mahmud II only a decade or two after Ali Pasha's portrait (Fig. 64).¹⁹⁰ It could be said, however, that these sultanic portraits do not reflect a broader trend of images that were being commissioned and consumed by the wider Ottoman elite. Although there has been much recent work done on the exchanges between European and Ottoman artists at the Porte as well as European artists and their fascination with Ottoman court life, the fact that Ali Pasha—a provincial governor of multiple sub-provinces who came to power outside of the palace system—invited Ventouras to his court and commissioned such a painting seems to be a rather extraordinary case within the context of Ottoman visual culture.

Rather than turning to Istanbul for cues in fashion and taste, Ali Pasha did not really have to look much further than his own court, as well as his neighbors on the Ionian Islands. The accounts of European travelers, who were often hosted by these Christian notables in Ioannina, offer detailed descriptions of their residences and the objects found within. With these descriptions we can draw a clear picture of the tastes of

Greece, with whom the painting still resides today: Neonilli Koupari, "I techni stin Avli tou Ali-Pasa oi martiries ton periigiton," *Ipeirotika Chronika* 44 (2016), 430.

¹⁹⁰ Alison Terndrup, "Cross-Cultural Spaces in an Anonymously Painted Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II" (MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2015), 1-7.

these individuals that favored imported European luxury items, including glass tableware and colored window-pane glass from Venice, table clocks and pocket watches from Britain and France, painted and gilded porcelain from Vienna, velvets and brocades from Britain and Venice as well as books printed in both Venice and Vienna.¹⁹¹ We need not rely solely on these travel accounts, however, to get an idea of the fine objects circulating in the houses of Ioannina.

The fact that Ioannina was a flourishing cultural center in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is no secret to Greek historians, who have concentrated a great deal of energy on situating Ioannina within the broader context of the Greek Enlightenment. This more traditional line of scholarship, however, tends to focus exclusively on the Christian communities in Ioannina, and explains the consumption of luxury goods and the patronage of artists as a phenomenon occurring in spite of the Ottoman “occupation” of the region. Yet, I would like to suggest a more conciliatory view of the Ottoman period, acknowledging the governor as a partner among the Christian elites, facilitating and encouraging these trans-imperial connections by opening the cities of Vlora and Preveza as free ports as well as rebuilding the main road networks that connect these towns with the capital in Ioannina.

Objects such as Ali Pasha’s canvas portrait or the piles of European luxury items described in Ottoman registers cannot be fully explained by an East-West discourse of mobility, which usually considers cross-cultural transfers at the highest political levels,

¹⁹¹ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 280; II, 611; Beauchamp, *The Life of Ali Pacha of Janina*, 230; Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople During the Years 1809 and 1810*, 101; Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 574.

the various courts of imperial rulers. While Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire stands as an important center for trans-regional cultural exchange, the patterns of cultural production and consumption in Ioannina during the time of Ali Pasha are perhaps better understood as a shared regional tradition that existed on both sides of imperial borders straddling the Adriatic. Ali Pasha summoning Ventouras from Lefkada to Preveza, even though technically a trans-imperial exchange, in reality only required a 45-minute journey by rowboat. The governor was not necessarily interested in having a portrait done in the “Western” style, but rather the regional style, the style in which every important figure in the immediate area, whether a British officer or local archbishop, participated.

Conclusion

As the early modern period could be considered the age of empires, the central role of the imperial palace is complemented by the residences of the aristocracy who bolstered these regimes. Precisely at the same time when Ali Pasha was consolidating his authority in a network of palace structures, other emerging provincial power-holders around the globe were also concentrated on conveying and establishing their hard-won status in the form of grandiose houses. As the Mughals expanded their power across India, rival clans were allowed to retain their lands as long as they professed loyalty to the sultan. As the empire disintegrated in the eighteenth century, these local rulers—the Rajputs to the north-west and the kingdoms to the south—re-asserted their control in the form of fantastic palatial complexes. A striking parallel to Ioannina is the Rajput palace in Udaipur, a fortified complex overlooking Lake Pichola, with its construction initiated

in the seventeenth century and heavily enhanced until the end of the eighteenth.¹⁹² Ali Pasha was thus also engaged in a wider phenomenon from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries of new wealth flaunting their assets in ways that were not necessarily refined but certainly flashy and impressive. By reflecting on the role of Ali Pasha's numerous palaces, which served as sites for pageantry and stately ceremony in the administration of the westernmost Ottoman province, I have aimed to reconcile the myth with the archival record.

The palaces of Ali Pasha illuminate the means and motives of the individual who erected these buildings and brought them to life, striving both to emulate the capital and distinguish himself from a center that, by comparison with this lively new zone of patronage, began to appear quite peripheral. Among his peers, Ali Pasha seems to have been one of the most ambitious in terms of the scale and number of his residences, setting a high standard for the rest of the provincial ruling families. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Ali Pasha strove to make manifest his newfound wealth and authority in his investment in luxury objects as well as immense palace-sarays, which, as one European commentator in Ioannina noted “form so distinguishing a mark between barbarian magnificence and elegant refinement!”¹⁹³

¹⁹² George Michell, *The Royal Palaces of India* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 158-161.

¹⁹³ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 445.

CHAPTER 2

The Rules of Engagement: Military Architecture on the Ionian Littoral

When Ali Pasha first ascended to power as the governor of the administrative districts of Yanya, Delvine and Tirhala in 1788, he concentrated his energy on the construction of large urban palace complexes in the interior of the region, and had only limited access to the sea. At that time, the majority of the ports on the Ionian coast were still under Venetian rule. When the Venetian Republic collapsed in 1797, however, it soon became clear that Ali Pasha was not the only one who had designs on these maritime territories, which had long been used as convenient footholds for communicating with the Italian mainland, Malta, Dalmatia, and the Morea.¹⁹⁴ At the turn of the century, the battle for control over this coast devolved into a frantic *melée* involving the British, French, Russian and Ottoman Empires. As the major power-broker in this region, Ali Pasha understood that an essential part of securing his maritime frontier was the seizure, maintenance and reconstruction of fortifications up and down the western coast of Epirus. The governor's program of architectural patronage along the coast would come to include, at least, eleven individual fortification structures (Fig. 65). This network of military constructions stands as an impressive feat of logistics and resources, especially when considering the fact that most of this building activity took place in the span of about fifteen years (1800-1815).

¹⁹⁴ William Miller, "The Ionian Islands under Venetian Rule," *The English Historical Review* 18/70 (Apr., 1903), 214-215. Also see S. Margaritis, *Crete and Ionian Islands under the Venetians* (Athens: Leontiadis, 1978).

Ali Pasha also pursued large-scale fortification projects in the interior of the region, such as the re-building of the city walls in Ioannina, Tepelena, and Gjirokaster. I shall touch upon these other projects, but this chapter will ultimately focus on the governor's fortifications along the coast. I believe that it is in this line of defense that we can best address questions about the tense politics between imperial center and periphery over the construction of military architecture. Unsurprisingly, Ali Pasha's building activity often alarmed his neighbors on the Ionian Islands. In the archival record, there are several episodes in which the governor was rebuked either by representatives from the islands or by the Porte itself, as they scrambled to minimize the diplomatic fallout of his provocations.

The ever-expanding literature on Ottoman frontiers has already begun to acknowledge Ali Pasha's "contractual" relationship with Istanbul in the implementation of foreign policy, whereby the state granted the vizier wide latitude in his affairs as long as he supported the Porte in terms of troops and supplies.¹⁹⁵ An investigation of Ali Pasha's building activity on the Ionian Sea—indeed, the development of an entire network of coastal fortresses—can further nuance the precise nature of this contractual relationship between Ali Pasha and the state. At first, these coastal areas were acquired under the pretense of defending the sultan's well-protected domains, but in the end these fortifications should be understood as expressing Ali Pasha's own vision of territorial expansion and economic success. Additionally, this chapter also offers insight into the

¹⁹⁵ Kahraman Şakul, "Ottoman Attempts to Control the Adriatic Frontier in the Napoleonic Wars," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2009), 255. Also see the essay by Frederick Anscombe, "Continuities in Ottoman Centre-Periphery Relations, 1787-1915," in the same volume, pp. 235-253.

evolving praxis of military technology in the Ottoman world, raising questions about Ali Pasha's ability to marshal his local networks for supplying engineers, workers, and troops in the construction and maintenance of his coastal (and interior) fortifications. Serving as points of communication and surveillance, and protecting Ali Pasha's assets, these structures illuminate the delicate diplomatics between maintaining a frontier and turning a profit in the borderlands.

In order to reconstruct Ali Pasha's building program on the Ionian littoral, it has proven necessary to make use both of archival records and of the archaeological material on the ground. Until now, the literature on Ottoman military architecture in this region has relied primarily upon European travel accounts for information about the construction of fortresses.¹⁹⁶ In this chapter, I compare and collate these observations with British diplomatic correspondence. I have also consulted documents from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives as well as Ali Pasha's personal papers. These Ottoman archival sources—the former providing the state perspective from Istanbul, the latter Ali Pasha's internal networks and dealings—provide a wealth of information about the labor and materials required to repair, construct and maintain a fortress.¹⁹⁷ Meanwhile, tracing this

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, Smiris, *To diktio ton ochiroseon sto pasaliki ton Ioanninon (1788-1822)*; Nikos Karabelas, "O Anglos lochagos William Leake stin Preveza, ti Nikopoli kai to Aktio," *Prevezanika Chronika* 43-44 (2007), 164-263, and "William Goodison kai Richard Burgess: Dio ligotero gnostoi perihgites stin Preveza kai ti Nikopoli," *Prevezanika Chronika* 47-48 (2011), 139-98. Although, of course, these publications are quite useful in drawing attention to the value of little-known published resources, such as the 1822 account of William Goodison for the study of Preveza fortifications.

¹⁹⁷ The work of Dimitrios Dimitropoulos, one of the editors of the *Archeio Ali Pasa*, has already demonstrated the value of Ali Pasha's chancery in this regard: "Ochiromatikes kai oikodomikes ergasies tou Ali Pasa stin Preveza," in *Preveza B: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for the History and Culture of Preveza (1-20 September 2009)*, eds. Nikos D. Karabelas and Michael Stork (Preveza: 2010), 41-51.

network of fortifications through field work, while at the same time situating these structures within the wider environmental and geographic contours of the region, not only fills the gaps of the archives but also tells the story of how Ali Pasha's engineers forged a distinctive typology of fortification building on the western frontier of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁸

This chapter examines a provincial governor's role in the defense of a frontier zone—the western border of the Ottoman Empire. In comparison with the other provincial power-holders of the time, Ali Pasha was by far the most prolific in his production of military constructions. Other 'ayans famous for their military prowess, such as Osman Pasvantoğlu in Vidin or Mehmed Ali Pasha in Cairo, were not great fort builders.¹⁹⁹ The only individual who could compete with Ali Pasha in this respect was Zahir al-'Umar in Palestine, who was responsible for the construction or re-construction of fortifications in Tiberias, Deir Hanna and Qal'at Jiddin in the mid-eighteenth century. Among the works overseen by Zahir al-'Umar, perhaps the most relevant comparison to Ali Pasha's fortifications would be the coastal city of Acre (Ott. 'Akka) in present-day Israel, whose city walls received a major face-lift in the late eighteenth century under

¹⁹⁸ The groundwork for the documentation and structural analysis of these fortresses has been laid by Gjerak Karaiskaj, *The Fortifications of Butrint* (London; Tirana: Butrint Foundation, 2009) [originally published *Butrinti dhe fortifikimet e tij* (Tirana: 1983)] and *Pesë mijë vjet fortifikime në Shqipëri* (Tirana: 1981); and Smiris, *Το Δίκτυο των οχυρώσεων στο πασαλίκι των Ιωαννίνων (1788-1822)*.

¹⁹⁹ Both of these figures set their official administrative residences inside a fortified citadel complex—the so-called “Baba Vida” fortress in Vidin and the medieval citadel of Cairo, respectively—yet neither made any kind of significant additions or reconstructions to improve the defensive capability of these structures: Rossitsa Gradeva, “Osman Pazvantoğlu of Vidin: Between Old and New,” in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1550-1830*, ed. Frederick Anscombe (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 119-120; Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1997), 3-5.

Zahir al-‘Umar, and the later governor Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar.²⁰⁰ In her classic article on “ayan architecture,” Ayda Arel documents how the Cihanoğlu family, a minor clan active around the Aydın district, created farmstead estates that took on a fortified character.²⁰¹ Most notably, these mansions were surrounded and protected by tall, densely buttressed walls (Fig. 66). Looking to the wider tradition of vernacular tower house architecture found throughout the Balkans and Anatolia,²⁰² however, it should be stressed that these structures were actually limited to the protection of a single farmstead. In contrast, Ali Pasha’s coastal fortifications functioned as a defensive line stretching across an extensive border area. In other words, while other ‘ayans such as the Cihanoğlu family were largely preoccupied with staving off local sheep bandits, Ali Pasha was entering a more international stage, with the Eastern Question playing out practically on his doorstep.

Ali Pasha’s Coast

Ali Pasha inherited a complex geo-political situation on the western coast of his territories. Despite the best efforts of the Ottomans, the Ionian Islands had never come under the sultan’s direct control, and coastal cities on the mainland had repeatedly traded Venetian and Ottoman banners throughout the early modern period.²⁰³ By the late

²⁰⁰ Annie Greene, "Keeping out Napoleon," *Stambouline* (October 7, 2015). <http://www.stambouline.com/2015/10/keeping-out-napoleon.html>.

²⁰¹ Arel, "Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs," 212-213.

²⁰² See, for, example, the tower house still standing in Paramythia, Greece: Sotirios Charalambos, "Koulia Paramythias," in *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2009), 182; and the Tower of Dervish Ali near Vlora, Albania: Emin Riza, "Arkitektura dhe restaurimi i kullave të Dervish Aliut në fshatin Dukai (Vlorë)," *Monumentet* 18 (1979), 105-120.

²⁰³ With Preveza as a case in point, the Ottomans conquered the city in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Venetians then seized Preveza in 1684, only to surrender the town back to the Ottomans in 1701. The Venetians took back the city in 1717, and held it until the collapse of the Venetian Republic at

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Napoléon's expansionist policy and the end of the Venetian Republic transformed the eastern Adriatic and Ionian Islands into a hotly contested space. In 1798, Ali Pasha was charged by the Porte with the task of ousting the French from the four former Venetian dependencies on the mainland (Butrint, Parga, Preveza, and Vonitsa).²⁰⁴ Yet only two years later in 1800, Ali Pasha was excused from governing these areas when the Ottomans and Russians agreed that these key coastal properties would be included in the newly-formed Septinsular Republic, administered directly by both Istanbul and Moscow.²⁰⁵ With the outbreak of the Ottoman-Russian war in 1806, this short-lived republic fell apart, and it was then that Ali Pasha was finally able to occupy the entirety of the Ionian coast, with the exception of Parga, which only submitted to Ottoman suzerainty in 1818. The occupation of these former Venetian territories was paired with establishing an elaborate defensive network that guarded the ports as well as nearby estuaries. For example, Ali Pasha maintained no fewer than five fortresses to monitor the straits of Preveza and the numerous fisheries in the Bay of Arta. This international struggle for territory was not only politically significant, but also marked a competition for local ports and their economic resources, from which the victor could reap financial reward.

the end of the eighteenth century: Nikos Karabelas, "To kastro tis Boukas (1478-1701): H ochiromeni Preveza mesa apo tis piges," in *Preveza B: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for the History and Culture of Preveza (16-20 September 2009)*, ed. Nikos Karabelas and Michael Stork, 2 Volumes, (Preveza: Actia Nicopolis Foundation, 2010), I, 400-412.

²⁰⁴ BOA, Istanbul, C.HR. 26/1262 (29 Rebiülahir 1213 AH/ 10 October 1798 CE), and C.HR. 41/2024 (29 Rebiülahir 1213 AH/ 10 October 1798 CE).

²⁰⁵ Şakul, "Ottoman Attempts to Control the Adriatic Frontier in the Napoleonic Wars," 55.

Thus, by 1806, Ali Pasha and his sons were responsible for maintaining a coastal border running the length of the Ionian Sea's eastern seaboard, beginning at the "gates" of the Adriatic at Avlonya in the north and extending all the way to the straits of Patras-Nafpaktos situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth (see Fig. 65).²⁰⁶ One geographer described the topography of this coast, largely defined and hemmed in by the western flank of the Pindus mountains, as "bold and inhospitable."²⁰⁷ In the pre-modern era, ships navigated the length of this shore by hopping between several bays piercing the coastline, which was steep and rocky to the north and inundated with marshes to the south. From Avlonya to Porto Palermo, for example, there is virtually no place to lay harbor, forming a dreaded lee-shore dangerous to ships, especially in bad weather. Within this landscape, ports that offered refuge became a highly valuable—and highly contested—resource.

Any discussion of Ali Pasha's defensive network on the sea requires a quick overview of the fortifications in question.²⁰⁸ It would thus be most instructive to undertake an imaginary exercise where we board a ship in Avlonya and sail down the coast, taking a short journey to familiarize ourselves with Ali Pasha's fortresses as we encounter them from harbor to harbor.

²⁰⁶ In a report dated 1808, Anthony Baker notes that Ali Pasha, in response to "various applications...made in order to understand what places on the sea coast of Albania belonged to him" described his coastal territories in such terms: Hertfordshire Archives, Hertford, UK, DE/MI/85508, Anthony Baker to Robert Adair (November 10, 1808).

²⁰⁷ R. Stuart, "On the natural and physical resources of Epirus," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39 (1869), 276. Major Stuart also served for a time as the British consul to Ioannina.

²⁰⁸ In his volume on Ali Pasha's fortifications (*To diktio ton ochiroseon sto pasaliki ton Ioanninon (1788-1822)*), Georgios Smiris offers a catalog of the different coastal fortifications that will be covered here, but in many cases I have come to different conclusions about dating the various phases of a site.

First of all, our launching point, the port of Avlonya (modern Vlorë), served as an important port with a large harbor, connecting land routes such as the Via Egnatia to the Adriatic.²⁰⁹ When Ali Pasha first came to power, Avlonya was held by his rival Beratli Ibrahim Pasha. Upon Ibrahim Pasha's removal, however, Ali Pasha's son Muhtar was finally appointed as *mutasarrif* to the Avlonya sub-province, thus opening the port for Ali Pasha's use.²¹⁰

From the waters of Avlonya, we make our way around the long peninsula and down to Porto Palermo, the only harbor offering shelter along what is now called the "Albanian Riviera," between Avlonya and Saranda. In Ali Pasha's time, and up till the present day, Porto Palermo did not have any kind of permanent settlement. Rather, it served as an outpost for monitoring the harbor as well as the rebellious village of Himara to the north (Fig. 67). Because of its strategically valuable position, the shores of Porto Palermo have long been utilized for defensive purposes, from the ancient garrison of Panormus to a WWII submarine dock, which is now abandoned but still almost fully preserved, looking like something straight out of a James Bond film (Fig. 68).²¹¹

²⁰⁹ In the sixteenth century, Sultan Süleyman I ordered the erection of a new octagonal-shaped fortress to act as a staging point for campaigns to Italy. It was largely destroyed in 1912 as part of the Balkan Wars: Oliver Gilkes, *Albania: An Archaeological Guide* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 301-302. Gilles Veinstein, "Avlonya (Vlore), une étape de la Voie Egnatia dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle?," in *Halcyon Days in Crete II: The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymno: Crete University, 1996), 221-222.

²¹⁰ Although, it seems that Ali Pasha's claim to Avlonya was at first complicated by an objection from the French: BOA, Istanbul, C.HR. 151/7526 (5 Cemaziyelevvel 1225 AH/ 8 June 1810 CE). Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 51-52. British Library, London, Add. MS 20183, Letter from George Foresti to Colonel Lowe, Ioannina (July 25, 1810).

²¹¹ Gilkes, *Albania: An Archaeological Guide*, 241. R.J.A. Wilson, R. Talbert, Sean Gillies, Valeria Vitale, Jonathan Prag, Jeffrey Becker, and Tom Elliott, "Pan(h)ormus: a Pleiades place resource," *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places* (2015), <http://pleiades.stoa.org/places/462410>, accessed September 11, 2016.

As we sail into the calm waters of the harbor, we notice that it is flanked by promontories to the north and south, with a small rocky projection that separates the port into a north and south bay. It is here on this outcrop that Ali Pasha constructed his fortress, a triangular structure with three polygonal bastions (Fig. 69 & 70).

Unfortunately, the niche above the main entrance that would have once held a foundation inscription now stands empty, but archival evidence from the National Archives in London suggests that the fortification was constructed around 1804-1805.²¹² Approached from a narrow path from the shore, the fortress stands isolated, and only had the basic amenities to serve the immediate needs of the garrison stationed there.²¹³ One of these amenities was a church, which can still be seen today, a feature that reminds us that the soldiers under Ali Pasha's command were of both Muslim and Christian confession.²¹⁴

Sailing further south, we enter the port of Saranda, a harbor town serving as an outlet for the agricultural production from the Delvine plain and even further beyond from the Gjirokaster River valley (Fig. 71).²¹⁵ In order to monitor both Saranda's harbor and his fishery operations in Butrint, Ali Pasha requisitioned a fortress atop the hill of

²¹² In a report dated August 1805, William Martin Leake writes that "Ali Pasha has lately built a castle on the point of the peninsula" of Porto Palermo: National Archives, London, FO 78/57, Papers of Captain Leake (1803-1807).

²¹³ The soldiers who garrisoned the fort also tended to a few cornfields and vineyards as well as some sheep in the southern side of the port: Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 88.

²¹⁴ Leake notes in his travel account the presence of a house, most likely for the fortress commander as well as the church at Porto Palermo: Idem. The church can be currently found due east of the fortress, where the rocky outcrop into the bay meets the modern road. It has an inscription on the exterior that I read as the date [1]818, but this plaque is badly damaged. If the date is correct, then it is possible that Leake, who traveled to Porto Palermo in 1805, saw an earlier iteration of the structure on the same spot or nearby.

²¹⁵ Stuart, "On the natural and physical resources of Epirus," 279

Likurs, now located southeast from the modern city (Fig. 72). The square enclosure, guarded by two round towers looking north to Saranda and south to Butrint, faces a hill to the north that today features cell phone towers and the extensive ruins of the eponymous monastery of the Forty Saints (Agiou Saranda) (Fig. 73, 74, & 75).

Richard Burgess, a traveler who visited the area in 1834, claimed that the fortress at Likurs was first built by the Venetians and later “renewed” by Ali Pasha, but Leake reports that this construction could be attributed to the governor in its entirety: “The fortress was added this summer [in 1804]: it has two round towers at two of the opposite angles, and within the walls a dwelling for the *bulu-bashi*.”²¹⁶ Further structural analysis and archival research is required to determine a firmer dating for this structure, but Burgess can be considered the more reliable source, as a Venetian map dated approximately to the early eighteenth century already indicates some kind of walled enclosure situated among the houses of the town located on what is now the Likurs hill (Fig. 76).²¹⁷ The larger settlement around the fortress, which we know continued into the time of Ali Pasha, was eventually abandoned, although its extensive ruins can still be found relatively intact today—including roads, houses, churches, and mills (Fig. 77).²¹⁸ Thus, in the case of the Likurs fortress, Ali Pasha seems to have extensively repaired or reconstructed a defensive structure that had already been in place during the Venetian period. As we shall see, this was also the case for many of the other coastal fortifications.

²¹⁶ Burgess, *Greece and the Levant*, 48-49. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 11.

²¹⁷ In the map, what is now referred to as the Likurs hill is labeled as “Santi Quaranta,” indicating that this was the town proper, unlike today, where the modern city surrounds the port.

²¹⁸ Petition of Memous Aga to Ali Pasha (1808), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 348, 649-650. This settlement area may be a good candidate for further archaeological survey.

Within immediate view of the Likurs fortress in Saranda, Butrint was one of Ali Pasha's most strategically critical possessions. It not only directly monitored Corfu—the capital of the Ionian Islands—as well as the heavy boat traffic in the narrow strait between the island and the mainland, but it also protected the nearby fisheries in the eastern lagoon as well as the arable lands in the Vrino plain to the south (Fig. 78). Unlike Porto Palermo or Saranda, Butrint did not offer anchorage for large vessels; the Vrino channel is shallow and muddy, and in some points narrower than 100 meters from shore to shore. Leake reports that, as early as June 1805, Butrint was completely in the hands of Ali Pasha, despite requests for him to evacuate at the behest of the Russians on Corfu, as Butrint was still technically part of the Septinsular Republic. According to Leake, Ali Pasha refused to leave, claiming that he had not yet been paid his expenses for expelling the French from the place in 1798.²¹⁹

At Butrint, Ali Pasha maintained a network of towers, fortresses and outposts to hold the area. Opposite the ancient walled city known as Buthrotum on the southern banks of the Vrino channel lies a triangular fortress that was originally constructed by the Venetians, but seized by Ali Pasha for the direct supervision of the fisheries to the east in the lagoon (Fig. 79).²²⁰ Meanwhile, the main architectural remnant from Ali Pasha's period is a square fortress at the mouth of the Vrino channel looking out to the sea, located on a small island formed by alluvial deposits (Fig. 80). As the castle was clearly

²¹⁹ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 185.

²²⁰ This fortification seems to have seen only minor repairs under Ali Pasha's control. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 95. Siriol Davies, "Late Venetian Butrint: 16th-18th centuries," in *Butrint 4: The Archaeology and Histories of an Ionian Town*, ed. Inge Lyse Hansen, Richard Hodges, and Sarah Leppard (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 281. Gjerak Karaiskaj, "Fortifikimet mesjetare pranë kanalit të Vivarit në Butrint dhe restaurimi i tyre," *Monumentet* 11 (1976), 148-153.

visible from the straits of Corfu when approaching Butrint from the sea, it controlled the entrance to the Vrino channel as well as the Bay of Saranda to the north (Fig. 81). This fortress was recently analyzed by Jose Carvajal as part of a survey conducted by the University of Granada in 2009, and his team's research revealed a sequence of building phases (Fig. 82).²²¹ Using the NE tower of the fortress to propose a general outline of the phasing of the entire structure, Carvajal suggests that the castle was originally constructed by the Venetians, with extensive repairs during the Ottoman period.²²² Carvajal also posits that the first phase of Ottoman repairs most likely took place after Ali Pasha took over the area, either in 1798 or 1804. Looking at the Ali Pasha Archive, we can even further narrow this dating to before 1801.²²³

Sailing away from Butrint and past Corfu, we forego the harbors of Sagiada and Igoumenitsa, where Ali Pasha never maintained any kind of military presence, despite his best intentions.²²⁴ We press on to arrive at Parga, the largest harbor town between Butrint

²²¹ Jose C. Carvajal and Ana Palanco, "The Castle of Ali Pasha at Butrint," in *Butrint 4: The Archaeology and Histories of an Ionian Town*, ed. Inge Lyse Hansen, Richard Hodges, and Sarah Leppard (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 289-308.

²²² The Venetian fortress can also be seen on the late eighteenth-century map from the Bibliothèque National, which is featured in Fig. II.12.

²²³ Carvajal, "The Castle of Ali Pasha at Butrint," 299. In July 1801, Athanasios Psalidas writes to report to Ali Pasha that he has purchased military supplies in Corfu and is having them shipped immediately to "Vivari," most likely a reference to the new fortress at the mouth of the channel: Memorandum from Athanasios Psalidas to Ali Pasha, Corfu, (July 7, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no.89, 155-57.

²²⁴ In 1811, Ali Pasha told the British consul George Foresti that he intended to have a fort constructed at Sagiada, with the materials being sent from Preveza, but in the end this structure never seems to have been built: British Library, London, Add MS 20183, George Foresti to Colonel Lowe, Ioannina (June 15, 1811). Leake notes that Igoumenitsa is a weak point on the coast: National Archives, London, William Martin Leake to Lord Harrowby, Corfu (January 21, 1805). Sagiada was probably under the influence of the people of Konispol, who were semi-independent from Ali Pasha. Another report from 1808 suggests that Igoumenitsa belonged to an individual named Meleka Ağa, who was also semi-independent and

and Preveza. Because Ali Pasha finally gained control of the town from the British in 1818, only two years before his deposition, it is unlikely that he had much opportunity to make any significant changes to Parga's large fortress. This prominent landmark is located on a projecting peninsula that divides the harbor into two bays. In a hand-drawn Venetian map from 1700, we can already observe basically what can be found on the ground today: a polygonal fortress with multiple terraces inside and a main entrance to the town on the northern facade (Fig. 83). The outer works of the castle should, therefore, be almost entirely dated from the Venetian period. The inner citadel, on the other hand, could have been built within the narrower window of time when Ali Pasha occupied this fortress, from 1819 to 1820.²²⁵

Far more interesting for the purposes of this chapter is a small fortress bearing down on Parga, located about five kilometers north-west of the city (Fig. 84). Located next to the hill-top villages of Agia and Anthousa, this fortress was, according to Ibrahim Manzour Efendi, constructed by Ali Pasha sometime before 1816, when the residents of Parga were still refusing to accept Ottoman (and, by extension, the vizier's) suzerainty.²²⁶

sympathetic to the French: Hertfordshire Archives, Hertford, UK, DE/MI/85508, Anthony Baker to Robert Adair (November 10, 1808).

²²⁵ Further analysis of the masonry in this part of the fortress is required to secure a firm dating. Fieldwork in 2013 resulted in the discovery in this inner keep of a domed structure that was most likely a mosque. There is archival evidence of Ali Pasha supplying the fortress with artillery and making arrangements for a new saray to be constructed there, although it took approximately two years for the new palace (constructed on the site of the former British captain's residence) to be prepared for the reception of Ali Pasha, as noted by British consul William Meyer in February 1820: *Epirus, Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, I, 52. In June 1819, there is a Hamit Bey in service to Ali Pasha who is overseeing the "armament" of the fortress at Parga: Memorandum of Elmaz Metze to Ali Pasha, Istanbul (June 9, 1819), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, III, no.1202, 272-273.

²²⁶ Ibrahim Manzour Efendi, *Memoires sur la Grèce et l'Albanie pendant le gouvernement d'Ali-Pacha* (Paris: P. Ledoux, 1827), 91.

This dating could perhaps be even further narrowed by a French reconnaissance map dated between 1806-1812, which shows a “Turkish *palanka*” approximately at the location of Agia, described as part of a chain of fortifications “opposing Parga.”²²⁷

Although a *palanka* traditionally refers to an earthwork fortification, by the eighteenth century it could also refer to a fortress with a palisade as well.²²⁸ Thus, this fortress at Agia/Anthousa is an ideal example of a military structure built by Ali Pasha explicitly to antagonize the residents of a nearby territory that he wished to acquire.

Leaving behind this tense standoff situation at Parga, which was only resolved when Ali Pasha essentially bought the city at the very end of his governorship, we sail now to another port, that of Preveza. This region is particularly significant because it boasted the heaviest concentration of Ali Pasha’s military building activity on the Ionian Sea (Fig. 85). Topographically speaking, Preveza was the only point along the coast where an enemy could land troops and continue unimpeded inland to Ali Pasha’s capital in Ioannina.²²⁹ The other major ports along Ali Pasha’s coast, such as Parga or Saranda, were naturally blocked by a series of mountain ranges and, therefore, could only offer an enemy invader access to the interior of the country through narrow mountain defiles

²²⁷ This map can today be found at the Bibliothèque National in Paris: GE D-17276. Additionally, a letter from August 1807 in the Ali Pasha Archive mentions that Ali Pasha is threatening Parga with men in Agia Kiriaki, a village located due east of Parga along the coast, suggesting that the governor was surrounding the townspeople from multiple flanks: Letter from the administrator of Parga Ioannis Vlasopoulos to Hasan Aga Tsabari, Parga (August 7, 1807), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 330, 603-04.

²²⁸ Burcu Özgüven, “*Palanka* Forts and Construction Activity in the Late Ottoman Balkans” in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2009), 170. Caroline Finkel and Victor Ostapchuk, “Outpost of Empire: An Appraisal of Ottoman Building Registers as Sources for the Archeology and Construction History of the Black Sea Fortress of Özi” *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), Footnote 5.

²²⁹ National Archives, London, FO 78/57, Report from William Martin Leake to Lord Mulgrave, Ioannina (22 August 1805).

impracticable for the movement of large troops and field artillery (See Fig. 10).²³⁰ The town was also a crucial asset because it overlooks the narrow straits entering the Ambracian Gulf, controlling access to towns such as Arta and Vonitsa, essentially the heartland of north-western Greece, which was extremely productive in terms of agriculture and fisheries.²³¹ Preveza also directly faces the island of Lefkada, which changed hands many times during Ali Pasha's term as governor and was a territory the vizier had ambitions to acquire.²³²

Long before Ali Pasha's day, the first major fortification in Preveza was the walled settlement constructed by the Ottomans in 1478 on the strait to the Gulf of Arta. This so-called "Bouka Castle," defended by a moat and seven towers, was improved by the Ottomans several times throughout the end of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²³³

²³⁰ In a report to Lord Hawkesbury dated November 1808, William Martin Leake confirms that the French would be hard pressed to take Greece if they attempted an attack via Epirus: "In considering the difficulties that an Enemy would have to encounter in a march to Corinth through the northern parts of Greece, the roads are a subject of the greatest importance. It may seem absurd to think that there should be an obstacle to men who could transport the heaviest of their field artillery over Mount St. Bernard, but it must be remembered that of roads, such as are known in other parts of Europe, there are absolutely none in Greece. In a country where wheel carriages are unknown, it is sufficient that a path be made practicable for a single horse: Even in the plains therefore, an army would meet with the delays occasioned by the necessity of making roads and in most parts of the mountains, this would be a work of such immense labour, that they would probably be under the necessity of abandoning all their field artillery that would not admit of being taken to pieces and in that manner transported over the mountains": National Archives, FO 78/57/15-16, Papers of William Martin Leake (1803-1807).

²³¹ The only access for shipping on the north side of this gulf was Salaora, where Ali Pasha had constructed a customs house, small han and garrison.

²³² From 1797 to 1814, Lefkada was occupied by Venetian, French, Russian and British forces. Ali Pasha sent an agent to London in 1811 to convey to Lord Hamilton a request that the British secure Parga and Lefkada and to restore these properties to him, arguing that they were his by right before their capture by the French: National Archives, London, FO 78/80, Petition of Ali Pasha to Lord Hamilton (20 May 1811).

²³³ Karabelas, "To kastro tis Boukas (1478-1701)," 400-408. Visiting the city around 1670, Evliya Çelebi described Bouka as a castle guarded by a garrison of 250 soldiers with narrow streets and about 100 small houses without gardens as well as a mosque constructed by Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520-66). Outside the

The Venetians seized Preveza in 1684 and they again repaired the towers of the walled city on the point, which was soon thereafter represented by the famous cartographer Vincenzo Coronelli several times in the late seventeenth century (See Fig. 42).²³⁴ Before the Venetians surrendered Preveza back to the Ottomans in 1701, they blew up the walls and towers of the Bouka castle, as stipulated by the Treaty of Karlowitz.²³⁵ In 1702, with the old walled city in ruins, the Ottomans shifted the center of Preveza north by constructing a totally new castle, which is now known as the Fort of Agios Andreas, located in the heart of the modern city.²³⁶ After the Venetians took the city again in 1717, they improved the fortifications at Agios Andreas by re-digging the moat and constructing a new bastion on the western side.²³⁷

This was essentially the case on the ground until 1797, the beginning of a tumultuous decade in which one invading force after the next occupied Preveza. Upon the outbreak of the Ottoman-Russian war in 1806, chaos erupted as the Russians ceded the Ionian Islands to the French in a series of secret articles in the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807,²³⁸ and the Ottomans moved quickly to claim the mainland dependencies, including Preveza.

walls were 300 large houses with gardens and a bazaar with 100 shops: Kahraman, ed., *Evllya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 283. Ergolavos, *Evllya Teselebi stin Ipeiro*, 32-34.

²³⁴ Leonora Navari, "Coronelli's Maps of Preveza," in *Preveza B: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium for the History and Culture of Preveza (1-20 September 2009)*, eds. Nikos D. Karabelas and Michael Stork (Preveza: 2010), 169.

²³⁵ Karabelas, "To kastro tis Boukas (1478-1701)," 411-12. By 1797, French cartographers only observed a simple earthwork battery in the place of Bouka: James S. Curlin, "«Remember the Moment when Previsa Fell»: The 1798 Battle of Nicopolis and Preveza," 278.

²³⁶ Nikos Karabelas, "Ottoman Fortifications in Preveza in 1702: The First Phase of the Castle of İç Kale," *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 32 (2012), 49.

²³⁷ *Idem*, 56.

²³⁸ Şakul, "Ottoman Attempts to Control the Adriatic Frontier in the Napoleonic Wars," 256.

Hence, from that moment onward, Ali Pasha controlled Preveza with his own men, and, over an approximately ten-year period, maintained a robust program of military building activity in the town itself and in the surrounding region. This program included the repair of the older fortifications and the construction of two new fortresses defending the city itself, which was completely surrounded by a deep revetted ditch, as well as a triangular fortress on the eastern side of the straits (Fig. 86).

The first fortification commissioned by Ali Pasha in Preveza was that of Agios Giorgios, built *de novo* in 1807 and situated on the southern end of the city's defensive wall and ditch (Fig. 87).²³⁹ For the cavalry division stationed at the post, three platforms were constructed on the eastern side of the enclosure and equipped with artillery pieces that faced the water and the entrance into the narrow strait. Just a year later, Ali Pasha's workers turned their attention to Agios Andreas, which would include a saray for the vizier as well as a mosque (Fig. 88 & 89). This structure was built on the foundations of the earlier delapidated Venetian fortress, but the majority of the masonry can be dated by an inscription on the southern bastion, "*Mashallah sene 1223*," corresponding to the years 1807-1808 (Fig. 90). As discussed in Chapter 1, a few years later in 1812-13, Ali Pasha had another larger palace constructed east of Agios Giorgios at the tip of the peninsula, where the Bouka Castle used to stand, defended by a rounded battery.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ William Goodison reports that "The entrance to the gulph is defended by a fortress near the town which is built mostly of stones taken from the ruins of Argos Amphiloichum, an old city, the ruins of which exist at the bottom of the gulph." Goodison's description fits the location of Agios Giorgios: Goodison, *A Historical and Topographical Essay*, 93. It seems that by 1810 a small "saray" had been constructed at "Ag. Giorgiou": Letter from Veli to Giannaki, Preveza (January 10, 1810), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 518, 119-120.

²⁴⁰ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, II, 207.

Around the same time, a wide trench revetted with stone and surrounding the length of the land side of the city was constructed, the product of “6000 labourers daily employed in cutting a ditch of three miles round the walls of the town, 40 feet deep and 40 feet broad.”²⁴¹ Although the ditch has fallen into disrepair over the years, the streets of the contemporary city tend to respect this early modern border, and the outline of this moat system can still easily be delineated from satellite views (see Fig. 86).

Beyond this trench system and further west from Agios Giorgios stands the Fortress of the Pantocrator, Ali Pasha’s last large-scale military construction project, completed in 1815 (Fig. 91).²⁴² Although it seems strange that the vizier would commission another fortress only about 800 m down the shore from Agios Giorgios, the Pantocrator has the advantage of being placed directly on the sea, its battery facing both the entrance to the gulf as well as any boat approaching from the northern end of the peninsula (Fig. 92).

Facing both the Pantocrator and Agios Giorgios on the other side of the isthmus is the triangular fortress at Actium, whose bastions were under construction as early as 1801, but was continuously being modified until its completion in 1818, as declared by an inscription plaque located above the entrance to the fort (Fig. 93 & 94).²⁴³ When the

²⁴¹ National Archives, London, FO 78/76, Report from Charles Rowley (1811).

²⁴² Goodison writes: “There is a second new fort, (in which also a seraglio is to be built,) nearly completed, at about one mile and a half from the town, towards the entrance to the gulph:” *A Historical and Topographical Essay*, 93.

²⁴³ A document from June 1801 in Ali Pasha’s archive mentions the “fortress at Punta” (*νιάρια τής Μπούντας*), most likely a reference to some kind of fortification there as Actium was known as “Punta” to the Venetians: Memorandum from Muhtar Pasha to Ali Pasha, Arta (June 27, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 82, 142-145; and work was underway for a moat there by 1807: Memorandum from Liaze Loulachos to Ali Pasha, Preveza (February 12, 1807), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I,

fortress at Actium had first come into existence at the turn of eighteenth century, its function would have been to intimidate the people of Preveza who were still under the protection of the Septinsular Republic. A little later, the post would serve to monitor the fortress of Lefkada (Santa Maura) across the bay, maintaining a direct line of sight across the water.

As part of this wider Preveza defense system, Ali Pasha also turned his attention to two fortresses directly facing Lefkada on the eastern shore: Tekes and Plagia (see Fig. 85; as well as Fig. 95, 96, & 97). Both fortresses were under constant repair and reconstruction during Ali Pasha's tenure as governor. As early as 1801, Ali Pasha was not only busy repairing an old tower on the site of Tekes but also constructing bastions there and at Plagia.²⁴⁴ These fortifications continued to play an important role in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806-07, when Ali Pasha's general Yusuf Pasha was stationed there with his troops to harass the Russians occupying Lefkada.²⁴⁵

Departing from Preveza and Lefkada and traveling down the coast past the port of Missolonghi and heading east towards the Gulf of Corinth, we finally arrive at Nafpaktos

no. 300, 556-557. Leake notes the small fortress when he travels in the area in June 1805: Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 174. For this inscription, see Karabelas, "O Anglos theologos Thomas S. Hughes stin Preveza kai ti Nikopoli," 138.

²⁴⁴ In an 1801 memorandum, Muhtar Pasha writes to his father that the construction of bastions in Tekes and Plagia were underway, as well as the repair of an old tower at Tekes, although more workers were required to complete the jobs: Memorandum from Muhtar Pasha to Ali Pasha, Arta (June 27, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 82, 142-145. The consul William Meyer claims that the fortifications at Tekes and Plagia were completed by Ali Pasha in 1809: *Epirus, 'Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, I, 398. Other diplomatic correspondence at the British Library indicates that, at least in the case of Tekes, the construction was completed in 1810: British Library, London, Add MSS 20183, Letter from George Foresti to Lowe, Ioannina (July 4, 1810).

²⁴⁵ In 1807, the French engineer by the name of Poncet writes that in April 1807 he oversaw the construction of a new fortification 60 to 69 toises (~meters) in length on top of what was referred to as the "old fort": Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 150.

(Ott. İnebahtı), where Ali Pasha's coastal territory terminated. Perhaps better known to historians by its Italian name Lepanto, Nafpaktos is infamous as the location where the Venetians routed the Ottomans in 1571. The town itself, which sits just north of the shore on the slope of a hill, boasts its own city walls with an inner citadel at the summit. To the south-west of this small harbor town stand a pair of fortresses straddling the straits guarding the Gulf of Corinth, the castle of Antirrio to the north and Patras to the south. In Ottoman sources, the citadel of Nafpaktos and the fortification of Antirrio are distinguished as "İnebahtı Kalesi" and "Kastel-i İnebahtı," respectively.

As is the case with fortifications in such a strategic zone, the "Kastel" at Antirrio, first constructed in 1499 under orders of Sultan Bayezid II, was destroyed and rebuilt several times.²⁴⁶ A late seventeenth-century map by Coronelli shows a fortress with four round towers at Antirrio, and repair registers from the Ottoman archives testify that the fortification at İnebahtı was the object of the Porte's constant attention.²⁴⁷ Greek archaeologists working at the site have suggested, based on structural evidence, that the majority of the fabric seen today on the ground dates from the time of Ali Pasha (Fig. 98).²⁴⁸ If this is the case, this extensive reconstruction of the curtain walls and bastions most likely took place after 1797, when Muhtar Pasha was assigned as the governor to the district. In January 1807, Muhtar Pasha writes to his father from Nafpaktos that both

²⁴⁶ Frankiska Kefallonitou, "Citadel of Antirrio (or Castle of Roumeli)," in *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskare (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2009), 113.

²⁴⁷ See, for example, the following registers: BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d. 3992 (1110 AH/ 1698-99 CE); MAD.d. 3367 (17 Şaban 1127 AH/ 18 August 1715 CE); MAD.d. 3160 (1187 AH/ 1773-74 CE); and MAD.d. 3162 (6 Muharrem 1206 AH/ 5 September 1791 CE). For the map, see Vincenzo Coronelli, 1687 print, Bibliothèque National, Paris, GE DD-509.

²⁴⁸ Kefallonitou, "Citadel of Antirrio," 115.

the citadel and the Kastel at Inebahtı were in a “ruinous state” and in need of further repair.²⁴⁹ A renovation on behalf of the Porte occurred in 1816 (Fig. 99).²⁵⁰

Thus ends our short tour of Ali Pasha’s coast, having sailed from Avlonya all the way south to Nafpaktos, a journey of approximately 450 km along the Ionian Sea coast. Although this overview of Ali Pasha’s coastal fortifications has been organized geographically, designed to simulate how sailors would have encountered these fortresses while moving up and down the coast, it is also important to note the chronological progression for the construction of these buildings. Looking at the approximate timeline for these structures (Table 1), we can conclude that there must have been a team of engineers and craftsmen who were almost continuously engaged in erecting or repairing one fort or another from about 1800 until 1815. The following section explores the role of this group of engineers in the introduction of a new style of fortification system to the shores of Epirus.

Table 1: Ali Pasha’s Coastal Fortifications

Name	Location	Approximate Dates of Building Activity	Masonry Type
Ali Pasha Fortress	Butrint, AL	ca 1798-1801	B
Porto Palermo	Porto Palermo, AL	1804-1805	A
Likurs	Saranda, AL	1804	--
Agia/Anthousa	Anthousa, GR	ca 1806-1807	B

²⁴⁹ “Πολύ χαράπικα είναι από όλα”; Muhtar Pasha mentions that the ditch surrounding the Kastel-i Inebahtı was in particular need of cleaning: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 296, 549-551.

²⁵⁰ BOA, Istanbul, D.BŞM.d. 41822 (21 Cemaziyelahir 1231 AH/ 19 April 1816 CE).

Actium	Preveza, GR	1807	A
Agios Giorgios	Preveza, GR	1807	A
Agios Andreas	Preveza, GR	1807-1808	A
Kastel-i Inebahti	Antirrio, GR	1807?	B
Tekes	Across Levkas, GR	1810	B
Plagia	Across Levkas, GR	1810	B
Pantocrator	Preveza, GR	1815	A, B

A New Type of Fortress

About half of the coastal fortresses for which Ali Pasha could claim direct responsibility were in fact significant repairs to earlier fortresses. This seems to have been the case at least at Saranda, Butrint, the castle of Agios Andreas at Preveza, and Antirrio. Ali Pasha's workmen also built smaller defensive structures within the older walls of Parga and Vonitsa.²⁵¹ By its very nature, military architecture is often a complex palimpsest, accruing layer after layer of repairs and interventions that function to keep a particular structure viable and in step with the latest advances in war technology. Additionally, it stands to reason that many military works would be located on top of earlier sites, as topography, sight lines, access, etc. play a large role in determining the most strategic location for a fortress.

Thus, in a littoral zone such as the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, where coastal territories frequently changed hands between various political actors, it is often beside the

²⁵¹ For Vonitsa, see Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 169-170

point for architectural historians or archaeologists to classify sites according to a fixed ontology of temporal or dynastic markers. As we have seen above during our tour, many fortifications in this region could be understood equally as “Venetian” and “Ottoman.” When discussing Ottoman military architecture in general, and especially that from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, scholars must pay close attention to the phrasing of structures, as the majority of fortifications from this later period are enhancements or rejuvenations of earlier military works. Unfortunately, the Ottoman archives can be frustratingly unhelpful in this regard. It is often difficult to discern the nature and extent of repair or construction works on the basis of documents; words related to building activities such as “*inşa*” and “*bina*,” both translating as “construction,” can be quite vague. Likewise, the meaning of the term “*tamirat*,” usually translated as “repair,” could range anywhere from clearing out rain gutters to the complete demolition and reconstruction of a building.

With all this in mind, any analytical study of the extent of Ali Pasha’s military interventions on the coast of Epirus cannot rely solely on the evidence of archival information and traveler accounts alone. While offering a wealth of information, these sources are at times ambiguous and imprecise. In order to compensate for this deficiency in the written record, I have undertaken a field survey of all of the military structures connected to Ali Pasha with the goal of determining a typology of shared structural characteristics that could indicate the presence of the same workshop of craftsmen or laborers. Despite being spread out over a large geographic expanse as well as a good deal of time, about fifteen years, these fortresses bear remarkable similarities in terms of scale and masonry techniques.

Most fortifications built under the governance of Ali Pasha can be primarily characterized by their projecting, polygonal bastions. This feature marks a notable shift from the fortifications designed in the same region in the medieval and early modern periods. Byzantine or despotate-era fortresses, such as the citadel at Arta or the so-called Rogoi Castle near Louros, tend to follow the contours of the topography with irregular, curving curtain walls punctuated at intervals with tall square or rounded towers. Meanwhile, the most significant early modern innovation in fort-building technology in the area was the introduction of an additional system of outer defense with trenches and star-shaped earthworks, as well as lower, rounded bastions suited for housing artillery.²⁵² Examples of this type of fortification can be seen in the fortress of Santa Maura defending Lefkada as well as the “Bouka castle” at Preveza (See Fig. 42).²⁵³ The fortifications built under Ali Pasha innovate further upon this early modern fort-building tradition by replacing the round or square tower with a slanted, polygonal bastion. This defensive feature, which can be found in new constructions or as part of the repairs of earlier forts, is strategically superior because a slanted bastion is more capable of deflecting artillery fire than a tower with square or rounded surfaces.

When Ali Pasha’s workmen did implement repairs in older fortifications, they would usually seek to improve upon the earlier design. One of the best examples of this can be seen at the fort of Agios Andreas in Preveza. A slightly earlier French map

²⁵² Michael Wolfe, “Walled towns during the French wars of religion (1560-1630),” in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 2000), 327-331; Christopher Duffy, *The Fortress in the Age of Vauban and Frederick the Great, 1660-1789* (London: Routledge, 1985), 2-5.

²⁵³ Across the Adriatic, this system can also be seen in the fifteenth-century Venetian fortress at Ravenna, Italy.

produced in May 1797 (See Fig. 88) serves to show the precise state of the fortress before it was extensively repaired under Ali Pasha in 1808, only a few years later. While the French were occupying Preveza, Agios Andreas had stone revetments in some areas of the walls, while the rest of the enclosure was only defined by earth and loose rocks, constituting breaches in the defensive system.²⁵⁴ In Ali Pasha's time, the fortification's two bastions facing the sea were rejacketed with new revetments, and this masonry was continued around the entire fortification, creating a unified stone enclosure (Fig. 100). Additionally, two projecting polygonal bastions were also added to the NW and SW corners of the fortress facing towards the town as well as an outer enclosure wall on the opposite side running down to the sea (See Fig. 89).²⁵⁵ It was within this outer enclosure that Ali Pasha constructed his mosque. Workers were also sent to construct houses for the Muslim inhabitants as well as a monumental entrance portal (See Fig. 25).²⁵⁶

Looking to the portal of Agios Andreas in Preveza, we should note that another characteristic hallmark of Ali Pasha's fortifications is a particular style of entrance gate, in most cases a rounded arch springing from carved capitals and recessed into a rectangular frame. These portals are typically distinguished from the rest of the monument by being constructed in a different kind of stone, usually of a lighter hue such as white limestone or marble, making the doorway particularly eye-catching set against

²⁵⁴ Curlin, "«Remember the Moment when Previsa fell»: The 1798 Battle of Nicopolis and Preveza." 278.

²⁵⁵ This outer enclosure wall no longer survives, and the seashore is today extended further east by a twentieth-century urban development project that evened out the irregularities of the shore and added a modern marina and promenade, presumably demolishing the old sea walls in the process. Thessaloniki underwent a very similar modernization process in the early twentieth century.

²⁵⁶ In September 1809, workers are sent to Preveza to construct houses for the people of Bekir Ağa and for a structure "above the portal of the kastro:" Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 505, 102.

the darker local gray stone. The entrance portal to the citadel in Ioannina demonstrates that such gateways were also a feature of the wall systems built for cities on the interior in Ioannina, Tepelena and Gjirokaster. As outlined in the introduction, set above these doorways are decoratively-carved machicolation and niches for epigraphic inscriptions and figural plaques, some of which are still *in situ*. These decorative portals bring a sense of refinement even to the smallest and most remote of the coastal fortifications (Fig. 101). In order to gain a full understanding of this shift in presentation, one only has to observe the rather perfunctory entrances to earlier fortresses in the region such as those at Butrint, Parga or Vonitsa (Fig. 102).

To return to the slanted, polygonal bastions that could be considered the most important trademark of Ali Pasha's fortifications,²⁵⁷ we can observe that most of these features were executed in a very specific manner, their most distinguishing features being: a quoin of ashlar blocks at the corners of the polygon, a gradual slant upwards whereby the base of the bastion is much wider than the top, and a cornice setting apart multiple polygonal battlements at the top of the wall (Fig. 103 & 104).²⁵⁸ The quality of the masonry in the external walls of these bastions can vary, but generally this stonework can be divided into two types: Type A being a system in which there are courses of masonry formed with small rectangular blocks of relatively uniform height with little to

²⁵⁷ In the exceptional case of the fortress of Likurs in Saranda, there are only two rounded towers, and this might be an indication that there was another workshop involved, or this was an earlier phase of construction and Ali Pasha's architectural interventions in this structure were only minimal. When compared to the masonry at the Triangular Fortress in Butrint, which also features rounded towers and arrow-slits in the curtain walls, I would venture that the latter explanation is far more likely.

²⁵⁸ In some cases, like the bastions of Agios Andreas in Preveza, these upper battlements no longer survive.

no mortar visible, and Type B featuring an external wall composed of roughly-cut field stones set in thick mortar and in most cases covered with another layer of mortar (see Table 1; for an example of what I am calling Type B masonry, see Fig 105). A breach in the curtain wall at the Plagia fortress suggests that the walls of these bastions were supported with a rubble masonry infill (Fig. 106).

The difference between the two types of masonry A and B could best be understood in terms of economic pragmatism. The Type A masonry would have been more costly and time-consuming to execute, as the cutting and placement of the ashlar for the revetment of the bastion walls required the employment of a team of more specialized craftsmen. Meanwhile, the Type B masonry was easier and faster to produce because workers could erect walls with moderately-shaped field stone and encase them in mortar. From a defensive standpoint, however, Type A masonry would have been preferable because the regular courses of cut stone offered more stability and were more resistant to artillery fire than field stone. Ibrahim Manzour Efendi reports a tense exchange between Ali Pasha and a Don Santo Montéléone, who was the engineer behind the Agia-Anthousa fortress (which features Type B masonry). The vizier, an exacting patron, was “irritated because at the fortress of Agia the soldiers do not want to stay there because they fear that it will crumble around them.”²⁵⁹ At least in the cases of Agia/Anthousa and the Tekes forts, the workers constructing the Type B masonry attempted to imitate the style of the Type A masonry by covering the field-stone with a

²⁵⁹ Ibrahim Manzour Efendi, *Memoires sur la Grèce et l’Albanie pendant le gouvernement d’Ali-Pacha*, 352-58.

layer of mortar and tracing lines into the wet material, a trompe l'oeil effect resembling regular courses of cut blocks.

As one might observe from the table above, these different masonry typologies cannot be neatly explained according to chronological phases. For example, the fortresses of Anthousa and Plagia, which were executed about three years apart in time, both feature Type B masonry. The most logical explanation of these different styles of stonework seen in Ali Pasha's fortresses is the presence of different workshops or teams of laborers. Taking into consideration the fact that Ali Pasha had many fortification construction or repair projects running at the same time, it can be concluded that some of the more seasoned or adept craftsmen simply did not have the ability to be in two places at once.

We may actually be able to catch a glimpse of some of the masons who worked on Ali Pasha's fortresses in a document from the governor's chancery, a register listing laborers employed in construction activity at the "kastro" of Ioannina.²⁶⁰ Dated 1801, the register most likely records the reconstruction and enhancement of the medieval wall system surrounding the citadel.²⁶¹ In terms of design and masonry, the new walls and bastions of Ioannina's kastro very much resemble several of the coastal fortifications under discussion, especially the Agios Giorgios and Agios Andreas forts in Preveza (Fig. 107). The document lists some two thousand workers, 1,815, to be precise.

Besides providing ample evidence for Ali Pasha's ability to mobilize a large labor force for the execution of a large-scale infrastructure project, this register also gives a

²⁶⁰ Register of workers working in the Ioannina Kastro, Ioannina (September 19, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, 102, 184-187.

²⁶¹ Hughes says that these major reconstruction efforts took place "about the time when the French armies gained possession of the Dalmatian provinces": *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 452.

sense of the hierarchy of labor at one of these worksites, divided between skilled and unskilled workers. The overwhelming number of the laborers listed are classified according to their place of origin: 58 men from Kastoria, 35 men from the village of Molista, 28 men from Metsovo, and so on. It was a common practice for Ali Pasha (and indeed, for other construction projects throughout the Ottoman provinces) to source workers from nearby towns and villages, usually in lieu of their annual taxes or debt forgiveness.²⁶² The vizier usually covered the expenses of the skilled masons himself. In the case of Ioannina, Thomas Hughes additionally reports that no one could escape pitching in on the task at hand: Ali Pasha “spared not even the primates, archons, and priests of the Greeks, any more than the beys and agas of the Turks; nay, he forced the archbishop and his own son Mouchtar to labour. Signore Nicolo’s back seemed to ache afresh as he recounted to us the fatigues which he used to undergo in carrying stones and working with the pick-axe.”²⁶³

Leaving aside the indelible image of Ioannina’s chain-gang of local notables, the majority of the un-named workers in the register could be considered the large mass of unskilled labor who were assigned the onerous yet uncomplicated tasks of transporting²⁶⁴

²⁶² This type of forced labor was apparently referred to as “angareia” by Greek-speaking locals. Dimitripoulos, “Ochiomatikes kai oikodomikes ergasies tou Ali Pasa stin Preveza,” 43; A.C.S. Peacock, “Introduction: The Ottoman Empire and its Frontiers,” in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2009), 19-20. In a message to Ali Pasha, the overseer of the construction of the ditches in Preveza and Antirrio mentions that for the works at Antirrio he has received 350 people from Ioannina, 120 from Patratziki, 115 from the Levadia area and 200 workers from Veli Pasha’s farms.: Letter from Liaze Loulachous to Ali Pasha, Preveza (February 12, 1807), *Αρχείο Αλή πασα*, I, no. 300, 556-57.

²⁶³ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 452.

²⁶⁴ The stone was sourced locally. The register says that the workers were bringing stone from “Ardomista” which is a village now named Loggades on the eastern side of Lake Pamvotis: Michalis

and breaking up stone, as well as preparing lime for mortar. The register also names a handful of men described as architects (μειμάρης) or master-masons (μαστόρος) and their own teams of workers: 13 men under Stathis, the *mimar*, 24 men under Master Lampros, and 23 men under Christos, the *mimar*. A separate group of roofing specialists (νταβαντζήδες) are named as well. It is important to note that these master masons—as well as others who appear in Ali Pasha’s archive—were all Christian. Muslims do not seem to have been engaged at all in the construction industry in this region, perhaps a simple reflection of population demographics, or evidence of a distinctive labor culture defined at least in part by confession. The smaller groups under named master craftsmen would have been responsible for the more skilled tasks of raising the walls and bastions by following the instructions of the master-masons in laying the courses of the external casing walls to achieve a gradual slope for the *enceinte*. While the unskilled labor for all of Ali Pasha’s construction projects could simply be drawn from the surrounding area, the remarkable consistency in appearance and techniques among these fortifications suggests that the smaller groups of more specialized craftsmen were moving from site to site.

By examining stoneworking techniques in these defensive structures, we begin to have a clearer picture of the masons who worked on these buildings. Yet, the question of who was responsible for first laying out or designing these fortifications seems to be another matter entirely. Even a cursory review of the archival sources and available travel

Kokolakis, *To istero Gianniotiko pasaliki: choros, dioikisi kai plithismos stin Tourkokratoumeni Ipeiro, 1820-1913* (Athens: 2013), 261. Additionally, in the Barbie du Bocage map of 1820, a quarry “for building stone” (*la pierre pour batir*) is indicated to the west of the city, just south of the road leading towards Paramythia.

accounts reveal that Ali Pasha depended on an eclectic mix of different architects and engineers to oversee his various building projects. One gets the impression that the governor was recruiting anyone with some claim to engineering skills who came his way.

Many scholars have argued that the people master-minding the designs of Ali Pasha's fortification projects had to be among the several foreigners (i.e. Europeans) who were constantly making their way to the governor's court.²⁶⁵ As will be explored further below, this was most certainly the case, but it is also clear that Ali Pasha also had other more local architects upon whom he could consistently rely.²⁶⁶ First among these individuals was Petros of Koritsa (Alb. Korça), described by Leake as the "chief architect" of Ali Pasha, who "constructed the bridge and serai at Tepeleni, and has built many others of the Pasha's palaces and castles."²⁶⁷ Leake further confirms that Master Petros was always on the move from one site to the next, the consummate servant to the governor: "Although Peter is the Vezir's chief architect and engineer, he has served in his present capacity for five years without receiving a para, although constantly employed in superintending the building of some castle or serai for the Vezir or his sons."²⁶⁸ We

²⁶⁵ See, for example, Carvajal, "The Castle of Ali Pasha at Butrint," 300.

²⁶⁶ Guillaume De Vaudoncourt remarks in his memoir that the designs for Ali Pasha's fortifications were generally overseen by his *silahdar* and "an Albanian of the name of Peter": *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816), 287.

²⁶⁷ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 223. Petros also appears in Ali Pasha's archives, named in an 1804 agreement that he makes with the town elders of Ioannina to locate building specialists (δια τους ματόπους) for Ali Pasha's new fortress in Souli, what is often referred to as the fortress of Kiafa. This document refers to Petros as the "chief architect of the vizier (μειμάρη του βεζηρη)": Letter to Master Petros, Ioannina (1804), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 205, 395-396. Also see Pouqueville, *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*, I, 95; Petronitis, "Architektones kai Mixhanikoi stin Ipiresia tou Ali Pasa," 367-372; and S. Shuteriqi, *Petro Korçari, Kryearkitekt Ali Pashë Tepelenës* (Tirana: 1987), which mostly summarizes what can be found in European travel accounts.

²⁶⁸ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 253.

already know that Petros was responsible for laying the foundations of Ali Pasha's palace in the Ioannina citadel, and his name in fact once appeared in a Greek inscription on the main gate leading to the Agios Andreas fortress in Preveza, which no longer stands. Besides naming Ali Pasha's agents in the city, Bekir Ağa and Süleyman Bey, the epigraphic plaque also proclaimed the fortification was the work of "Petros the Architect (αρχιτέκτων)."²⁶⁹ Petros, a Christian from northern Epirus, most likely gained his skills in the manner typical in the region, by working his way up as an apprentice alongside older, more experienced craftsmen.²⁷⁰ He would have had ample opportunity to pick up such specialized knowledge in his native town of Korça or the neighboring village of Moschopolis (Alb. Voskopoja), which has a strong tradition of stone architecture, with 14 new quarters and 22 churches being constructed throughout the eighteenth century (Fig. 108).²⁷¹

Although it seems that the design and construction of fortresses in the area under Ali Pasha's control were kept in house, so to speak, there were several occasions when the governor received outside assistance. Ali Pasha was aware that the French, British and Russian forces that were constantly circling around his territory kept engineers on

²⁶⁹ Alexandros Philadelphais, "Anaskafai Nikopoleos: Christianika Mnimeia Prevezis," 234-235; Petronitis, "Architektones kai Mixhanikoi stin Ipiresia tou Ali Pasa," 370. This plaque was paired with another inscription bearing the date 1223 AH, the same year that appears on the Ottoman Turkish inscription on the SE bastion of the Agios Andreas fortress. Süleyman Bey is mentioned in a letter from Hudson Lowe to Ali Pasha, Lefkada (Santa Maura) (July 2, 1810), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 542, 150-151.

²⁷⁰ This tradition seems to have continued with the son of Petros, who as early as 1801 is listed in a register of Ali Pasha's retinue working with a Master Thanos: Register of Ali Pasha's retinue, Ioannina (March 26, 1801), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 74, 126.

²⁷¹ Gilkes, *Albania: An Archaeological Guide*, 303-304. See Max Demeter Peyfuss. *Die Druckerei von Moschopolis, 1731-1769: Buchdruck und Heiligenverehrung im Erzbistum Achrída* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989).

hand, and the governor frequently made special requests to the foreign diplomats at his court to loan him these military specialists for his own projects. After such a meeting with Ali Pasha in Ioannina in 1808, the British agent Anthony Baker reports to London that the vizier “is anxious for the assistance of some able engineer who might superintend the works he is constructing at Preveza, and direct other necessary measures of defence about to be adopted.”²⁷²

On occasion, however, the foreign specialists requested by Ali Pasha did not live up to their reputation as the bearers of superior engineering skill. In his account of his time spent in Ioannina, Ibrahim Manzour Efendi records meeting a “Sicilian by the name of Don Santo Montéléone, who is [Ali Pasha’s] principal engineer,” when he arrives in the city in 1816.²⁷³ This is the same man mentioned above who was said to have directed the construction of Ali Pasha’s fortress at Agia-Anthousa. Besides noting that this Don Santo Montéléone was given special permission to ride around Ioannina in his own Italian carriage, Ibrahim also indicates that this man “has no notion of the principles of the art that he performs in the service of the Vizier,” and offers as evidence the fact that the fortress at Anthousa was already in ruins “only two years after its construction.”²⁷⁴ Ali Pasha excused the Don from his service only four days after confronting him on the matter.

²⁷² Hertfordshire Archives, Hertford, UK, DE/MI/85508, Anthony Baker to Robert Adair (November 10, 1808).

²⁷³ Ibrahim Manzour Efendi, *Memoires sur la Grèce et l’Albanie pendant le gouvernement d’Ali-Pacha*, 352-58.

²⁷⁴ *Idem*.

One of the best opportunities to observe how Ali Pasha communicated and worked with foreign specialists for his fortifications comes down to us in the hand-written reports of two French engineers who oversaw the design and construction of the fort of Agios Giorgios in Preveza, as well as several other military works in the region. These reports, now housed in the manuscript collection at the Gennadius Library in Athens, come from the personal papers of General Frédéric-François Guillaume de Vaudoncourt (1772-1845), who first made a name for himself in Italy as an artillery specialist in the French army.²⁷⁵ In his published memoir, De Vaudoncourt recounts that, in 1806, Ali Pasha pressed François Pouqueville, the French consul stationed in Ioannina, to send for both officers and supplies from Napoléon's troops, including military engineers who could assist in the construction of new fortifications in the region, particularly at the newly-acquired Preveza and the camps positioned against the Russian troops on Lefkada.²⁷⁶ Thus, in early 1807, the young De Vaudoncourt, at the time only a colonel, found himself on a journey along the eastern Adriatic coast where he would encounter the beys of Bosnia, the pasha of Scutari [Al. Shkodër] and, finally, Ali Pasha in Ioannina. Although De Vaudoncourt's account of this region was eventually published as *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands*, in his book he only mentions the fortifications at Preveza in passing, and refrains from indicating the primary role he played in their

²⁷⁵ The reports are designated as MSS 150 at the Gennadius Library, and a hand-written note at the front of the file, which appears to be the hand of De Vaudoncourt himself, describes the contents as "Notes sur différentes opérations exécutées pendant ma mission à Joannina 1807."

²⁷⁶ De Vaudoncourt, *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands*, 251.

construction.²⁷⁷ This omission may be attributed to the fact that, in the end, the general came to resent Ali Pasha for refusing to realize fully the projected designs.²⁷⁸

De Vaudoncourt's field reports now at the Gennadius Library consist of three sections: the first is a miscellany of papers related to various projects such as a bridge under repair and artillery cast for Ali Pasha in July 1807; the second is a six-page report by a Captain Poncet on during his "mission to Turkey" in 1807, and finally the 68-page report written by De Vaudoncourt himself of his own mission to the Ottoman Empire in 1807. It is clear from the content of the reports that Poncet on and De Vaudoncourt were sent together to assist Ali Pasha. As for the paleography of the texts, each account appears to be written in a different hand, suggesting that these two engineers penned their own reports. Both hands are present in the miscellany of documents in the first section of MSS 150; for example, Poncet on wrote up the notes accompanying designs for a battery facing Lefkada and the Agios Giorgios Fort, while De Vaudoncourt was the one to document the construction of the "chateau at Litaritza" in Ioannina.

Most pertinent to the present discussion, however, are the final ten pages of De Vaudoncourt's report, which provide a wealth of detail about the circumstances of Ali Pasha's commissioning and construction of the Agios Giorgios fort in Preveza. Again, this fortress was the first major military work executed by Ali Pasha after taking control of the city. It is today situated on the southern edge of the town, set approximately 75 m inland from the beach (See Fig. 86 & 87). In his report, De Vaudoncourt explains that the

²⁷⁷ *Idem*, 82, 252, 287.

²⁷⁸ Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 150, Guillaume De Vaudoncourt, "Rapport," 61; Beauchamp, *The Life of Ali Pasha of Janina*, 151; De Vaudoncourt, *Memoirs on the Ionian Islands*, 287.

primary objective of the regiment's mission to Ali Pasha in Epirus was to ensure that Preveza be fortified, or at least sheltered from a sudden, swift attack ("*coup de main*").²⁷⁹ After examining the terrain, De Vaudoncourt determined that the best place to protect the garrison of the town and to defend the canal was the natural elevation of the Agios Giorgios Hill, noting that it would be impossible for any boat to enter the gulf without passing by the fire from its batteries.

De Vaudoncourt returned to Ioannina to discuss his plans for fortifying Preveza. He arrived in time to witness Ali Pasha, in the course of negotiating with the French consul Pouqueville, issue "in a very public manner" an order for the construction of a number of flat-bottom boats to aid in the defense at Plagia.²⁸⁰ De Vaudoncourt was annoyed that Ali Pasha, in looking over the plans for the Agios Giorgios Fort, expressed concern that it would be too costly, while continuing to add other projects (unfortunately unnamed) that he wanted the young French engineer to undertake at the same time. While De Vaudoncourt attributes what he perceives to be Ali Pasha's irrational behavior to the Turkish tendency "to walk continually in imaginary spaces and magical illusions," it could be argued that Ali Pasha was adopting a rather pragmatic approach, taking advantage of De Vaudoncourt's expertise for as many projects as possible.

Once the choice of location had been made and plans drawn up for the Agios Giorgios Fort, Ali Pasha eagerly made the arrangements for a public ceremony: he would come to Preveza to lay the first stone for the fortification, with Pouqueville also in

²⁷⁹ Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 150, Guillaume De Vaudoncourt, "Rapport," 59.

²⁸⁰ *Idem.*, 61.

attendance.²⁸¹ It was Ali Pasha's intention, De Vaudoncourt adds, that "his presence [in Preveza] would give weight to the rumors," which Ali Pasha himself spread, that he would dispatch troops to the front lines facing the island of Lefkada. In this way, Ali Pasha used military construction as a physical testimony to what had before only been a vague threat. By arranging a public spectacle where he was laying the foundations for the Agios Giorgios Fort, Ali Pasha sought to establish the Russian forces on the nearby Lefkada as a legitimate danger to the city, and to present himself as the capable defender of Preveza.

Yet, after these festivities, De Vaudoncourt found Ali Pasha to be a patron with demands that were difficult to satisfy. Once the designs for the fortification had been drawn up, Ali Pasha wanted to inspect them himself; upon viewing the plans, he expressed his disapproval that the bastions would not be square, or polygonal ("*tours quarrés*")²⁸², presumably because De Vaudoncourt had employed a more irregular design to better accommodate the natural shape of the hill. Additionally, Ali Pasha also questioned the fact that the fortification was set back a short distance from the sea (40 *toises*, approximately 77.5 m), and he requested that the fort location be advanced to sit directly on the beach, where they could establish casemates. De Vaudoncourt defended his choices, pointing out that the beach, where they would find water at only two feet under the surface, was not suitable for the casemates, while the natural elevation at Agios Giorgios offered a better location.

²⁸¹ *Idem.*, 62.

²⁸² *Idem.*, 65. This is a now obsolete spelling of the word "*carré*."

Despite Ali Pasha's protests, it seems that, in the end, he deferred to De Vaudoncourt's expertise, as the designs that the French colonel describes in his report are essentially what can be found on the ground today: an irregular-shaped fortification that is established on the natural elevation of Agios Giorgios and set slightly inland from the sea. Yet the haggling continued. By the time the first ditch had been opened for the foundations of the enceinte walls, Ali Pasha had established his own dwelling ("*son domicile de jour*") on the beach so that he could personally observe the construction work. This house was probably located on the point of the Preveza peninsula, where a few years later Ali Pasha would establish his walled palace complex. As the work was underway, Ali Pasha berated De Vaudoncourt and his team, complaining that the designs still required too much advance preparation, and that, at this rate, he "would not be able to finish the fort before two years time, and [De Vaudoncourt] had to make do with the variables that had been presented to him at the present moment."²⁸³ At this point in the report, De Vaudoncourt conjectures that Ali Pasha was so impatient to see the speedy completion of the fort because he feared that, if there was a sudden conclusion of hostility between the Russians and the Ottomans, the French would make an attempt to occupy Preveza once again. If this did happen, Ali Pasha "did not know if His Majesty the Emperor and King would indemnify the defenses," i.e. have the right to claim the new fort because the construction had been overseen by French engineers.

In the end, these fears never came to pass. De Vaudoncourt had the assistance of Captain Ponceton in outfitting the defensive works, and Ponceton's own report states that

²⁸³ *Idem.*, 66.

he was entrusted with the task of placing munitions at the various batteries that defended the entrance to the port. For the cavalry division at Agios Giorgios, Poncetou had three platforms constructed on the eastern side of the enclosure and brought some artillery pieces to the battery. Additionally, in the miscellany at the beginning of the De Vaudoncourt file, there is a short document in Italian, apparently in the hand of Poncetou, which was intended to accompany a plan of the Agios Giorgios Fort. Even though the plan itself is unfortunately not included in the file, this document nevertheless provides some additional information about the fort's specifications, such as the height of the enceinte walls, given as *25 palmi* (about 6 m). Poncetou also records that the entire construction process of the fort—including the excavation of the foundations, the erection of the walls and parapet, and the revetting of the dry moat on the western side—took three months and employed 300 general laborers for moving the earth and 200 more specialized workmen for the masonry.

We can draw a number of conclusions about Ali Pasha's style of patronage from this collection of reports. First, the governor took an active interest in the design and implementation of building plans, sometimes to the point of being overbearing in the eyes of his French contractors. Additionally, while Ali Pasha certainly seemed to value the presence of European engineers or building specialists, the more general discussion about the hierarchy of laborers who were responsible for these constructions clearly complicates simplistic designations of these fortresses as "European," "local," or "Ottoman." While the Agios Giorgios Fort in Preveza was overseen by Guillaume De Vaudoncourt himself, less than a year later construction began on the other side of the city at Agios Andreas under Master Petros, whom Pouqueville described as "the Vauban"

of Ali Pasha.²⁸⁴ As the masonry techniques are virtually identical at both fortresses, it is clear that the 200 specialized workmen—the masons of Master Christos or Lampros—employed at Agios Giorgios simply moved over to Agios Andreas to begin the next in an endless round of projects. These are the individuals who worked for years to develop a distinctive style of fortification construction on Ali Pasha’s coast.

The Right to Build

Several of Ali Pasha’s coastal fortification became sites of conflict not only in the more traditional sense of military combat, but also in terms of diplomatic confrontations provoked by the construction of these monuments. Our present discussion serves to highlight how conflict may arise between the Ottoman center and periphery by posing a simple question: “Who has the right to build a fortress?” The most recent work that has been done on military architecture in the Ottoman Empire—a relatively new line of inquiry in Ottoman studies—usually adopts the underlying assumption that it is the Porte in Istanbul that leads the initiative on the foundation and maintenance of fortifications throughout the empire.²⁸⁵ There are many reasons why this top-down model makes sense as a pattern for military construction—the center, of course, would have a vested interest in expanding or maintaining the boundaries of its sovereignty. Yet, as can be gleaned from the emerging field of “frontier studies,” it is precisely in frontier or border zones

²⁸⁴ Pouqueville, *Histoire de la régénération de la Grèce*, I, 95. Petronitis, “Architektones kai Mixhanikoi stin Ipiresia tou Ali Pasa,” 372.

²⁸⁵ See, for example, Victor Ostapchuk and Svitlana Bilyayeva, “The Ottoman Northern Black Sea Frontier at Akkerman Fortress, the View from a Historical and Archaeological Project,” in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2009), 163.

that local actors often have their own motivations or incentives, which at times diverge from state policy.

The port city of Preveza serves as an ideal place where we can observe this interplay of state, local and foreign interests. As explained earlier, a firm control over Preveza presented significant strategic advantages, as the town is located on a peninsula directly facing the island of Lefkada and leading to the Gulf of Arta (see Fig. 85). At the beginning of Ali Pasha's career, Preveza was still a Venetian dependency, but, when the republic dissolved in 1797, Napoléon's troops moved in and occupied the port. As a purported servant to the state, Ali Pasha was responsible for defending the borders of the Ottoman Empire and its subjects from any external threat. When the French took Preveza, the Porte ordered Ali Pasha, along with other regional administrators, to wrest back this position.²⁸⁶ Ali Pasha eventually bested the French troops and entered the city himself in October 1798.²⁸⁷

The people of Preveza, however, did not welcome their "liberator" with open arms. Two years later, in 1800, the city became part of the Septinsular Republic, a small vassalage state under joint Ottoman and Russian protection. At that time, the inhabitants insisted that they have an administrator sent from Istanbul, expressly to avoid being under

²⁸⁶ By March of the same year, the English and Austrian ambassadors are notified that Ali Pasha had taken Parga, Preveza and Vonitsa: BOA, Istanbul, C.HR. 96/4779 (19 Şevval 1213 AH/ 16 March 1799 CE). This attack on the French was characterized in the Ottoman documents as a "just victory" (*haklı fethiye*) outlining that, as these were former Venetian territories, the French had no right of occupation: BOA, Istanbul, C.HR. 41/2024 (29 Rebiülahir AH/ 6 January 1799 CE).

²⁸⁷ This notorious event is remembered by Greek historians as the "destruction" (*chalasmos*) of Preveza.

Ali Pasha's direct authority.²⁸⁸ Suffice it to say that the governor did not handle rejection very well. Ali Pasha responded to the loss of Preveza, which he felt was his by right after his victory over the French, by constructing the fortress on the Actium peninsula, which was within cannon range of Preveza and also had a clear sightline to the older Venetian fortress guarding Santa Maura (Fig. 109).²⁸⁹

This new fortress on the peninsula incited panic among the people of Preveza and Lefkada alike. In the fall of 1801, Ali Pasha received a letter from one of his agents in Istanbul, a Phanariot scribe by the name of Yiankos, who tells Ali Pasha that one of the sultan's officials had paid him a visit at his residence in Istanbul, demanding to know the meaning of the governor's construction of a fortification near Preveza:

Yesterday his highness Çelebi Efendi told me that the islanders of [Santa Maura] were complaining that a fortress that you built in Preveza would harm them, and he asked me, if I had seen it, what is this fortress? I replied that this fortress was old and that you had just built it anew on top of the earlier foundations. And of course I said this fortress was necessary there as it is at the tip [of the peninsula] and it does not communicate easily for your entry into the sea, posing no threat to the people of [Santa Maura].²⁹⁰

Yiankos concludes his letter by asking Ali Pasha to write him as soon as possible and explain what exactly *was* going on in Preveza, so that he would be better prepared next time the Porte came around asking questions.

²⁸⁸ Istanbul ended up sending a man named Abdullah Bey as *voyvoda*, selected from the *kapıcıbaşı* in the palace ranks: BOA, Istanbul, C.BH . 40/1890 (29 Rebiülahir 1218 AH/ 18 August 1803 CE).

²⁸⁹ There were also fortification works being thrown up at Ali Pasha's residence in Mitikas, directly facing the land border of Preveza to the north, as well as at Plagia and Tekes, facing Lefkada from the west. Muhtar Pasha assures his father that at Mitikas there are plenty of cannons facing the border: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 82, 142-145.

²⁹⁰ Although unsigned, the letter seems to have been written by Yiankos Yiazitzi-zades, a Phanariot from Istanbul who, according to the contents of the letter, previously worked for Ali Pasha in Ioannina. His surname ("son of the Yazıcı") implies that he was part of a family tradition of professional scribes: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 113, 202-205.

It is important to note that Yiankos, in his meeting with the Porte official, insisted that Ali Pasha was only carrying out extensive repairs on an earlier fortress that *had already been there*, and not constructing a completely new fortification. According to the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, which the Ottomans agreed to uphold when they established the Septinsular Republic, any construction of a new fortress on the shore of the mainland was strictly forbidden.²⁹¹ It is equally important to note that Yiankos was lying—there is no trace of an earlier fortress on the Actium peninsula in earlier Venetian maps and *vedute*, and not even in the French maps from 1798, only three years before Ali Pasha built the Aktion fortress (Fig. 110). This fortification was therefore a completely new construction, in clear violation of the treaties signed by the Ottomans and Russians when forming the Septinsular Republic. These treaties were far more than just symbolic documents, signed and then thrown into a cupboard to be forgotten.²⁹² The British consul to Ioannina, William Meyer, would later complain bitterly about Ali Pasha’s refusal to abide by the rules of diplomacy:

His Highness has chosen to act upon principles peculiar to himself. When it suited his purpose, he utterly disregarded the spirit and the letter of treaties which forbade the erection of forts on the Turkish coasts within a league of the sea, and he erected them in defiance of all remonstrances against it...In explanation of

²⁹¹ “Treaty of Peace between Charles VI...and Achmet Han Sultan of the Turks. Done in the Congress at Passarowitz in Servia, the 21st day of July 1718,” in *A General Collection of Treatys of Peace and Commerce, Manifestos, Declarations of War, and other Publick Papers*, 4 Volumes (London: J.J. and P. Knapton, et al., 1732), 405. Ottoman-Russian Treaty forming the Septinsular Republic: BOA, Istanbul, C.HR 85/4232 (26 Receb 1213 AH/ 3 January 1799 CE); Şakul, “Ottoman Attempts to Control the Adriatic Frontier in the Napoleonic Wars,” 256.

²⁹² In 1806, there was an incident when one of Ali Pasha’s vessels was stopped off of the coast by Russian officials on Corfu. In the subsequent diplomatic exchanges, Ali Pasha and the Russians descended into complex arguments over the precise terminology of Article 7 in the Ottoman-Russian treaty forming the Septinsular Republic: National Archive, London, FO 78/53 J.P. Morier to Charles James Fox, Ioannina (June 4, 1806).

such proceedings we are told that these ports and places are His Highnesses own conquests, and do not come under the operation of existing treaties, the stipulations of which are inconsiderably looked upon as concessions extorted from weakness and ignorance.²⁹³

Only a few years after Ali Pasha constructed the fortress on the Actium peninsula, Istanbul addressed a memorandum to the governor stressing that, as the people of the Septinsular Republic were under Ottoman protection, it was his duty to respect and ensure the security and repose (*istirahat*) of the subjects (*re'aya*) in Santa Maura—as if he needed a special reminder not to provoke the anxiety of his neighbors.²⁹⁴

Ali Pasha never really took the hint. In 1806, the Septinsular Republic fell apart, and Ali Pasha finally moved in and claimed the city of Preveza for himself. By 1815, Ali Pasha had constructed no less than six individual fortifications that both defended the port at Preveza as well as monitored the water channels leading into the port at Santa Maura, which by that point had come under the protection of the British.

Another fortification that prompted a trans-imperial clash was the Plagia Fort,²⁹⁵ located about 2 kilometers away from the town of Santa Maura itself and directly threatening the water channel approaching the town from the south (Fig. 111). In May 1810, a Colonel Lowe stationed in Santa Maura wrote to the British high commissioner

²⁹³ William Meyer to Thomas Maitland (May 1/13, 1820), in *Epirus, 'Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, I, no. 46, 115; the editors of this volume also cite a message dated November 1820 (FO 78/96/117-122a), in which G. Foresti states that “The fortifications of Preveza, of Port Palermo and those opposite Santa Maura, which command the town, the port and even the citadel of that island, as also the line of forts in the coast opposite Corfu were all erected by Aly Pacha in direct violation of treaties which were formerly concluded between Turkey and the Republic of Venice, and which have been since renewed in the favor of the Ionian Islands.”

²⁹⁴ BOA, Istanbul, C.DH. 141/7031 (29 Cemaziyelevvel 1214 AH/ 28 November 1799 CE).

²⁹⁵ This structure is also known locally as the fort of Agios Giorgios, which is how the British refer to it in their correspondence. I have chosen to call it the fort at Plagia, however, simply to avoid confusion with the Fort of Agios Giorgios at Preveza.

in Corfu. He writes that he had observed in the past days several men carrying out work “at the old castle which lies opposite” the fortress at Santa Maura.²⁹⁶ Colonel Lowe further reports that 2000 workmen were rumored to be employed there and the new fort is supposed to be outfitted for 20 pieces of cannon; “it is the vizier’s intention to have it completed six weeks from hence.”²⁹⁷ Further internal correspondence indicates that the British had earlier agreed to let Ali Pasha build a defensive work in that area, and they had even lent him one of their own engineers to design the structure, but they were only expecting a barrack on top of the hill, which would merely house troops.²⁹⁸ Nobody had said anything about heavy artillery.

About two months later, when the British confronted Ali Pasha with the accusation that he had not adhered to their agreement and was clearly taking an offensive position that threatened the ships entering the harbor of Santa Maura, “menac[ing] the tranquility and security of that island,” Ali Pasha turned around and blamed the engineer sent by the British. The governor claimed that it was in fact the British engineer who had deviated from the original intention to erect a simple barrack. Ali Pasha also expressed surprise and disappointment that the British would not begrudge him a fort that, in his view, “secure[d] an uninterrupted communication” with his allies on Santa Maura, in order to prepare for the impending attack from their common enemy, the French.

²⁹⁶ Ponceton had established a battery there a few years prior, but it seems that the workers seen by Colonel Lowe were erecting walls and bastions above this lighter structure: Gennadius Library, MSS 150.

²⁹⁷ British Library, London, Add MS 20168. Lowe also added to the high commissioner that he should remind Ali Pasha in the days of Venice, “the ancient treaties were respected and no works ever erected in that spot.”

²⁹⁸ British Library, London, Add MS 20183.

Despite these elegant niceties, a General Oswald in Santa Maura continued to press the issue, and that is when Ali Pasha's patience for compromise began to wear thin. When the general demanded that the construction of the fortress halt immediately, Ali Pasha responded that he could not suspend the works as this would "undermine the appearance of their friendship, and would injure him to public opinion as well as the Porte."²⁹⁹ If General Oswald wanted the structure to come down, Ali Pasha would only recognize a demolition order coming straight from London. As evidenced by the presence of the Plagia Fort on the ground today, the general decided not to insist on the matter, and "the works at [Plagia] continued with extraordinary diligence."³⁰⁰

During my course of research, I was struck by the noticeable absence of documentation in the Prime Ministry Ottoman archives regarding these fortifications. This lacuna is especially noticeable considering the abundance of records that appear after Ali Pasha's death, which describe the continuous efforts on behalf of the Porte to repair these structures.³⁰¹ I interpret this silence in the state archives as an indication that Ali Pasha was constructing these military works "off the grid." As has been demonstrated throughout this chapter, Ali Pasha's own papers confirm that the governor was indeed organizing the building of fortifications with his own funding, men and building materials. This arrangement is hardly uncommon in this time period; local notables, especially in the Black Sea region, were often encouraged by Istanbul to contribute to the

²⁹⁹ *Idem.*

³⁰⁰ *Idem.*

³⁰¹ See, for example, supplies sent to Yanya, Arta, Preveza and Parga in 1830: BOA, Istanbul C.AS. 419/17395 (28 Cemaziyelahir 1246 AH/ 14 November 1830 CE); and repairs conducted at the fortresses in Preveza, Arta and Parga in 1849: BOA, Istanbul: A.AMD. 14/36 (1265 AH/ 1848-49 CE).

costs of construction and maintenance of fortresses under their jurisdiction.³⁰² Rather, Ali Pasha's building activities are significant because they reveal Istanbul's lack of concern or even knowledge of these structures—until, of course, someone started to complain about them.³⁰³ This dynamic stands in contrast with the current picture we have of military architecture in the Ottoman Empire through an academic literature that—primarily through the examination of Ottoman repair registers (*tamirat defterleri*)—present compelling evidence that the center exercised a great deal of control and care in decision making about fortress construction and repair projects, even to a degree that has been described by Victor Ostapchuk and Svitlana Bilyayeva as “micromanagement.”³⁰⁴

The recent academic emphasis on a competent, top-down model of patronage is best understood as a powerful corrective to the long-standing view—frequently rehearsed in the more abundant literature on Western European fortifications—that the Ottomans were inept in the construction of defensive works.³⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Ali Pasha's program of military architecture further nuances our understanding of the precise mechanisms

³⁰² Andrew Peacock, “Introduction: The Ottoman Empire and its Frontiers,” 19-20.

³⁰³ In 1810, the French consul Pouqueville protested to Istanbul that Ali Pasha was conspiring with the British to seize the island of Lefkada. Ali Pasha's agent in Istanbul Süleyman Efendi reported that the Porte had rejected this claim and insisted that nothing of the sort was going on: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archievo Ali Pasa*, II, no. 541, 145. Yet, as we know from diplomatic correspondence in the British archives, Ali Pasha was indeed trying to enlist the British in helping him win the island for his own territory: National Archives, London, FO 78/80.

³⁰⁴ Ostapchuk and Bilyayeva, “The Ottoman Northern Black Sea Frontier at Akkerman Fortress,” 163.

³⁰⁵ For this revisionist literature, see Gábor Ágoston, “Disjointed Historiography and Islamic Military Technology: The European Military Revolution Debate and the Ottoman,” in *Essays in Honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 567-582; and Kahraman Şakul, “The Evolution of Ottoman Military Logistical Systems in the Later Eighteenth Century: The Rise of a New Class of Military Entrepreneur,” in *War, Entrepreneurs, and the State in Europe and the Mediterranean, 1300-1800*, ed. Jeff Fynn-Paul (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 307-327.

surrounding the process of building or repairing a fortress in the Ottoman Empire. If anything, the construction of fortifications beyond the jurisdiction of Istanbul serves as the exception that proves the rule. After being summoned by Ali Pasha to build fortifications at Preveza, Ponceton wrote at the beginning of his report that he felt a great deal of anxiety about this mission because his team was "unsure in being considered favorably by the authorities, as they had no *firman* (order) from the Ottoman court, which was at a considerable distance from the confines of the Vizier Ali Pasha's country."³⁰⁶ This statement implies that Ali Pasha's inviting French engineers to construct defensive works in his territory without first receiving permission from Istanbul may have been perceived as falling outside the established decorum for building a fortress within the Ottoman Empire.

The construction of fortifications as a potential source of conflict between center and periphery also points to a much larger issue of internecine tensions between rival governors, which state officials in this period sometimes played to their own advantage and in other cases sought to quell for fear of the situation expanding beyond their control. While the Porte tended to support Ali Pasha in his suppression of rebellious mountain communities like Souli, missives from Istanbul condemned in the harshest terms his long-standing rivalry with his counterparts to the north, Mustafa Pasha of Delvine and Ibrahim Pasha of Berat.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Gennadius Library, Athens, MSS 150.

³⁰⁷ BOA, Istanbul, C.DH. 87/4346 (13 Safer 1217 AH/ 15 June 1802 CE); HAT 117/4748 (24 Rebiülevvel 1217 AH/ 25 July 1802 CE).

As part of these rivalries, acquiring artillery was a pressing concern for ensuring that the fortresses continued to be a deterrent for potential attackers. While there is documentation that the Porte was providing Ali Pasha with guns, there is also ample evidence that the vizier was remarkably self-sufficient in locating the firepower requisite for his new military constructions on the coast.³⁰⁸ As we see in a letter dated 1801, Athanasios Psalidas, a man whom we will meet again in Chapter 4 as one of the luminaries of the Greek Enlightenment, also at times served as an agent of Ali Pasha's court. Psalidas writes from Corfu after being sent there to purchase military supplies for the newly constructed fortress at Butrint.³⁰⁹ He reports that he has purchased four nice cannons of 7-(Venetian) pound caliber, 100 cannon balls, 30 sacks of grapeshot, and a pile of hand grenades. As for the gunpowder, Psalida gloats that he managed to outbid not only the Souliotes and Parganiotes but also the men of Delvineli Mustafa Pasha "who are mad at [him] because they were not able to take even a third" of the powder. This document is remarkable in that it reveals that, at the turn of the century, Corfu was operating an open arms market where military supplies were going to the highest bidder. What Psalidas describes is a situation whereby agents from opposing sides (the rebel communities of Souli and Parga against Ali Pasha) were competing shoulder to shoulder for artillery. It is also interesting that men sent by Mustafa Pasha, Ali Pasha's neighbor to the north, were also in Corfu vying for a share of the supplies, especially as both pashas

³⁰⁸ In any case, the Porte evidently did not meet all of his needs: Ali Pasha complained that, of the 147 long-range battering guns requested, only 37 were actually sent for the various fortresses in Preveza, which at that point included Agios Andreas, Agios Giorgios (Yeni Kale) and Aktion (Actium): BOA C.AS. 385/15929 (22 Rebiülevvel 1224 AH/ 8 June 1809 CE).

³⁰⁹ Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 89, 155-57.

were nominally in service to the sultan and presumably would not have to fight over stocking up on guns if they were united in the same goal of defending the frontier.

There is evidence, however, that, when it suited him, Ali Pasha did occasionally choose to participate in the more centralized system of fort construction and maintenance, whereby Istanbul maintained direct oversight over projects in the form of sending construction supervisors (*bina emini*) and keeping official building registers to curtail local corruption.³¹⁰ This was certainly the case at İnebahtı, the only coastal fortress in Ali Pasha's territory that regularly appears in the *tamirat* registers now kept at the Ottoman archives.³¹¹ In 1807, Ali Pasha's son Muhtar sends a report to his father from Lepanto, stating that the fortress is in desperate need for repair. Muhtar believes that the regular workmen at his disposal would not be capable of executing the necessary repairs in a satisfactory manner, so he requests permission from his father to contact the Porte (referred to as “το ντεβλέτη”) and ask for a *bina emini* to come and supervise the project.³¹² Perhaps Muhtar Pasha felt comfortable reaching out to Istanbul in the special

³¹⁰ For an explanation of these registers and how they can be utilized, see Finkel and Ostapchuk, “Outpost of Empire: An Appraisal of Ottoman Building Registers as Sources for the Archeology and Construction History of the Black Sea Fortress of Özi” especially 154-155.

³¹¹ In the time of Ali Pasha, the first indication of repair works at İnebahtı comes in 1787, in the form of an order to cut down trees for repairs at the fortress: BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 1164/51832 (4 Muharrem 1202 AH/ 16 October 1787 CE); and C.AS. 1174/52307 (29 Rajab 1202 AH/ 4 June 1788 CE). In 1799, a *bina emini* is sent to İnebahtı to construct carriages for the cannons as well as buildings belonging to the local *kethüda*, implying that a unit of Janissaries stationed there: BOA, Istanbul, D.BŞM.BNE.d. 16084 (15 Rebiülahir 1214 AH/ 13 December 1799 CE). It seems that these constructions continued until at least until 1803; see BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 1131/50236 (23 Muharrem 1216 AH/ 5 June 1801 CE); and HAT 41/2065a (07 Safer 1218 AH/ 29 May 1803 CE); in this instance, the workers were not provided by Ali Pasha but rather Ali Ağa, who was among those who held property in the area as a reward for their military service.

³¹² Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 296, 550. There was a similar situation in 1818, when a Mimar Abdülkadir was brought in to take charge of further repairs at İnebahtı: BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 452/18832 (5 Zilkade 1233 AH/ 6 October 1818 CE). Yet perhaps the most important intervention came in

case of Lepanto, as this fortress belonged to the canonical list of fortresses that the Porte had maintained for centuries in the defense of the empire, found in the tamirat registers.

The fact that Kastel-i İnebahtı continued to be of interest to the Porte could be due to Ottomans' long memory of Lepanto. The site also constituted the entry to the Gulf of Corinth, which the Ottomans were legitimately concerned could be breached by the French and would open up an opportunity to invade the Aegean, and, by extension, Istanbul itself. It seems, however, that even if an official was brought from Istanbul, the local governors were still expected to foot the bill. A petition to Istanbul from 1801 requests that Ali Pasha be permitted to pay in installments the expenses of the bina emini sent to oversee repairs at the citadel and coastal fortress at İnebahtı.³¹³ As for the rest of Ali Pasha's coastal fortifications, the governor was more or less left to his own devices.

This section established that Ali Pasha and his network of administrators engaged and effectively managed the logistics of multiple large-scale construction projects that were sub-imperial. These were executed outside of any oversight or financial assistance from Istanbul. This section also presented some episodes when this more independent and localized style of architectural patronage became the source of conflict with both Istanbul and Ali Pasha's trans-imperial neighbors on the Ionian Islands. It is no secret that Ali Pasha was an individual who was always pushing his luck when it came to his

the year 1816, which is thoroughly documented in a tamirat register that records extensive repairs to both the Nafpaktos citadel as well as the fortress at Antirrio, including the "structures of Muhtar Pasha's palace" (*Muhtar Paşa sarayı enbiyeleri*) and the curtain walls of the fortifications: BOA, Istanbul, D.BŞM.d. 41822 (21 Cemaziyelahir 1231 AH/ 19 April 1816 CE). Ali Pasha was notified by his agent in Istanbul that workers were being sent to Nafpaktos as early as October 1815: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 814, 612.

³¹³ BOA, Istanbul, C.AS. 1103/48736 (5 Rebiülevvel 1217 AH/ 20 January 1801 CE).

uneasy relationship with Istanbul. Architecture is a particularly fruitful area with which to explore further the precise nature of Ali Pasha's political strategies and negotiations, throwing into question the image of the governor as the dutiful defender of Islam and the Ottoman State.³¹⁴ One of the most important aspects of buildings, especially when it comes to political challenge and conflict, is that they are not easy to simply explain away.³¹⁵ While geographic borders remain fluid and a matter of political imagination, buildings have a certain geographic reality—they are permanent, fixed nodes in a sea of imperial boundaries that ebb and flow over time.

Measuring Success in Military Architecture

In the days of Ali Pasha, visitors who entered the harbor at Preveza were greeted by a large sailing vessel that was permanently moored in front of the town. Originally a sloop that the governor had purchased from the British, the ship was outfitted with a set of eighteen guns, their yawning mouths facing any who approached the port.³¹⁶ At first glance, this ship was no doubt impressive, even intimidating, a testament to Ali Pasha's ability to navigate and protect his maritime assets. Yet further inspection of this boat would reveal a rigging and cordage that was "half decayed"; none of this equipment was being maintained and had probably not been moved for years. Further, the channel leading into the Preveza harbor was in fact quite shallow, in some places only 3-5 meters

³¹⁴ Anscombe, "Continuities in Ottoman Centre-Periphery Relations, 1787-1915," 243

³¹⁵ As opposed to, say, the movement of troops or supplies, in such matters the Porte encouraged Ali Pasha to "be discreet": BOA, Istanbul, C.HR. 83/4144 (17 Muharrem 1226 AH/ 11 February 1811 CE).

³¹⁶ Goodison, *A Historical and Topographical Essay Upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante*, 94; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 180-182.

deep.³¹⁷ In order to be moved from its position out into the wider sea, therefore, this ship would have had to have all of its guns removed just to clear the strait—hardly a practical or convenient tactical maneuver.

Ali Pasha's corvette at Preveza functioned like a theater prop, a set piece that was visually convincing but could never ultimately deliver on the promises made by its appearance. In this concluding section, I would like to propose that Ali Pasha's coastal fortifications would have functioned in a similar way. In their travel accounts, European visitors to the governor's realm—many of them specialists in war technology and fort construction—frequently found these structures lacking in effectiveness, citing their bad design and poor construction. These Europeans would usually find the idea of a fortress not designed or maintained to optimal operational potential as deeply frustrating, and would attribute this to Ali Pasha's "Oriental" disposition. When Thomas Hughes toured the Fort of Agios Giorgios in Preveza, for example, he recounts that "Colonel Vaudoncourt was entrusted with this commission, who complains bitterly of the pasha's avarice, which interrupted all his plans, until he was obliged to yield implicitly to the suggestions of a semi-barbarian, and *build works for shew rather than resistance.*"³¹⁸

I would like to seize upon this critique of a building "for shew" and turn it on its head, suggesting that Ali Pasha was deeply cognizant of what could be termed the optics or performative power of military construction. That is, instead of simply accepting

³¹⁷ Stuart, "On the natural and physical resources of Epirus," 283; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 178; Goodison writes: "The entrance of the gulph is narrow and very shallow in general, so much so as to require a good knowledge of the channel to carry even small craft through with safety": *A Historical and Topographical Essay Upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante*, 93-94. A map dated 1825 shows the depths of the strait: National Archives, London, MPI 1/42.

³¹⁸ Emphasis is my own. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 423.

“resistance” as the single criterion by which we measure success in military architecture, what if we were to consider building forts “for shew” not as an inherent flaw, but as a strategy in and of itself? In this chapter, I have frequently emphasized the sightlines of these fortifications, i.e. what could the soldiers of a garrison see and who, in turn, could see them. This question of audience and long-range visibility is crucial in understanding Ali Pasha’s coastal fortifications and how they worked. In the case of Butrint, Parga, and Preveza, these fortifications sat within one or two kilometers of properties that the governor had clear ambitions to acquire. In a way, it does not really matter how large or technologically advanced a fortress was, the most salient characteristic of the structure was its mere existence.

From this perspective, we could assert that one of the primary functions of these fortifications was to antagonize the people of the Ionian Islands, a psychological warfare intended to foster an uncanny feeling of claustrophobia or general anxiety among the inhabitants and the endless wheel of their foreign administrators. As can be seen in previous sections, the governor relied on rumors, and even public ceremonies marking the commencement of a fort’s construction, to generate talk among his neighbors. In multiple cases, even the mere sight of Ali Pasha’s workmen busily working on batteries and forts across the water was sufficient to provoke protest. Ali Pasha’s coastal fortresses equally addressed the very real phenomenon of local threats in the form of banditry; one of the chief sources of antagonism between the vizier and the Ionian Islands, for example, was their tendency to harbor rebellious villagers from places like Souli or Himara.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ See an order from Ali Pasha to send extra troops to Nafpaktos to guard the area’s farms that had been subject to raiding: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 77, 132. Leake reports that one of the

Meanwhile, from a more macro-imperial perspective, that is, according to the view from Istanbul, these fortresses were presented as the prerogative of any servant to the sultan defending his well-protected domains. Allowing for a multi-valent interpretation for these buildings, therefore, explains the confusion seen in the literature about to what extent Ali Pasha was a faithful subject of the imperial order. While the people of Santa Maura were probably quite right to interpret Ali Pasha's construction of fortresses in Preveza as a hostile act, the vizier's agents at the Porte reminded Istanbul that it was his duty to maintain the defensibility of the frontier, precisely because that is exactly what they needed to hear.³²⁰

This is all not to say that Ali Pasha did not invest in the equipment and basic maintenance required to keep any fortification viable in its defensive capabilities. Fortifications are notorious for being in constant need of repair. Earthworks and ditches are particularly difficult to keep in good condition; in Ali Pasha's own archive there are frequent requests for workers to dig out one moat or another.³²¹ As for artillery, the governor established a foundry for this purpose in Bunila, a village SW of Ioannina.³²² In

reasons Ali Pasha had built the fortress at Porto Palermo was to deter the people of Himara from plundering vessels taking refuge in the harbor, which was apparently a constant problem: National Archive, London, FO 78/57 (August 1805).

³²⁰ The numerous studies on Ali Pasha's tactics of diplomacy emphasize again and again the governor's strategy to play to all sides and keep his options open: Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 89.

³²¹ The moat of Preveza appears to have been problematic, as there is a record of workers employed there in 1807, and then again only a few years later: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 300, 556.

³²² The foundry is mentioned in the register of immovable property belonging to Ali Pasha: BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d. 9767 (29 Şevval 1241 AH/ 6 June 1826 CE). Leake reports that in this place Ali Pasha had settled a group of Bulgarians "whom he brought [there] in 1802 on his return from the Danube": Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 222.

1812, Leake witnessed a demonstration of mortar practice at the site. When the British officer asked Ali Pasha where he procured the copper required for the gun-metal, he replied that he collected the material “from my subjects; one furnishes an old pot, and another a kettle.”³²³ The fact that Bunila not only served as a foundry but also as an artillery school speaks to the importance of staffing garrisons with soldiers with adequate training to operate the battery of cannons and mortars on the bastions of the fortifications. One of the most common laments in petitions to Ali Pasha is the need for ever more *topçu* (cannoneers) and *kumbaracı* (bombardiers) to man the guns at the coastal fortresses.³²⁴

For Ali Pasha, there was certainly a prestige factor in being able to say that he had access to the best specialized knowledge in artillery and fort-building available. By the end of the eighteenth century, expertise in military engineering, especially in the tradition of Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban (d. 1707), was a much sought-for commodity throughout Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet, as explained above, Ali Pasha already had fixed in his mind his own conception of what a modern, Vauban-esque fortification should be, and, most importantly, what it should *look* like. As seen in the case of the back-and-forth with De Vaudoncourt designing the Agios Giorgios Fort in Preveza, the views of the vizier clashed with this hired consultant when De Vaudoncourt’s proposal—although technically sound—proved to be visually

³²³ It was also the case that old cannons deemed to be beyond serviceable were sent to Bunila to be melted down and recast into new pieces. In February 1807, Muhtar Pasha was sending old cannons from Nafpaktos for this purpose: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 303, 561-2.

³²⁴ See Muhtar Pasha’s concerns about the lack of sufficient artillery men at Nafpaktos and İnebahtı: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 296, 549.

underwhelming. Again, upon seeing the designs, he disapproved that the fortress was set so far back from the sea, and that it would not have “square towers” (“*tours quarrés*”). At this moment, the only other major fortifications the governor had built were at Actium and Porto Palermo, both of which have symmetrical, geometric layouts. When Ali Pasha first saw the irregular curves of the Agios Giorgios Fort on paper, therefore, this plan did not meet his expectations. It is interesting to note that the Pantocrator Fort, built several years later and just down the beach from Agios Giorgios, does meet all of the criteria that Ali Pasha originally demanded for Agios Giorgios: a geometric (pentagonal) ground plan, as well as a location directly on the beach. In the end, the governor finally found a way to get his dream fort built on the Preveza peninsula.

In this chapter, I addressed Ali Pasha’s coastal fortifications both according to the more pragmatic concerns of marshaling labor and supplies to construct these structures as well as what could be thought of as the “image power” of placing forts up and down the maritime border of his territory. I have proposed that the governor prioritized a fort’s ability to demarcate political territory and serve as a prophylactic in order to deter potential invaders, rather than performance in combat. That is, these fortresses were designed not only to defend, but also maintained a semiotic value, constantly reminding the vizier’s neighbors of his omnipresent gaze. Sometimes, this tense exchange across a razor-thin imperial border provoked the attention and involvement of representatives from the Porte as well as from European powers. In the end, Ali Pasha’s defensive works on the Ionian Sea were icons of power, marking the liquid landscape, but the issue of whose power exactly these icons referred to—that of the governor, or of the sultan—remained fluid, and the answer ultimately depended on who was asking the question.

CHAPTER 3

Building Local Support: Architectural Patronage for Multi-Confessional Communities

By all accounts, the geographic region that eventually came under the administration of Ali Pasha and his sons, what is now southern Albania and most of northern Greece, was incredibly diverse in terms of language, ethnicity/tribal affiliation, and—most pertinent to this chapter—religion. As a general rule, Muslims tended to be in the majority among the Albanian-speaking Tosks, but only barely, while the Greek-speaking population further south maintained a stronger Orthodox Christian presence (Fig. 112).³²⁵ And, while the countryside was more homogenous in terms of its religious makeup, all of the major cities in Epirus maintained a more mixed population with Muslim, Christian, and Jewish neighborhoods.³²⁶ In order to govern this territory effectively, Ali Pasha learned to be adept at accommodating the wide range of communities under his rule, from the urbanite literati class of Greek scribes and translators at his court to the Muslim and Christian mountain villagers who supplied the governor with troops for his frequent military incursions. In other words, rather than

³²⁵ Dennis Skiotis, “The Lion and the Phoenix,” 18. The Christians in northern Albania, around Shkodër, gravitated more towards Catholicism, a result of being under a more Dalmatian-Venetian zone of political influence. Unfortunately, census records and other historical documentation that could provide more precise population demographics do not exist or no longer survive for this period. Scholars must therefore rely on European accounts as well as more local chronicles, such as the work of Panagiotis Aravantinos. The fact that Europeans writing about this region tend to refer to Muslims as “Turks” and Christians as “Greeks” only confuses the situation further. These designations obscure the rich complexity of tribal/linguistic/religious identity in the area under Ali Pasha’s administration, where it was possible, for example, to be a Greek or Vlach-speaking Muslim, or an Albanian-speaking Christian.

³²⁶ In the 1878 ethnographic map (Fig. III.1), the smaller inset shows the breakdown of the region according to confession. While the mountains and plains of the Epirote countryside are labeled as being either predominately Orthodox Christian (blue) or Muslim (yellow), the cities and their immediate hinterlands, such as Ioannina, Delvine, Arta, or Konitsa, are represented as spots of green, indicating that these areas are “almost equally Christian and Muslim.”

aligning himself exclusively with a particular religious or ethnic group, Ali Pasha sought support from all sides. Here, I explore how this strategy is especially reflected in the vizier's direct patronage of an impressive spectrum of religious architecture throughout the region, from mosques to monasteries.

This chapter brings together under one thematic umbrella the various religious complexes that enjoyed the patronage of Ali Pasha and his family, whether through major structural repairs or pious endowments (Fig. 113). I will first document and analyze how Ali Pasha founded several urban mosque complexes, following a long and established practice of the Ottoman ruling elite. I argue that, by opting to situate these mosques in prominent urban locations and choosing to create a recognizable formal "type" of local mosque, the governor was conforming to an earlier tradition of mosque architecture in the region, and thus positioning himself as the rightful heir to the administrators who increasingly brought the area under Ottoman control. In addition to these more mainstream Sunni foundations, Ali Pasha and his sons also sponsored a number of *tekkes*, or dervish lodges, most of which were situated in a more suburban or village context. Many of these lodges have never been documented previously, and I will discuss the importance of the fact that Ali Pasha supported several different orders of dervishes, instead of favoring a single group or *shaykh* (spiritual leader of a group of dervishes). Finally, I address the general problem of repairing and re-constructing churches in the Ottoman Empire by examining the extraordinary case of Ali Pasha sponsoring the erection of a new church within the Christian monastery of Agios Kosmas. While the construction of mosques and even *tekkes* could be reasonably expected of any Ottoman official of a certain rank or status, the governor's direct involvement in building churches

constitutes a stunning departure from the decorum of architectural patronage that had been established throughout the empire. Ali Pasha's tenure as governor, therefore, can be understood as an experiment in maintaining a religious landscape that would appeal to the various multi-confessional communities under his rule.

As for Ali Pasha's own views on religion, it seems that the governor maintained beliefs that could be characterized as ambiguous, unorthodox, and flexible. Ali was obviously raised and identified as a Muslim, but many European travelers were quick to observe that he was not among the most fervent in his adherence to Sunni doctrine. If we trace all of the various references to Ali Pasha's attitudes towards religion in these Western travel accounts, we obtain results that are both conflicting and confusing.

William Martin Leake, on the occasion of visiting the head shaykh of the dervish lodge constructed by Ali Pasha in Trikala, relates that,

Though the sheikh did not very clearly explain his philosophy to me, he often used the word *ἄνθρωπος* with some accompanying remark or significant gesture conveying a sentiment of the equality of mankind. The Vezir [Ali Pasha], although no practical encourager of liberty and equality, finds the religious doctrines of the Bektashli exactly suited to him. At the time that Christianity was out of favour in France, he was in the habit of ridiculing religion and the immortality of the soul with his French prisoners; and he lately remarked to me, speaking of Mahomet, *καί ἐγώ προφήτης στα Ἰωάννινα*: and I too am a prophet at Ioannina. It was an observation of the bishop of Trikkala, that Aly takes from every body and gives only to the dervises, whom he undoubtedly finds politically useful. In fact, there is no place in Greece where in consequence of this encouragement these wandering or mendicant Musulman monks are so numerous and insolent as at Ioannina.³²⁷

³²⁷ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, IV, 285.

Meanwhile, about fifteen years later, the British consul in Ioannina William Meyer reported that, as Ali Pasha faced the looming threat of being removed from his position by the Porte, the governor was considering switching sides, so to speak:

If all measures of a more regular nature should fail, the baptism of a great personage in this once Christian country is talked of, together with that of many of his adherents. Mahomet never had to deal perhaps with a set of greater freethinkers.³²⁸

Just about a year after this dispatch, with the sultan's men now having arrived at the gates of Ioannina, Meyer reports again that the governor was losing credibility in the eyes of local Muslims because of his "secret understanding with Russia" and the "design of Aly Pacha to place himself at the head of the insurgent Greeks and to protect, if not embrace himself, the Christian faith."³²⁹ The vizier was aware of these rumors and, in order to counteract them, "affected punctilious observance of the ceremonies of his religion," most likely a reference to the *namaz*, or Muslim prayer performed five times a day at prescribed times. These explicit demonstrations of Islamic faith became even more imperative when copies of letters sent to Ali Pasha by Russian and Greek agents addressing him with the newly adopted name of "Constantine" were intercepted and "designedly introduced into his garrison," resulting in something of a scandal among the Muslim soldiers.³³⁰

³²⁸ William Meyer to Hankey, Preveza (May 10, 1820), in *Epirus, 'Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, Vol. I, 122-123.

³²⁹ National Archives, London, F.O. 78/103, Dispatch from William Meyer to Londonberry, Preveza (July 15, 1821), reproduced in *Epirus, 'Ali Pasha and the Greek Revolution*, Vol. I, 422-23.

³³⁰ Idem. This series of events is also recounted in Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 154-155.

All of these anecdotes highlight the balancing act that Ali Pasha had to perform when dealing with different confessional communities. Despite the diverse makeup of the subject population, the governor did not exactly usher in a golden age of multi-culturalism, at least in the modern sense; any show of favor to one group potentially could arouse the jealousy of another, leading to a gain and/or loss of political capital. It has even been suggested that one of the key elements to Ali Pasha's success was his "uncanny ability to derive maximum advantage from pitting one [group] against the other" when the situation called for it.³³¹ The governor's wide-spread support of the various religious institutions that formed the nuclei of these different communities, therefore, does not necessarily suggest an idyllic and harmonious coexistence among said communities. At the very least, it can be said that there was a degree of natural competition between these groups for resources and prestige, and Ali Pasha constantly had to calibrate his actions according to the strengths, weaknesses, and aspirations of the subjects under his jurisdiction.

Before the *Tanzimat* modernization reforms in the mid-nineteenth century, religious foundations constituted the very heart of society in the Ottoman Empire. Blurring the modern distinction between the sacred and secular, pious institutions not only provided space for people to gather and worship, but also formed the basis of leadership for various communities,³³² as well as basic social services in the form of

³³¹ Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 85.

³³² In addition to their clerical duties, Orthodox priests sometimes held the title of *kethüda*, or the head of a village community: Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Glances at the Greek Orthodox Priests in the Seventeenth Century," in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community, Essays in Honor of Suraiya Faroqhi*, eds. Vera Constantini and Markus Koller (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 314.

education, sanitation, and care for the poor. Examining the religious institutions that benefitted from Ali Pasha's patronage challenges the Orientalist *topos* of the tyrannical ruler who achieves results through a sheer force of will, which is frequently rehearsed in the historical literature on Ali Pasha.³³³ While the threat of violent retribution and the governor's personal charisma certainly played a role in his administration, tracing how Ali Pasha invested in different kinds of religious architecture points to the fact that the governor's success also depended on securing and balancing the financial, political, and military support from the various religious communities of the region. Perhaps there is no better place to begin than the series of Friday mosque complexes Ali Pasha commissioned for several cities throughout their territory, including Ioannina, Preveza, Tepelena, and Delvine.

The Friday Mosque Complex

Although Ali Pasha was hardly famous for his piety or strict observance of Sunni canonic ritual, he was nevertheless capable of comprehending and mobilizing the symbolic importance of constructing Friday mosque complexes within the Ottoman context in which he operated. As can be seen in the numerous royal *imaret* in fifteenth-century Bursa or structures such as the Üç Şerefeli mosque (c. 1438-47) in Edirne, even the earliest of Ottoman sultans were invested in the construction of mosques as part of a

³³³ Dennis Skiotis has also challenged this popular view in his essay on Ali Pasha during his early years, demonstrating that Ali Pasha was extremely savvy in building alliances with local tribal chieftains and community leaders: "Ali served his political apprenticeship in the primitive but complex and hard-hitting school of Albanian tribal politics where, incredible as it may seem, he acquired that quick eye for the key opening that was to make him a match for a Potemkin and even a Talleyrand." Dennis Skiotis, "From Bandit to Pasha, First Steps in the Rise to Power of Ali of Tepelen, 1750-1784," 230.

key strategy in the process of establishing Ottoman capital cities.³³⁴ This trend continued into the sixteenth century. In the reign of Sultan Süleyman I, for example, imperial legitimacy was first and foremost based on a strict adherence to Sunni-Hanafi doctrine, and this cultural climate encouraged courtiers to focus their patronage efforts on Friday mosques, both in Istanbul as well as in the provinces.³³⁵

As for other provincial power-holders contemporary to Ali Pasha, commissioning congregational mosques in their respective capital cities became one of the most effective means to announce their arrival as capable and influential landlords. In the case of the Çapanoğlu family in central Anatolia, the construction of their Friday mosque in the center of Yozgat was part of a larger project in urban development, transforming the family village into a town of consequence practically overnight.³³⁶ In 1779, Mustafa Bey Çapanoğlu initiated the construction of a large social-service complex, including a congregational mosque, market and public baths, not only elevating the village to a town center but also creating a central locus for the city where people from the town and nearby villages could come together to gather, pray, and do business (See Fig. 6).³³⁷

³³⁴ Aptullah Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 118.

³³⁵ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 30.

³³⁶ The traveler John Kinnier, who visited Yozgat in October 1813, reports that the city "has been almost entirely built by Chapwan Oğlu": *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814* (London: John Murray, 1818), 90.

³³⁷ The mosque was first constructed as a typical Ottoman dome-on-square mosque plan with a vestibule and three-dome porch. Only about a decade later, most likely in response to a growing population, Mustafa Bey's brother and successor as governor Süleyman Bey decided to add a large extension to the mosque, creating a new monumental façade and doubling the holding capacity of the building: Acun, *Bozok Sancağı (Yozgat İli)'nda Türk Mimarisi*, 14-56; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Architectural Patronage of Ayan Families in Anatolia," 329; Duru, "Yozgat Çapanoğlu Camii ve Vakfiyeleri," 71-89.

Decked floor-to-ceiling with precious marbles and lively Baroque painting,³³⁸ the Çapanoğlu mosque stands as one of the most arresting examples of provincial patronage in Ottoman Anatolia.

A slightly later but even more impressive provincial mosque complex can be seen in Cairo, the Friday mosque of Muhammad Ali Pasha (Fig. 114).³³⁹ From its elevated position in the town's citadel, Muhammad Ali Pasha's mosque looks down on the rest of the city below (Fig. 115). With its cascading domes and pencil minarets, this structure adopts an architectural vocabulary that very much looks to Ottoman Istanbul, in striking visual contrast with the earlier Mamluk funerary complexes that had come to define Cairo's urban landscape: "Ironically, it was the governor who most aggressively sought Egypt's independence from Istanbul who also provided Cairo with its most Ottomanized structure."³⁴⁰

Against this backdrop of mosque patronage throughout the empire, Ali Pasha also established Friday mosques in most of the major cities within the region. Ali Pasha's son, Veli Pasha, likewise emerged as a patron of mosque complexes, creating a charitable foundation directly adjacent to his palace in Ioannina, which not only contained a Friday

³³⁸ In the subsequent decades, members of the Çapanoğlu court continued this urbanization project by commissioning their own smaller mosques within close proximity to the central congregational mosque. The Baroque decorations within these constructions are perhaps even livelier than what can be found at the Çapanoğlu mosque. See the Cevahir Ali Efendi Camii (1788), Başçavuş Camii (1800-1801), Musa Ağa Camii (1800-1801), and the Kayyımzade Camii (1804) in Acun, *Bozok Sancağı (Yozgat İli)'nda Türk Mimarisi*, (respectively) 57-70, 71-94, 95-104, and 105-115.

³³⁹ The construction of the mosque was begun in 1828, with much of the structure completed by the time of Muhammad Ali's death in 1849: Mohammad Al-Asad, "The Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 9 (1992), 41-42; Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt*, 73.

³⁴⁰ Al-Asad, "The Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo," 43.

mosque but also included a medrese and a library, the only institution of its kind in the region. Ali Pasha and his son, in their construction of these prominent urban mosque complexes, were thus fulfilling what was expected of any successful governor of the time. In her study on Ottoman Aleppo, Heghnar Watenpaugh explains how, about two centuries earlier, all of the sixteenth-century governors of the district established their own “Rumi”-style mosque complex, one right after the other, along the provincial capital’s primary corridor terminating at the citadel.³⁴¹

Similar to these governors, Ali Pasha also established pious foundations (sing. *vakıf*, pl. *evkaf*) to support these mosques and the accompanying charitable services, such as schools and fountains. Unlike his predecessors, however, the governor oversaw a comparatively larger geographic region for a much longer period of time, over thirty years. He was, therefore, capable of devoting his time and channeling his wealth into not one but several mosque complexes, one of the clearest efforts on his part to spread his “brand” throughout Epirus and Thessaly. Besides these larger, urban foundations, Ali Pasha was also responsible for the construction of several smaller village mosques, often attached or connected to dervish tekkes. In a few notable cases, the governor ordered the conversion of churches into mosques for the special purpose of declaring his victory over communities who had once staged resistance to his direct authority, as can be seen in the citadel of Parga, or the secluded mountain community of Souli.

³⁴¹ Watenpaugh demonstrates this point through the close examination of three complexes: the Khusruviyya (1546), Tte Adiliyya Complex (1555-1556), and the Bahramiyya Complex (1583): Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City*, 61-93.

Because Ioannina served as Ali Pasha's primary power base, one would expect the governor to have prioritized the construction of a Friday mosque in the city—a clear declaration of his political ascendance. It seems that Ali Pasha did pursue such a project in his appropriation of the Fethiye Mosque on the Ioannina citadel. The Fethiye, a small but striking structure prominently located in the heart of the citadel (Fig. 116), sits on a site that has undergone several transformations over the centuries. In Ali Pasha's time, visitors arriving to Ioannina along the main roads from the north or the east were first greeted with the view of the older walled city jutting out onto the lake, its twin promontories crowned by the domes and minarets of the Fethiye to the south and the Mosque of Arslan Pasha to the north. Ioannina's striking silhouette is often where European accounts of the city begin, and it is also a favorite theme in the *vedute* that accompany these texts (Fig. 117).

To what extent did Ali Pasha play a role in shaping this iconic profile of his capital? While the Mosque of Arslan Pasha was first constructed in the early seventeenth century by the governor of the same name, most scholars attribute the Fethiye as it stands today to the patronage of Ali Pasha, who is thought to have rebuilt the mosque early in his career at the turn of the eighteenth century.³⁴² This assumption is perfectly logical, considering the fact that the mosque was located within the vizier's main palace complex. Some new epigraphic evidence that I shall introduce here, however, throws this assertion

³⁴² Machiel Kiel places a "thorough reconstruction [of the building] on the orders of Ali Pasha" around 1800: "Yanya," 319. Similar assertions can be found in Dimitris Konstantios, *The Kastro of Ioannina* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 2000), 37; and Varvara Papadopoulou, "Fethiye Mosque," in *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2008), 162. Exhibition texts produced by the Greek Archaeological services that I saw at the site in 2014 also stated that the Fethiye was reconstructed by Ali Pasha shortly after 1795.

into question. I demonstrate that the most recent iteration of the Fethiye Mosque probably came about before the days of Ali Pasha, and was only subsequently taken over by the vizier and incorporated within his palace in Ioannina's inner citadel.

Ali Pasha's total occupation of the southwest promontory of the walled city was significant not only because, as I argue in my first chapter, the governor consolidated the roles of the administrative and military into a single geographic location, but also because of the longer history of this site in the era of the Despotate and the early Ottoman period. In other words, Ali Pasha focused on reviving a site in the city that had long been designated as a locus of power, building upon the accretions of previous monuments and settlements. In the thirteenth century, after Ioannina had become an independent city-state in the wake of the fourth crusade, this citadel area served as the acropolis, where the wealthy elites built their houses and worshiped at the metropolitan church dedicated to the archangel Michael.³⁴³ Ali Pasha's main architect Petros relates to the traveler William Leake that, when digging the foundations for the new palace in the citadel, his workers had come across the remains of a church, as well as a tombstone that seemed to belong to Thomas Preljubović, the infamous despot who ruled Ioannina from 1367 to 1384.³⁴⁴

Surprisingly, the transition from metropolitan church to congregational mosque only took place several centuries after the Ottoman conquest of Ioannina. When the

³⁴³ Papadopoulou, "Fethiye Mosque," 162; Giorgos Smiris, "Ta mousoulmanika temeni ton Ioanninon kai i poleodomia tis Othmanikis polis," *Ipeirotika Chronika* 34 (2000), 58.

³⁴⁴ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 253-254; and Papadopoulou, "Kastro Ioanninon: I istoria ton ochiroseon kai tou oikismou," 63. The Fethiye Mosque currently includes in its *mihrab* two marble piers, which were most likely taken from the metropolitan church. There is also a possibility that the pillars come from another smaller church dedicated to the Pantocrator, which is also believed to have been located in the Byzantine acropolis of Ioannina.

Ottomans first took the town in 1430, they granted certain freedoms to the local population, as the inhabitants had capitulated without mounting a resistance. These freedoms included the right to continue residing within the city walls, as well as the guarantee that their houses of worship would not be converted into mosques. The cathedral of the Archangel Michael, therefore, continued to serve the Christians of Ioannina, who, as we know from sixteenth-century Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* (tax registers), remained in the majority in the city when compared to the Muslim inhabitants, who had only recently arrived.³⁴⁵ The first Muslim neighborhood (*mahalle*) was in fact located *extra muros*, in the bazaar area. Sultan Beyazid II (d. 1512) was said to have built a mosque for this community, most likely at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁴⁶ It was this mosque that quickly became the center of religious life for the Muslims in Ioannina.

At some point around the turn of the sixteenth century, the metropolitan cathedral was converted into a mosque, and it was then that the building was first dubbed as the Fethiye, or “mosque of the conquest.”³⁴⁷ While many historians cite this conversion as a direct consequence of a bloody uprising in 1611 led by the Bishop of Trikala, more recent

³⁴⁵ Kiel, “Yanya,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 319; and also see M. Delilbaşı, “1564 tarihli mufassal Yanya Livası tahrir defterlerine göre Yanya kenti ve köleri,” *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 17, no. 21 (1996), 1-40.

³⁴⁶ Osswald, “From *Lieux de Pouvoir* to *Lieux de Mémoire*,” 190.

³⁴⁷ During Evliya Çelebi’s journey to Ioannina in 1670, the traveler mentions the mosque in the inner citadel and refers to it specifically as the “Fethiyye Mosque of Sultan Bayezid”: Kahraman, ed., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 288. Surprisingly, Evliya seems to have been unaware that the mosque had been converted from a church only eighty years prior, and rather assumes from the name that the monument dated to an earlier period of Sultan Bayezid I’s conquest (although, as mentioned above, the conquest of Yanya actually took place during the reign of Sultan Murad II). The oldest Ottoman archival document that I could locate naming this mosque as the “Fethiye” is an order from the late seventeenth century related to the pious endowment that names a new preacher for the establishment: BOA, İstanbul, C.EV. 516/26086 (29 Zilkade 1107 AH/ 30 June 1696 CE).

studies have pushed back the moment of transition slightly earlier, based on a source that gives the date of 1596-97.³⁴⁸ Brendan Osswald has suggested that styling the mosque in Ioannina as the “Fethiye” served as a direct reference to the Pammakaristos Church in Istanbul, the seat of the Orthodox Patriarchate, being converted to the Fethiye Mosque just a few years earlier, around 1590.³⁴⁹ While the mosque in Istanbul was converted to celebrate Sultan Murad III’s annexation of what is now Georgia and Azerbaijan, it is not clear which “conquest” the new mosque in the Ioannina citadel was referring to, or why at this particular moment the Ottoman authorities decided to revoke part of the capitulation agreements that allowed the Christians to continue to worship in their metropolitan church.

At any rate, the push to wrest the citadel from the Christian population was the first sign of turbulent times. As mentioned above, the revolt two decades later in 1611 resulted in the sultan issuing a series of orders that withdrew all of the special privileges for the Christians of Ioannina, and, from that point forward, only Muslims and Jews were permitted to live within the city walls.³⁵⁰ It is now difficult to imagine how dramatically this decision reconfigured the geographic dynamics of the city in such a short period of time, with all of the Christian families leaving the kastro and the Muslim community that had previously been concentrated in the bazaar area arriving to occupy the abandoned houses. It was also around this time in 1618 that the Ottoman governor Arslan Pasha

³⁴⁸ Smiris, “Ta mousoulmanika temeni ton Ioanninon,” 58; Osswald, “From *Lieux de Pouvoir* to *Lieux de Mémoire*,” footnote 17. Vranousis, *Istorika kai Topografika tou mesaionikou Kastrou ton Ioanninon*, 35.

³⁴⁹ Osswald, “From *Lieux de Pouvoir* to *Lieux de Mémoire*,” 190. Also see Semavi Eyice, “Fethiye Camii,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 12 (1995) 460-462.

³⁵⁰ Kiel, “Yanya,” 319.

ordered that his own mosque complex be constructed in the northeastern promontory of the lake, on the former site of the monastery dedicated to John the Baptist (Agios Ioannins Podromos).³⁵¹ Thus, it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that Ioannina's famous profile of the two mosques crowning the city above the lake took shape.

When Ali Pasha arrived in Ioannina in 1788 to take up the position of *mutasarrif*, he inherited a situation where the Ottoman ruling elites had already based their sites of authority—the palace and the Friday mosque—within the walled city for almost two hundred years. It seems that just before he arrived, however, the Fethiye had undergone a major metamorphosis in its architectural fabric. According to an account by Kosmas Balanos, the scion of one of the great families leading the Greek Enlightenment in Ioannina, the building and decorations of the metropolitan church had largely been left intact when it was originally converted into a mosque in the seventeenth century, with the only major changes being the addition of a minaret and the necessary accoutrements (*mihrab*, *mimbar*, etc.). This was the case until 1770, when the Ottoman authorities, for reasons that are unknown, decided to raze the structure completely to its foundations.³⁵²

³⁵¹ Semavi Eyice, "Arslan Paşa Camii," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 3 (1991), 401. The Ottoman Turkish inscription above the doorway of the mosque provides the year 1027 AH, or 1617-1618 CE. The pious endowment document [*vakfiye*] was established a few years earlier, in 1616: Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Vakfiye 623/199/193 (10 Rebiülahir 1025 AH/ 28 March 1616 CE).

³⁵² In his account, Balanos highlights that this destruction took place during the Russo-Ottoman wars, but this still in no way clarifies why the mosque was destroyed. It is tempting to imagine that a natural disaster, such as an earthquake or lightning strike, compromised the structure to the point of requiring demolition, but there is no historical documentation to support this hypothesis: Smiris, "Ta mousoulmanika temeni ton Ioanninon," 59; Osswald, "From *Lieux de Pouvoir* to *Lieux de Mémoire*," 190. An excerpt from Balanos's account is also made available in the display text of the exhibition currently in the Fethiye Mosque, which I viewed in 2014.

Again, the majority of scholars claim that Ali Pasha then rebuilt the mosque around 1795, when he was working on his palace complex in the citadel, leaving a twenty-five year gap when the site would have presumably been left vacant. Unfortunately, there is no foundation inscription above the doorway to mosque, where such epigraphy is usually placed in Ottoman religious structures.³⁵³

I found it unlikely that one of the city's most prominently-located sites would have been destroyed and then remained unoccupied for such a long period of time. This suspicion was validated when I noted a date inscribed on a decorative plaque located at the base of the current structure's minaret (Fig. 118). This date, which to my knowledge has thus far been overlooked in the academic literature on Ioannina, reads as "in the year 1 Muharram 1190 [AH]," corresponding to February 21, 1776. This is most likely the date when the mosque's restoration was commemorated, because it is an auspicious day (the first of the Muslim calendar year) and the inscription is accompanied by a rudimentary representation of an Ottoman mosque as well as the seal of Solomon. If this inscription does give the date of the restoration, this means that the reconstruction of the mosque was initiated shortly after its destruction in 1770, and was completed only a few years later. The year given in the inscription, 1776, is about a decade before Ali Pasha's arrival in 1788, thus calling into question the frequent assertion in secondary scholarship that this was one of the first projects in the governor's wider building program.

There is still one more scenario that could place the building as we see it today under the patronage of Ali Pasha. It is possible, however unlikely, that the main structure

³⁵³ For example, the foundation inscription of the Arslan Pasha mosque can still be found *in situ* above the doorway leading from the colonnaded porch to the inner prayer hall.

completed in 1776 was subsequently demolished and rebuilt, while retaining the slightly earlier minaret with its foundation inscription. There is actually some precedence in the region for this kind of architectural arrangement. Machiel Kiel relates how a church dedicated to the Panagia in the Athenian agora was confiscated in the 1660s and converted into the Fethiye Mosque, this time to commemorate the Ottomans finally taking Crete.³⁵⁴ At the Fethiye in Athens, it seems that the Ottomans at first just attached a minaret to the older Christian basilica, then decided shortly thereafter to tear down the main structure and rebuild from the foundations, while retaining this slightly earlier minaret. Keeping this in mind, the minaret in Ioannina does differ from the fabric of the main structure, in that the masonry consists of a slightly darker stone, and the courses of the minaret do not seem to correspond with those in the adjacent western wall, although layers of plaster currently sitting on the surface of the building make this observation difficult to confirm (Fig. 119). Additionally, there is clearly some kind of disturbance in the masonry on the façade of the building where the minaret joins with the northern wall (see Fig. 116), although this could easily be explained by the later demolition of an exterior porch that no longer survives, a portion of which can still be observed standing in the 1840s in a drawing by Dominique Papety (Fig. 120).³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Machiel Kiel, "The Quatrefoil Plan in Ottoman Architecture Reconsidered in Light of the 'Fethiye Mosque' of Athens," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), 117. Also see Raïna Pouli, "Fethiye (or Staropazarou) Mosque," in *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2008), 70-73.

³⁵⁵ The foundations and elevated pavement for a porch can still be seen on the northern and eastern sides of the mosque. While Papety only shows one arch of the porch still standing, later photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal that this porch had been restored and enclosed, only to be demolished again at some point in the twentieth century: Hakan Özdemir, "Janina," *Worldbulletin.net* (February 21, 2011), <http://www.dunyabulteni.net/file/2011/yanya-janina.pdf>, accessed September 16, 2016.

On the other hand, the simple fact that a minaret does not cohere with the rest of a mosque building's fabric is not a sure indication that it was built at a different period of time. The base of a minaret needs to be designed in such a way that it can support the weight of the tower above, while including enough room for the spiral staircase within so that the *muezzin* can ascend and deliver the call to prayer. As is often the case with domes, the minaret and its base may have required the attention of more specialized craftsmen, who would have directed its construction. Unfortunately, the base of the minaret in the nearby Arslan Pasha mosque has been plastered over to such an extent that it is impossible to observe its masonry, but the minaret base of the Veli Pasha Mosque in Ioannina, which I believe to be part of the original building program, does appear to be built in a much darker stone (although this might be an issue of not being subjected to a modern cleaning) and does not share joints with the adjacent northern wall (Fig. 121). Additionally, the interior decoration of the Fethiye Mosque, which, as will be explained below, was executed by the same group of craftsmen who had refurbished a church in 1778, places the main structure of the mosque more with the 1776 reconstruction date, although the same group of craftsmen could have conceivably been operating into the 1790s.

In sum, we know that a medieval-era church structure stood on the Ioannina citadel until 1770, when it was demolished for unknown reasons. It was then rebuilt shortly thereafter, and may or may not have been rebuilt once again by Ali Pasha only a decade later. On a pragmatic level, it would not make much sense for Ali Pasha to demolish a brand-new mosque only to rebuild it anew. Most likely, when the governor first came to the city, he opted to lay claim to the entire citadel area, including its mosque

decorated in the latest Baroque fashion, and incorporated the structure into his new palace complex. As explained in Chapter 1, the palace was built all around the mosque, looking onto a central open courtyard space that formed a nexus of military, political, and religious power.

The Fethiye quickly became synonymous with Ali Pasha and his household. In the Ottoman documents dating after the governor's rule, the mosque is often associated with the name of Ali Pasha, instead of with its earlier appellation "Fethiye."³⁵⁶ Perhaps the most visible expression of Ali Pasha's effort to affiliate himself with this mosque was the addition of an open-air mausoleum intended for the vizier and his family, situated directly adjacent to the front entrance of the building (see Fig. 116). Accentuated by an elegantly-wrought iron covering,³⁵⁷ a testament to the skill of Ioannina's famous metalworkers, this funerary monument seems to have been constructed in the first decade of the nineteenth century upon the death of Ali Pasha's wife, the mother of his sons Veli and Muhtar Pasha.³⁵⁸ The establishment of this family mausoleum follows a local precedent

³⁵⁶ A late nineteenth-century register recording a number of earlier personnel [*şahsiyet*] documents refers to this monument as "the mosque in the city of Ioannina within the inner citadel [*kale*], reinvigorated [*ihya eylediği*] by the deceased Ali Pasha": Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 183/24/181. The ambiguous use of the term "reinvigorated" may suggest that the governor was not responsible for the reconstruction of the mosque.

³⁵⁷ The iron grill that can today be found on the site in the Ioannina citadel is a replica, produced in 1999 upon the initiative of the "Friends of Antiquity of Ioannina" and the Philippou family. The original covering, which can be seen in several traveler drawings contemporary to or shortly after Ali Pasha's time (see Fig. 1.11, for example), survived until WWII, when it was removed during the German occupation of the city.

³⁵⁸ There is some confusion about the name of this wife. Most Western sources, including the map of Ioannina drawn by Barbié du Bocage in 1820, refer to this monument as the "tomb of Emine." Yet a transcription recorded in the 1930s of a tombstone located in this mausoleum, which has been lost in the intervening years, confirms that this woman was in fact named Ümmülgüsüm Hanım, the daughter of Kaplan Pasha of Delvine: Soulis, "Tourkikai Epigrafai Ioanninon," 91; Skiotis, "From Bandit to Pasha," footnote 2. There are currently several documents in the Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü archives in Ankara that

set by the Arslan Pasha mosque on the north-east promontory of the citadel, which includes a separate stone *türbe* (mausoleum) for the founder located behind the *qibla* wall (Fig. 122).³⁵⁹ When Thomas Hughes visited Ioannina in 1813, he reported seeing the Fethiye Mosque and Ali Pasha's mausoleum as part of his tour of the new saray after his audience with the governor:

We proceeded to the south-west corner of the castron where a large mosque, appropriated to the serai, stands upon the site of the most ancient church of Ioannina: near it is a large tomb surrounded by an iron railing, wherein repose the ashes of one of Ali Pasha's wives, the mother of Mouchtar Pasha, a woman whose character was universally respected and who is still spoken of in terms of the highest admiration.³⁶⁰

Thus, in establishing the final resting place of his wife and mother to his two eldest sons in the Ioannina citadel, Ali Pasha co-opted the pre-existing Fethiye Mosque and re-cast it as a dynastic monument.

This early initiative to map the governor's legacy onto an older Ottoman monument in Ioannina was soon followed by the construction of several new mosques throughout the region. The Fethiye in Ioannina became the template for Ali Pasha's subsequent mosque-building activities, most notably in the cities of Tepelena and Preveza.

confirm this Ümmülgüsüm Hanım had established a cash vakıf in her own name: Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Defter 877/38 and 406/43. These documents refer to this individual as the *halile* of Ali Pasha, or wife by Islamic canon law.

³⁵⁹ Smiris, "Ta mousoulmanika temeni ton Ioanninon kai i poleodomia tis Othmanikis polis," 53-58.

³⁶⁰ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 475.

Like the Fethiye, the central congregational mosque that Ali Pasha had constructed for the city of Tepelena was also located within the citadel.³⁶¹ The traveler Hobhouse reports that he heard the call for prayer from the minaret “of the mosck attached to the palace.”³⁶² Although we do not have a firm date for the construction of this building, there is a terminus ante quem of January 1805, when Leake visited this courtyard-palace-mosque complex:

Adjoining to a mosque which he built near his palace some years since, is a garden, which was then laid out for him by a Frenchman. On the wall which bounds it towards the river three guns are mounted, and two small kiosks are built. The garden is now in a neglected state, serving only to include the poultry which the Pasha obliges the villages around to supply.³⁶³

Leake’s comments suggest that the mosque came slightly later than the palace grounds, placing its construction around 1803 or 1804, only a few years after Ali Pasha’s development of his palatial complex in the Ioannina citadel.

Ali Pasha’s mosque in Tepelena no longer survives, but we can surmise its general structural features from an incredibly detailed drawing by Edward Lear in November 1848 (Fig. 123).³⁶⁴ We can also understand from this drawing that, by 1848, Ali Pasha’s palace had been largely reduced to a pile of rubble, while the mosque, located

³⁶¹ There are a host of Ottoman documents that affirm Ali Pasha’s construction of this mosque in Tepelena. For example, a later document from 1823 refers to not only the mosque but also a medrese and mekteb built by Ali Pasha in the city: BOA, Istanbul, C.EV. 374/18998 (29 Dhu'l-Hijja 1239 AH/ 25 August 1824 CE). A document from Ali Pasha’s chancery confirms that there were repairs being done on the mosque in 1809: Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 500, 96-97.

³⁶² Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey*, 99.

³⁶³ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 52.

³⁶⁴ Houghton Library, Harvard University. MS Typ 55.26 NII.L6.

to the south, was left intact in the aftermath of the pasha's demise.³⁶⁵ The mosque itself consisted of a single dome sitting on an octagonal drum, transitioning to a square base. The interior of the mosque was surrounded by an elevated, colonnaded porch at least on the eastern and northern sides, looking out with a vista towards the river and what had been the palace courtyard. Presumably, the main entrance would have been on this northern side, with the interior *mihrab* placed approximately on *qibla* facing south. A single minaret was attached on the western side of the building, tucked behind the porch. According to a note pencilled by Lear directly onto his sketch, the entire structure was "very nicely finished—all white stone."

Looking across Ali Pasha's wide territory, we might observe that this building in Tepelena greatly resembles in both scale and design another mosque built by the governor in the port city of Preveza. In this case, the mosque was built within the walled settlement adjacent to the fort at Agios Andreas, where Ali Pasha initially took up his residence in the city. Again, we do not have an exact date for the construction of the mosque, but it had to have been between 1806-7, when Ali Pasha finally took control of Preveza, and 1812, the earliest mention of the structure in both Ottoman and Western European documents.³⁶⁶ Therefore, the Preveza mosque postdates the one at Tepelena by

³⁶⁵ Lear reflects in his diary that "the host is beheaded, and his family nearly extinct; the palace is burned, and levelled with the ground; war and change and time have, perhaps, left but one or two living beings who, forty years back, were assembled in these gays and sumptuous halls. It was impossible not to linger in such a site and brood over such images, and of all scenes I have visited the palace of Ali Pasha at Tepelene will continue most vividly imprinted on my recollection": Edward Lear, *Edward Lear in the Levant: Travels in Albania, Greece, and Turkey in Europe, 1848-1849*, ed. Susan Hyman (London: J. Murray, 1988), 115-116.

³⁶⁶ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 70; BOA, Istanbul, HAT 250/14174 (8 Rajab 1227 AH/ 18 July 1812 CE).

a few years. The Ali Pasha Mosque in Preveza also no longer survives, although we know that it was still standing essentially intact until WWII, long enough for it to serve as the first site of the city's archaeological museum.³⁶⁷ According to a number of photos included by Fotios Petsas in his 1950-51 article recounting the damage sustained by the building, we can see that the Preveza mosque employed virtually the same structural vocabulary as the mosque in Tepelena: a single dome on an octagonal drum (although in this case supported by four small external buttresses), minaret base positioned flush against the core structure to the right of the main entrance, and an arched collonnade that wraps around the building on all four sides (Fig. 124). A very poor photo from the interior of the mosque indicates that inside there was an arched structure supported by columns, a kind of loggia that can also be found in the Fethiye Mosque in Ioannina (Fig. 125).

In both Tepelena and Preveza, Ali Pasha constructed mosques that share a remarkably similar design, despite the considerable distance between these two sites, about 150 km as the crow flies. Keeping in mind the mobility of masonry specialists in the construction of the governor's military fortifications, it is probable that these monuments were erected by the same group of builders. Indeed, knowledge about how to construct the vaulting for the domes would have been restricted to only a select few in the region. Even though we only have scant visual documentation for the mosques at Tepelena and Preveza, it is clear that—at least in terms of scale, materials and basic

³⁶⁷ Petsas, "Eidiseis ek tis 10is Archaiologikis Perifereias (Ipeirou)," 31-34. The tall stone platform upon which the mosque was built still survives and can be seen today. In the place of the mosque is now a building used by the Hellenic scouting organization.

structural elements—these structures both follow a distinctively local type of mosque design emulated by the reconstructed Fethiye Mosque in Ioannina. As can be seen in a comparison of ground plans from both the Fethiye and Arslan Pasha mosques in the Ioannina citadel, this local type goes back at least to the seventeenth century (Fig. 126 & 127).

In every large city in his territory, Ali Pasha thus endeavored to establish nodes of sovereignty by building, or appropriating, mosque structures in a style that was recognizable as “local” or “Epirote.” We also know that the governor was supposed to have built a mosque for the district capital of Delvine, but unfortunately this building also does not survive, and there is no visual documentation that I have found that could assist in reconstructing the design of the building.³⁶⁸ Ali Pasha’s decision to adhere to the well-established practice among Ottoman notables of mosque patronage, but deploying a more local style, serves as a barometer for his social and political relationship with the imperial center. Individuals who maintained closer ties with the court had both the incentive and ability to utilize engineers or plans sent from the royal architecture corps in Istanbul. For example, for the decoration of his family mosque in Safranbolu, the Grand Vizier İzzet Mehmet Pasha hired the same stone carvers who were also responsible for the decoration of the imperial mosque of Beylerbeyi in Istanbul, constructed by Sultan Abdülhamit I (Fig. 128 & 129). An older but more geographically proximate example is the Osman Shah Mosque in Trikala (Fig. 130). Commissioned by the eponymous Osman, who was

³⁶⁸ According to the *Yanya Salname* from 1306 AH (1888-89 CE), the mosque was still standing at the end of the nineteenth century: *Yanya Salnamesi* (1888-89), 96; Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania, 1385-1912*, 92. For the pious endowment established by Ali Pasha for this mosque, see BOA, Istanbul, EV.MKT. 841/75 and 843/85 (1293 AH/ 1876-77 CE).

the nephew of Sultan Süleyman and long-time governor of the Trikala district, this sixteenth-century mosque was designed with plans sent by Mimar Sinan.³⁶⁹ The Osman Shah mosque fits into a wider corpus of Sinan's work that stretches across the empire, of the same genealogy as, say, the Selimiye mosque in Konya. Thus, unlike other governors or viziers who enjoyed closer connections with the imperial center, and thus access to the building knowledge of the royal architect corps, Ali Pasha opted to favor groups of local Epirote architects who carried on in a style of mosque architecture that had already been prevalent for at least two centuries in the region.

This was the case not only for the structural morphology of these mosques—all being of around the same size and consisting of a dome-on-square plan and wrap-around arcaded porch—but also the placement of the buildings within the surrounding landscape. Ali Pasha's mosques were sited in prominent locations, where the dome and minaret could be seen for miles away as a visitor approached the respective city. In this way, the governor mobilized the Fethiye into his own identifiable “brand,” and, in a process similar to the one Irene Bierman has identified in Ottoman Crete,³⁷⁰ claimed a new city as his own with his signature building style. Just as Mehmed II appropriated Hagia Sophia for his new Friday mosque upon the conquest of Istanbul, and then later sultans took this building as the benchmark against which they would measure their own architectural aspirations, so the Fethiye launched the trend of the distinctive “Ali Pasha mosque” throughout the region.

³⁶⁹ Kristallo Mantzana, “Osman Şah (or Kurşunlu) Mosque,” in *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2009), 208-210; Crane et al., ed., *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, 94.

³⁷⁰ Bierman, “Franchising Ottoman Istanbul: The Case of Ottoman Crete,” 199-204.

Veli Pasha followed in his father's footsteps in the construction of his own mosque complex, which was attached to his palace at the foot of the Litharitsa Hill in Ioannina. Luckily, this mosque still stands today, although it is in bad condition and currently closed to visitors (Fig. 131).³⁷¹ Looking at a mid-nineteenth-century sketch of the mosque by Edward Lear, it seems that the building did not have an arched collonnade like the mosques of Ali Pasha, but rather a lighter, double-level wooden vestibule wrapped around a three-dome stone porch serving as the main entrance (Fig. 132). The wooden vestibule is now long gone, and the masonry of the stone porch seems to have been remodified, probably part of a late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century restoration as suggested by the neo-classical Ottoman interior decoration, with the tuğra of Sultan Abdülhamid II installed above the mihrab. The structure can be first dated around 1804, the year a certificate of pious endowment was issued to the patron, around the same time that his father's mosque in Tepelena was being constructed.³⁷² Although Veli Pasha's mosque slightly deviates from the formal model seen in his father's mosque structures, it still falls in line with the practice of establishing an urban mosque near or adjacent to a residential complex. With his own administrative appointments, Veli was clearly being groomed as the heir apparent to take over his father's vast territory and properties. It was only logical that he leave his own mark and invest in a mosque complex for the city of Ioannina.

³⁷¹ My thanks to the staff of the Ioannina Archaeological Services and the Ioannina Municipality, who ensured that I had access to the monument.

³⁷² Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 629/743/491 (11 Cumadiyül'evvel 1219 AH/ 18 August 1804 CE). This endowment document was issued by the Yanya kadi in Ioannina.

Ali Pasha's commissioning of mosques was not necessarily part of a personal conviction to assert the dominance of Islam in the region. The vizier was a pragmatic man, and drew upon a recognizable language of power and good governance already established by his predecessors such as Arslan Pasha. Still, Ali Pasha's construction of his mosque in Preveza, only a year or two after the fall of the Septinsular Republic, was certainly intended to send a clear message to the entirely Christian population that had for so long resisted the governor's sovereignty. In his account, William Leake notes a local tradition among the people of Preveza that directly blames the construction of Ali Pasha's mosque on the loss of a miraculous icon of Agios Charalambos during the 1798 siege of the city.³⁷³ Meanwhile, an Ottoman document credits Ali Pasha with bringing the "people of Islam" [*ehl-i Islam*] to Preveza and building them a mosque after defeating the Russians in the war of 1806-07.³⁷⁴

The construction of mosques through the establishment of pious endowments was, of course, also a means to provide necessary services to the Muslim communities who congregated predominately in the region's urban centers. Attached to the endowment of Veli Pasha's mosque was a medrese as well as a library.³⁷⁵ The medrese can be seen clearly in the Lear drawing, and still survives today, standing facing the street and across from the main entrance of the mosque (Fig. 133). Ali Pasha's mosque in Tepelena also had a medrese and mekteb associated with it, although it is not clear if they

³⁷³ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 482, footnote 1.

³⁷⁴ BOA, Istanbul, HAT 250/14174 (8 Rajab 1227 AH/ 18 July 1812 CE).

³⁷⁵ BOA, Istanbul, EV.d. 19962.

were in the same proximity to the mosque building itself.³⁷⁶ The mosque in Preveza was built on top of a spring and included a public fountain, which can still be seen today, although it no longer functions. Thus, an essential part of the rhetoric of power and sovereignty embodied in these mosques and their associated institutions is also a promise of the governor's generosity and beneficence in caring for the needs of the Muslims residing in his various court cities.

Sufi Ties: Constructing Tekkes

In addition to developing several congregational mosque complexes in all of the cities within his territory, the governor also proved to be a prolific builder of tekkes throughout Epirus and Thessaly. The endowment of urban mosques and other related charitable religious foundations was a common patronage activity among most provincial power-holders in this period. Ali Pasha's concerted efforts to support Sufi shaykhs and their local dervish communities, on the other hand, seem to distinguish him from his peers, and thus warrant further investigation and analysis.³⁷⁷ Primarily looking at

³⁷⁶ BOA, Istanbul, C.EV. 374/18998 (8 Safer 1239 AH/ 14 October 1823 CE).

³⁷⁷ In Frederick Hasluck's *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (published posthumously in 1929 by Margaret Hasluck), the author(s) suggest that, when compared to Ali Pasha, other provincial administrators in Anatolia and the Rumeli province could "be suspected" of having ties with dervish orders, but do not offer any archival evidence to support this assertion: (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 593-596. This being said, a more systematic study of the architectural patronage of the various provincial power-holders of this time (such as Mehmed Ali Pasha or Osman Pasvantoğlu) has yet to be done. With more research, evidence that these other individuals were directly involved in sponsoring tekkes will perhaps come to light. For example, the Çapanoğlu family, based in Yozgat, governed over a region that included several Sufi shrines and lodges, including Hacı Bektaş and the tekke and mosque of Osman Paşa at Emirci Sultan, but, as of yet, no archival documents have surfaced that would directly connect the family to these institutions. The only example of a provincial power-holder commissioning a tekke in this period that I have been able to locate is a Nakşibendi lodge located in the Dere district of Manisa. Built by Hacı Mehmet Ağa, a prominent member of the Kara Osman-oğlu family as well as *muhassıl* of Aydın and *mütesellim* of Saruhan, this tekke no longer stands: Kuyulu, *Kara Osman-oğlu Ailesine ait Mimari Eserler*, 157.

Ottoman archival sources, it is possible to identify with confidence at least ten unique tekkes that enjoyed the direct patronage of either Ali Pasha or one of his sons, a significant number by any reckoning (Table 2).³⁷⁸ A brief introduction of these various tekkes—many of which have never been documented previously—will not only raise broader questions about the role of the dervish lodge within the Ottoman cityscape, but also specifically highlight Ali Pasha’s attempts to secure political support among the local Muslim population by building relationships with these Sufi communities.

Table 2: Tekkes Sponsored by Ali Pasha and His Sons

Patron	Order	Location	Greece/Albania
Ali Pasha	Halveti	Ioannina, South of City	Greece
Muhtar Pasha	Halveti	Ioannina, North of City	Greece
Ali Pasha	Bektashi/Sa’d	Trikala, West of City	Greece
Ali Pasha	Halveti	Preveza	Greece
Ali Pasha	--	Hormova	Albania
Ali Pasha	Sa’di	Tepelena	Albania
Muhtar Pasha	Halveti	Gjirokaster	Albania
Ali/Muhtar Pasha	--	Karbon	Albania
Ali Pasha	Bektashi	Elbasan	Albania
Ali Pasha	--	Ohrid	Macedonia

In several cases, the governor sponsored a significant repair campaign or total reconstruction of an older lodge, rejuvenating local institutions that had been languishing or were completely defunct. Thus, Ali Pasha was less creating a new tradition of

³⁷⁸ In her article on Ali Pasha and Bektashism, Natalie Clayer mentions a number of other tekkes associated with Ali Pasha that are not discussed here, such as Halveti tekkes in the Albanian villages of Petrela or Laberi, because I could not locate any further archival or material evidence for these foundations: “The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis: The Construction of an ‘Albanian Bektashi National History,’” in *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, ed. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2002), 129. For a number of these sites, Clayer relies upon the account of Ahmed Müfid Efendi, who in turn largely based his narrative on Aravantinos. Thus, more research is required to include these tekkes into the confirmed corpus of tekkes patronized by Ali Pasha and his sons.

architectural patronage in the region than more expanding upon an already established trend of sponsoring various dervish orders.³⁷⁹ In Ioannina itself, a tekke and imaret belonging to the Nakshibendi order of dervishes was situated directly adjacent to the Mosque of Arslan Pasha in the northern citadel, a lively area of patronage and service in the decades leading up to Ali Pasha's rule.³⁸⁰

Within the Ottoman context, tekkes played a role in the social and political life of the empire even in the earliest periods, but it was only in the mid-fifteenth century onward that they became ubiquitous features of the Ottoman landscape, in line with the flourishing of various *tarikats*, or mystical orders, such as the Bektashi or the Halveti.³⁸¹ Usually described in English as a "dervish lodge," a tekke primarily functioned as a place for instruction in one of these Sufi orders, under the direction of a head dervish, the *shaykh*.³⁸² These lodges were also often associated with the grave of a notable holy

³⁷⁹ In regards to earlier instances of Sufi patronage in Ioannina, an Ottoman document from the early eighteenth century confirms that a woman named Aliye Hatun commissioned a tekke adjacent to the Behram Pasha Mosque for the people of Ioannina: BOA, Istanbul, AE.SMST.II 23/2292 (9 Cumadiyül'evvel 1115 AH/ 20 September 1703 CE). Another eighteenth-century document indicates the presence of a Sünbuli tekke attached to the Bayezid Mosque in Ioannina: BOA, Istanbul, C.EV. 133/6643 (3 Cumdadiyül'ahir 1213 AH/ 12 November 1798 CE).

³⁸⁰ In Ottoman documents and historical literature, the Arslan Pasha mosque is alternatively paired with a tekke/zaviye or a medrese, suggesting that there was a degree of fluidity in the definition of these accompanying institutions: Clayer, "The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis," 130; Varvara Papadopoulou, "Aslan Pasha Medrese," in *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2009), 163. An Ottoman document mentions the "zaviye" of the Arslan Pasha mosque: BOA, Istanbul, C.EV. 37/1819 (9 Cumadiyül'evvel 1132 AH/ 19 March 1720 CE).

³⁸¹ Derin Terzinoğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 91-92; John Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2010), 65-72.

³⁸² In the Ottoman documents that I have examined, the dervish lodges under question are alternatively referred to as "tekke," "dergah," and "zaviye." For the material under question, these terms seem to be synonymous and interchangeable. In some orders, such as the Mevlevi *tarikats*, a central lodge is distinguished by the term "asithane," while smaller foundations are described as "zaviye." Without

person, with some locations also serving as a shrine and site for pilgrimage. Located both in cities and along caravan routes, tekkes were not only spiritual centers, but also provided important social services, many also operating essentially as trading posts (*han*), soup kitchens for the poor (*imaret*), and roadside waystations (*kervansaray/caravanserai*). There was thus a degree of overlap between the practical functions and clientele of tekkes and more mainstream charitable Sunni foundations attached to congregational mosques, such as medreses. After all, in the period under discussion here—the early nineteenth century—being the head of a tekke was considered to be a government position, and shaykhs were appointed by imperial order. In many cases, these appointment records are the only evidence that we have of Ali Pasha patronizing a particular lodge. In the zone of western Rumelia under Ali Pasha’s control, however, tekkes should still be distinguished from more mainstream Muslim foundations, as they reflect a different set of concerns in terms of architectural space, the geographic landscape, and the governor’s political administration.

While there is still a good amount of physical evidence that testifies to Ali Pasha’s role as a great builder of fortresses or palaces, the material record remains overwhelmingly silent in regards to his construction of tekkes. In other words, the ten or so dervish complexes attributed to Ali Pasha have failed to survive until the present day, with the one notable exception of the lodge located in the village of Hormova, Albania. Even in this case, the villagers living there have long forgotten that this foundation was

exception, the archival documents from Ali Pasha’s own chancery only refer to these institutions by the term “tekke.”

established by Ali Pasha, and associate the place instead with the graves of the holy men who have since died and been buried in a stone *türbe* next to the tekke.

It is not surprising that, of all of Ali Pasha's building endeavors, his tekkes have fared the worst in terms of the survival of the building fabric. While the congregational mosques are sturdy, monumental structures built of stone (and, as seen above, even those had a mixed survival rate), Ali Pasha's tekkes, as we know from textual as well as photographic records, could be described more as vernacular architecture, resembling the local domestic edifices found in this region of the Balkans: low, two-story buildings with the ground floor built of rubble masonry and the second floor of lighter wood and plaster. Additionally, while a mosque can usually survive for multiple generations due to the fact that any Muslim community requires a religious space to congregate, a tekke is more subject to the political or economic fate of individual shaykhs. These vernacular, domestic-like constructions deteriorate without constant attention and repair. For a building to stand the test of time, it must remain relevant.

There are various political factors that have contributed to the virtual disappearance of tekkes as a building type in this region. In the early twentieth century, the population exchange between Greece and Turkey led to the mass exodus of Muslim communities living in Greek territory, and the tekkes in northern Greece were therefore abandoned abruptly in the 1920s.³⁸³ Similarly, the rise of communism in Albania eventually led to the closing of all religious institutions—including tekkes—in the 1960s.

³⁸³ The Muslims who did stay behind in Greece were primarily able to do so because of their Albanian citizenship, thus being exempt from the terms of the Lausanne Treaty: Giorgos Mavrommatis, "Bektashis in 20th century Greece," *Turcica* 40 (2008), 220.

Thus, by the middle of the twentieth century, these structures found on either side of the Greek-Albanian border had begun to rapidly deteriorate. For example, in 2014, I visited the Durbalı Sultan Tekke outside of Farsala, Greece, which, after the treaty of Lausanne, had been occupied only by a single dervish until his death in 1972. I found the cemetery and türbe were still well-tended (and, fascinatingly, bearing signs of both Sufi and Orthodox Christian worship), but the adjacent walled living complex had completely fallen into ruin (Fig. 134).

Most tekkes constructed by Ali Pasha, or, in fact, any tekke constructed during the Ottoman period in the Epirus and Thessaly regions, were typically situated in what could be described as extra-urban locations, outside the heart of a city center but not so remote as to be practically inaccessible—as opposed, say, to the Orthodox monastic communities in Meteora, or Mt. Athos. Many lodges were located at the city gates, or off the side of the main road leading into a city. Old tekkes were, therefore, especially suited for conversion to agricultural or industrial use, and local memory about the former purpose of these sites quickly faded away.

With seemingly so little of the material record left, trying to reconstruct a clear picture of this aspect of Ali Pasha's patronage activity proves to be a challenging task. In order to track Ali Pasha's tekkes, I have primarily consulted *vakıf* records from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul as well as the archive of the Ministry of Pious Endowments in Ankara, Turkey. In the now-classic volume *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Frederick Hasluck associates Ali Pasha with several Bektashi tekkes, his assertions based mostly on traveler accounts and field interviews that both he and his wife, Margaret conducted with dervishes in both Greece and Albania in the early

twentieth century. While it is fascinating for the study of twentieth-century nationalism that Ali Pasha and his ties to the Bektashi order has emerged as a persistent myth among the people of Albania, oral tradition still remains rather unreliable for understanding the political and social landscape as it was in Ali Pasha's own day. The Hasluks themselves admit this point: "A figure like Ali's bulks large in popular thought and is apt to absorb much that does not belong to it."³⁸⁴ In her own study on Ali Pasha and his association with the Bektashi order, Nathalie Clayer was the first to introduce a number of documents from the State Ottoman Archives that establish Ali Pasha as the patron of several tekkes.³⁸⁵ Here I revisit these documents, and include even more Ottoman archival material from both Istanbul and Ankara.

Even if a tekke no longer survives, archival records usually indicate the town or village in which it was located. Thus, general observations can be made about the geographic distribution of these institutions throughout the territories under the administrative jurisdiction of Ali Pasha and his sons. A map showing the approximate locations of the tekkes established by Ali Pasha (see Fig. 135) indicates that the governor patronized a lodge in every major town within his control: Ioannina, Preveza, Trikala, and Tepelena.³⁸⁶ In a handful of cases, tekkes were established in smaller, more remote locations, most notably in mountain villages near Tepelena.

³⁸⁴ Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 537, footnote 1.

³⁸⁵ See Clayer, "The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis: The Construction of an 'Albanian Bektashi National History.'"

³⁸⁶ Interestingly, we have two examples of Ali Pasha constructing a tekke in an area outside of his immediate political reach (i.e. where he did not serve as the *mutasarrıf*), in the towns of Elbasan and Ohrid, both the seats of their respective provincial district.

While Ali Pasha made a concentrated effort to secure the patronage of local dervish communities in and around Tepelena, his birthplace and family strong-hold, he also commissioned quite a few tekkes located further south, in today's Greece. Much ink has been spilt over the role of Sufi orders and dervish communities in the lands now defined by the national borders of Albania. In contrast, there is scant academic literature on such communities in Greece, especially for the pre-modern period before the late nineteenth century. There have, however, been efforts to document and restore several tekkes in Greece in the past two decades. Most of these projects have been undertaken in the northeast: the Durbalı Sultan Tekke near Larisa (which may have a tenuous link with Ali Pasha),³⁸⁷ the Tekke of Hasan Baba directly below the village of Ambelakia, and the Kütüklü Baba Tekke in Thrace.³⁸⁸ While these developments are encouraging, more systematic research needs to be conducted in regards to tekke architecture. As tekkes are a building type that does not tend to leave behind much physical trace, any such study should combine a review of the available archival sources with an examination of any historical maps, photographs, and other material traces that may help situate a tekke in its specific geographic context.

Because many buildings constructed by Ali Pasha are in various stages of disrepair, or, have been modified and are no longer attributed to the patronage of the vizier, using information from the written record as a guide for conducting field surveys on the ground can be effective in reconstructing entire landscapes that have long been

³⁸⁷ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, IV, 413

³⁸⁸ See the relevant projects outlined in the *Ottoman Architecture in Greece* volume produced by the Greek Archaeological Services and the Hellenic Ministry of culture (Athens: 2009).

lost. An instructive example is the tekke and mosque of Ali Pasha located in Hormova. I first became aware of this complex's existence from a small note in an Ottoman document in Istanbul confirming the appointment of an imam to a mosque built by Ali Pasha in the village of "Horum."³⁸⁹ No such mosque had been mentioned in the secondary literature, so, looking through maps, I conjectured that the register refers to Hormova, today a small mountain village in Albania. That next summer of 2015, I drove up the bumpy dirt road into the village square, and asked residents if there were any older buildings in town. They pointed me to a mosque complex shaded under a large plane tree. The villagers had clearly been tending to the small mausoleum, which housed the remains of several revered holy men, one of whom happened to be the imam named in the Istanbul register. As for the adjacent mosque ostensibly built by Ali Pasha for the tekke, it had been left to ruin.³⁹⁰ Thus, by evaluating the minutiae of bureaucratic state documents alongside oral history and public memory, the many layers of historical conflict and convergence that are often inscribed onto the built environment itself may be recovered.

Keeping this discussion about methodology in mind, what of the other tekkes that benefited from the patronage of Ali Pasha? In regards to the governor's capital in Ioannina, the British traveler Thomas S. Hughes reports that the town had three tekkes in 1813.³⁹¹ One of these lodges was located in the southern outskirts of the city. François

³⁸⁹ BOA, Istanbul, HAT 1571/13 (2 Zilkade 1242 AH/ 28 May 1827 CE).

³⁹⁰ A small obelisk next to the building explained that the site had been abandoned intentionally after 1914, when it is said that the (Albanian Muslim) men of the village had been rounded up and summarily executed by (Greek) soldiers inside of its walls.

³⁹¹ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, II, 23.

Pouqueville, who served as the French consul to Ioannina under Ali Pasha's rule, mentions in his travel account that outside of Ioannina, 600 *toises* [~meters] north of Ali Pasa's foundry in Bunila, is a khan at "Pogoniani" as well as a tekke of dervishes.³⁹² The map of Ioannina produced by the French cartographer Barbié du Bocage in 1820, which ultimately follows the description of Pouqueville, also shows this tekke next to the han, off the side of the main southern road to Arta and Preveza (No. 2 in Fig. 160). It seems that this very same lodge survives at least until the turn of the twentieth century, as we catch a rare glimpse of this building in an 1899 Ottoman panorama of Ioannina, found today in the famous Yıldız photograph albums produced for Sultan Abdülhamid II. In this panorama, which was produced by placing a camera on the high hill of Penteli west of the city, we see in the fourth part of the series the outer quarter of Ioannina to the south. In this view, a small complex directly on the Preveza road is labeled as a "Sünbülü dergâhı" (Fig. 136).

This tekke is most likely the lodge commissioned by Ali Pasha for a Halveti (a wider order including the Sünbülü branch) order of dervishes in Ioannina.³⁹³ A document from the Ottoman archives dated about two years after the 1899 panorama was produced mentions that the Ali Pasha's Halveti tekke in Ioannina had fallen on hard times, and required a restoration of the building as well as an injection of funds from the pious foundation treasury (*Hazine-i Evkaf*) in order to provide sufficient resources for the care of the poor coming to the lodge. The same document also describes this tekke as having

³⁹² Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, I, 140.

³⁹³ In her essay on Ali Pasha and the Bektashi, Nathalie Clayer identifies this tekke south of Ioannina as the lodge constructed by Ali Pasha for the Halveti order, but does not provide any evidence to support this claim: "The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis," 129.

undergone a “renewal effort” (*ihya kerdesi*) on behalf of Ali Pasha, suggesting that some kind of lodge had already been on the site before the early nineteenth century, and in Ali Pasha’s time it was restored by the governor.³⁹⁴

The other tekke in Ioannina built in the time of Ali Pasha was located on the opposite side of the city at its northern gates. The traveler Henry Holland noted “a convent of Dervishes, shaded by trees,” in the northern suburb of Ioannina, outside of the walled city and situated along the lake.³⁹⁵ In the 1820 Barbié du Bocage map, this same tekke appears on the lake, due east of Ali Pasha’s large garden palace complex and located off the main road leading north out of the city (No. 14 in Fig. 160). The French cartographer was unsure about the order of dervishes who resided there, labeling the building on the map as a “Teké du Bektachi ou Heurlevis [Halveti?].” Through Ottoman documents, we can confidently identify this tekke as a dervish lodge commissioned by Muhtar Pasha, one of Ali Pasha’s sons, whose endowment was first established in 1221 AH (1806 CE).³⁹⁶ The lodge is recorded by these documents as being in the “Zivadiye” neighborhood of the town, at Ioannina’s northern gate, thus connecting the tekke of Muhtar Pasha with the lodge on the northern shore of the lake.³⁹⁷ This tekke also appears

³⁹⁴ BOA, Istanbul, DH.MKT. 473/2 (28 Zilhicce 1319 AH/ 7 April 1902 CE). An earlier *vakif* document, however, refers to this tekke as “constructed” outright (*bina ve inşa*) by Ali Pasha: Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Defter 865/36 (1265 AH/ 1848-49 CE).

³⁹⁵ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 130.

³⁹⁶ The date of foundation for the vakif is given as 8 Muharram 1221 AH/2 8 March 1806 CE: BOA, Istanbul, EV.MKT.CHT 229/83.

³⁹⁷ Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Defter 2411/37.

in the 1899 Ottoman panorama, with the building complex labeled as a “Sünbülü *dergâh*,” linking this tekke with the Halveti order (Fig. 137).

In addition to Ioannina, Ali Pasha also supported a dervish community in Trikala, the governor’s largest stronghold east of the Pindus mountains, in the plain of Thessaly.³⁹⁸ Luckily, we have a good deal more information about the Trikala tekke than the ones found in Ioannina. First, in 1804-05, the British military and diplomatic officer William Martin Leake had the opportunity to visit the tekke, and relates that:

Trikkala has lately been adorned by the Pasha with a new Tekieh, or college of Bektashli Dervises [*sic*], on the site of a former one. He has not only removed several old buildings to give more space and air to this college, but has endowed it with property in khans, shops, and houses, and has added some fields on the banks of the Lethams. There are now about fifteen of these Mahometan monks in the house with a Sheikh or Chief,³⁹⁹ who is married to an Ioannite woman, and as well lodged and dressed as many a Pasha. Besides his own apartments, there are very comfortable lodgings for the dervises, and every convenience for the reception of strangers.⁴⁰⁰

Because Leake emphasizes the openness of the complex, and further mentions that in order to reach the tekke a visitor must cross a bridge over the river, we can safely assume that this tekke revived by Ali Pasha was located somewhere on the western bank of the Lithaios river, facing the town’s citadel and Ottoman city center on the opposite, eastern bank. Even though Leake refers to this as a Bektashi tekke, Nathalie Clayer points out that Ottoman documents refer to Ali Pasha’s lodge in Trikala as belonging to the Sa’di

³⁹⁸ Clayer, “The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis,” 128; Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 580/379/207 (20 Rebiülevvel 1220 AH/ 18 June 1805 CE).

³⁹⁹ A *vakıf* document dated 5 Safer 1253 AH (11 May 1837 CE), about fifteen years after Ali Pasha’s execution in 1822, confirms the death of Shaykh Ahmed Musir Efendi, who was presumably the leader of the Trikala tekke when Ali Pasha was still alive, and may be the shaykh to whom Leake is referring: BOA, İstanbul, EV.KSD. 14/46.

⁴⁰⁰ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, IV, 284.

order, meaning either that Leake was confused, or, much less likely, that there was a second Ali Pasha tekke built in Trikala.⁴⁰¹

While Ali Pasha constructed tekkes in all the cities in the southern part of his territory (Ioannina, Trikala, and Preveza),⁴⁰² he concentrated his support for dervish communities in the northern mountains of Albania, especially in and around his hometown of Tepelena. Within the city itself, for example, the governor sponsored a Sa'di tekke. Although the endowment record for this institution survives, it is unknown where exactly in Tepelena the lodge was located.⁴⁰³ Beyond the immediate confines of Tepelena, the aforementioned tekke in Hormova also fits into this broader constellation of Ali Pasha's patronage of Sufi orders in the area.

It is clear that dervishes broadly maintained a level of influence and visibility in Tepelena and the surrounding network of mountain villages. Western European travelers frequently mention a tekke that was located on the mountain of Trebushin, in the village of Beçisht, traditionally held as the place where Ali Pasha grew up.⁴⁰⁴ Tepelena sits at the meeting of two important mountain passes and along the banks of the Vjosa river, and has a direct view of the mountain village of Beçisht on the opposite bank. Ali Pasha seemed to place dervish lodges in certain Muslim villages where he could control the

⁴⁰¹ Clayer, "The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis," 129.

⁴⁰² The tekke at Preveza no longer survives. It is also unclear where it was located. There is a possibility that it may have been located *extra muros* to the north of the city, outside what was then the city gate, near the Muslim cemetery and the spring that fed the city: Nikos Karabelas, "O Italos politikos Francesco Guicciardini stin Preveza kai tin giro periochi," *Ipeiroton Koinon* 1 (2005), 78; Vakıf Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara Defter 1771/30/35 and 902/63; Clayer, "The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis," 129.

⁴⁰³ BOA, Istanbul, C.EV. 462/23372 (16 Zilhicce 1239 AH/ 12 August 1824 CE); and EV.MKT.CHT 281/92. Also see Clayer, "The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis," 129.

⁴⁰⁴ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 31; Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, I, 291.

wider population by appointing shaykhs that were loyal to him. This was the case in the village of Karbunara, a small town in what is today the Fier district of Albania.⁴⁰⁵ By the time Henry Holland visited the village of “Carbonara” in 1812-13, the town had a completely Muslim population, and he “found the principal person here to be a Dervish, who is said to have great influence in the district; and whose manners were extremely authoritative towards the people.”⁴⁰⁶

In his patronage of dervish lodges, Ali Pasha was following a precedent set by his former employer and then political rival, Kurt Ahmed Pasha. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Kurt Ahmet Pasha served as the *mutasarrıf* of the Avlonya district, with his capital in Berat.⁴⁰⁷ During his tenure as governor, Kurt Ahmet Pasha oversaw several constructions in the town including the great stone bridge spanning the Osum river and major repairs to the fortification walls of the citadel.⁴⁰⁸ Most importantly, in 1781-82 (1196 H), Kurt Ahmet re-built a Halvetiye tekke complex on the eastern side of Berat, which, according to Evliye Çelebi, was originally commissioned by Sultan Bayezid II, a known proponent of the order. The present complex, which still stands in good condition today, includes the *semahane* (meeting hall) and türbe of Kurt Ahmet Pasha as well as a more humble structure containing the cells for the dervishes (Fig. 138

⁴⁰⁵ BOA, Istanbul, C.EV. 116/5772 (3 Muharrem 1219 AH/ 13 April 1804 CE).

⁴⁰⁶ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 504.

⁴⁰⁷ Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania*, 51. Berat is usually referred to as the “Albanian Belgrade” (*Arnavut Belgradi*) in Ottoman documents. Before Ali Pasha, Kurt Ahmet Pasha held the all-important title of “Keeper of the Passes” (*derbendat başbuğu*): BOA, Istanbul, C.DH. 290/14493 (29 Cemaziyelahir 1201 AH/ 18 April 1787 CE).

⁴⁰⁸ Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania*, 51. There is a repair register for the “Belgrad Kalesi” in the Topkapı Palace dated 1197 H, when Kurt Ahmet Pasha was still in power: Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, MA.d. 2729 (1197 AH/ 1782-83 CE).

& 139).⁴⁰⁹ The semahane and türbe are solidly built in limestone, with the interior of the reception hall decorated in some of the finest Baroque painting of the period (Fig. 140).

It is unlikely that Ali Pasha saw this tekke for himself until much later in his career. In 1776, when Ali Pasha (then Ali Bey) was still coming up as a young man and making his name in Albania as “part feudal Bey, part bandit chieftain,” Kurt Ahmet Pasha enlisted his help in an internecine war against Mehmed Pasha Bushatli, *mutassarif* of Scutari.⁴¹⁰ Very soon thereafter, however, Ali Pasha fell out with Kurt Ahmet Pasha, and the two remained locked in an intense ongoing rivalry until Kurt Ahmet Pasha’s death in 1786. The district of Berat-Avlonya was then given to Ibrahim Pasha, Kurt Ahmet Pasha’s son-in-law and another of Ali Pasha’s great rivals. Ali Pasha would therefore probably not have visited Berat, and, the Halveti tekke rebuilt in 1781-82, any time before 1810, when it was still the stronghold of his enemies. Nevertheless, this tekke is significant at the very least because it indicates that Ali Pasha was not alone among the great provincial power-holders of Albania in his patronage of dervish lodges. Kurt Ahmet Pasha was so invested in this Sufi community that he had his türbe incorporated into the new semahane complex. Also, because tekke architecture so rarely survives, the semahane and cells of the complex in Berat may give us some kind of idea of how the now-lost tekke complexes in Trikala or Tepedelen may have looked.

Western European accounts frequently characterize dervishes as untrustworthy rogues—unhinged, illogical, and strongly prejudiced against the Orthodox Christian

⁴⁰⁹ Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania*, 62-65.

⁴¹⁰ Skiotis, “From Bandit to Pasha,” 230.

population.⁴¹¹ These travelers no doubt found the mendicant lifestyle and various rituals of these individuals unfamiliar and off-putting. What is less recognized, however, is the important function that dervishes (and their lodges) played in the social life of the region. Tekkes served as community centers for local Muslim communities, and were frequented by both men and women who sought the advice of the shaykh.⁴¹² As can be seen in the list of tekkes in Table 2, patronage of dervish communities was a priority for Ali Pasha's son Muhtar, who maintained the Halveti tekke in northern Ioannina as well as Gjirokaster,⁴¹³ and with his father helped establish the lodge in Karbon. While his brother, Veli, concerned himself more with congregational mosques, Muhtar seemed to have a special relationship with the dervishes. This may have been in part due to the fact that Muhtar was the more martially-inclined of the two brothers, keeping company with soldiers and always out on a hunting or riding excursion.⁴¹⁴ Historically, Sufi orders maintained close ties with the Janissary ranks throughout the empire, being commonly associated with these security forces.

A review of the documents from Ali Pasha's own chancery makes it clear that dervishes held a place of importance in the governor's retinue. In an 1801 register listing

⁴¹¹ In his visit to the Durbali Sultan Tekke, François Pouqueville relates that the shaykh there, speaking in metaphors, referred to the lodge as a "mad house": *Travels in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly* (London: Richard Phillips, 1820), 115. In Tepelena, Hughes recalls that they were accosted by a dervish, who was apparently casting about around Ali Pasha's newly built mosque: "As we descended towards the river, a mad dervish came jumping out of the portico of a new mosque near the serai": Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, II, 252.

⁴¹² G. Kanetakis, *To Kastro simvoli stin Poleodomiki istoria ton Ioanninon* (Athens: 1994), 126.

⁴¹³ Mehmet Tütüncü, "Corpus of Ottoman Inscriptions in Southern Albania," in *Ca' Foscari, Venezia e i Balcani: Atti del II Convegno di Studi Balcanici (Venezia, 9-10 dicembre 2013)*, ed. Giampiero Bellingeri and Giuseppina Turano (Venice: Ca' Foscari, 2015), 169.

⁴¹⁴ See, for example, Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 457.

the amount of bread required to feed the vizier's court in Ioannina for three days, numerous shaykhs and dervishes are listed by name, receiving anywhere from 3 to 12 loaves depending on their rank and importance.⁴¹⁵ Included in this list is also enough bread (54 loaves) to feed the entire "tekke of Shaykh Salih," which may refer to one of the Halveti tekkes maintained by Ali and Muhtar Pasha in Ioannina. A number of other documents in the chancery chart Ali Pasha and his son Muhtar's dealings with dervish leaders throughout their territory, solidifying oaths of fealty and ensuring the upkeep of village tekkes.⁴¹⁶

There are many different modes of language used to describe the members and leaders of tekkes across both Ottoman documents and Ali Pasha's chancery. The Ottoman archival record, which mostly consists of pious endowment and appointment registers, almost always refers to a tekke by its particular Sufi order. Meanwhile, the Greek documents from Ali Pasha's archive almost never indicate the order of a lodge, but rather describe a tekke according to the original founder or the current head of the community. As seen above, scholarly work by both the Haslucks and Natalie Clayer demonstrate that historians spend a good deal of time trying to determine to which order Ali Pasha ultimately held allegiance. This effort to complicate the picture of the governor's patronage patterns is prompted by Albanian nationalist claims on Ali Pasha as a Bektashi, claims so far reaching that the modern statue of the pasha in Tepelena has the

⁴¹⁵ Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 73, 120-124.

⁴¹⁶ See, for example, Order of Ali Pasha to the Master Koto regarding the erection of the Tekke of Shaykh Totzi, Ioannina (September 4, 1808), Panagiotopoulos, ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, II, no. 427, 792; and Declaration of the villagers from Dragoti (Undated), III, no. 1377, 569-571.

Bektashi ten-pointed star hanging around his neck (Fig. 141).⁴¹⁷ Yet this question of Ali Pasha and his family's "true" loyalty to a particular Sufi order misses the point that the governor did not restrict his sponsorship to a single community but rather supported the Bektashi, Halveti and Sa'di orders, if not yet others as well. Ali Pasha spread around his wealth and influence to tekkes throughout the region whenever he discerned an opportunity to form an alliance with a specific shaykh and/or a village.

The Church That the Pasha Built: The Monastery of Kosmas Aitolos

One might suppose that Ali Pasha's patronage of tekkes may have been part of a plan to Islamize the region. Yet, the governor's construction of a monastery, as well as his tacit approval and encouragement of building and rebuilding churches throughout his territories, complicates this question. Many scholars working on Ali Pasha have emphasized the governor's exceptional tolerance of and willingness to negotiate with the Christian populations living in the region under his control.⁴¹⁸ In a dispatch to London in 1804, the British consul in Ioannina noted that the Christians in Epirus and Thessaly were more content than communities in other parts of the area, "owing perhaps to the indulgence that Ali Pasha, who knows the levity and vanity of their character, freely allows them of gratifying both, in the building of spacious houses, and wearing fine apparel, advantages which in the estimation of modern Greeks, are a very liberal return

⁴¹⁷ This claim on Ali Pasha as a Bektashi was so important to the sculptor that he opted to place his signature and date of the work (2002) on the star itself.

⁴¹⁸ Dennis Skiotis, "The Lion and the Phoenix," 6; Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, 68-69; Ali Yaycioğlu, *Partners of Empire*, 90-91.

for their contributions in money.”⁴¹⁹ Orientalist biases aside, the consul's remarks are useful in observing how Ali Pasha maintained a symbiotic relationship with the Christian communities, allowing them to forego many of the sartorial and architectural restrictions placed on non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. These kinds of concessions were of course met with both financial and military support from Christian leaders.⁴²⁰

While some might imagine that Ali Pasha's amicable relations with the Christian communities of Epirus could be explained by the influence of his young Christian wife, Vasiliki, this notion can be laid to rest by the fact that the governor maintained such policies from the earliest days of his rise to power in the 1790s, well before Vasiliki entered into the picture around 1817-18. It is perhaps better, therefore, to understand Ali Pasha's stance towards the local Christian communities as a sensible partnership. After all, with the high concentration of Christians living in this region, and the considerable influence that religious leaders such as the local metropolitans held over these communities, it would be nigh impossible for Ali Pasha to maintain his position without the backing of the Christian inhabitants.

⁴¹⁹ National Archive, London, FO 78/44, John Phillip Morier to Lord Hawkesbury, Ioannina (June 30, 1804).

⁴²⁰ Leake writes: “The greater number of Aly’s subjects being Christians, he is very watchful over the bishops, often employs them as instruments of extortion, and is careful that every act of theirs shall tend to the stability and extension of his own power. He often requires their attendance at Ioannina, or wherever he may happen to be, and shows them favour, so far as to support their authority over the Christians, and sometimes to assist them with a little military force if it should be necessary for the collection of their dues, which consist chiefly in a fixed contribution from every Christian house. They are not exempt, however, from those occasional calls upon their purses, from which no man within his reach is free whom he considers capable of paying. The most important of his ecclesiastical ministers is the metropolitan bishop of Ioannina, a Naxiote by birth, whose diocese comprehends the greater part of Epirus. I overtook him at the bridge of the Subashi, on his way to court”: *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 49.

One virtually unexplored aspect of Ali Pasha's relations with local Christian communities, however, is the policies he pursued regarding the restoration and construction of churches. The accepted truth on this matter is such that, before the modernization reforms of the mid-nineteenth century, non-Muslim groups throughout the Ottoman Empire faced strict regulations regarding their religious architecture.⁴²¹ These groups thus pursued long petition processes in order to secure the necessary permissions to reconstruct, repair or build *de novo* any church and its accompanying properties. In this section, I not only address the general building activities of Christians during the time of Ali Pasha, but I also present a case where the governor himself commissioned a church complex, the monastery of Kosmas Aitolos. The scenario of a Muslim administrator ordering the construction of a church is significant as it appears to be completely unprecedented in the history of the Ottoman Empire. In order to develop the context within which such a departure from accepted Ottoman norms would have been possible, I shall first lay out the circumstances that led to the construction of the Kosmas Aitolos monastery, and compare this building complex with other churches constructed in the region around the same time.

It is perhaps best to begin with a presentation of the Kosmas Aitolos complex itself and what can be found on the ground today. The monastery of Saint Kosmas and the Virgin Mary (Alb. Kisha e Shën Kozmait dhe Shën Mërisë, Gr. Μοναστήρι Κοσμά του Αιτωλού) occupies a quiet spot along the winding Seman river. Surrounded by a veil

⁴²¹ Rossitsa Gradeva, "From the Bottom up and Back Again until who Knows When: Church Restoration Procedures in the Ottoman Empire, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries (Preliminary Notes)," in *Political Initiatives "From the Bottom Up" In the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno, Crete: Crete University, 2012), 137-38.

of cypresses and a maze of cultivated fields, the monastery is approached from the north by a wide dirt road, which is often humming with the sound of the tractors or pick-up trucks of the local farmers. The site is located in today's southern Albania, approximately 10 km north of the large modern town of Fier, and is about a 45 minute drive off the main highway.⁴²² Although this church complex is situated between two important historical sites in the region—the ancient ruins of Apollonia and the famous Ardenica monastery—the place is rather isolated and difficult to reach for most tourists (Fig. 142). The monastery, therefore, remains relatively unknown and is not frequently visited. Like most monasteries in Albania, the site no longer serves an active community, and is only used on special feast days and funerals. The only person a visitor is bound to meet at the monastery is the local caretaker, who looks after the cemetery on the northern side of the complex, primarily used by the villagers of Rreth-Libofshë nearby.

Presently, the monastery is surrounded by a large enclosure wall, accessed by an arched gateway on the eastern side (Fig. 143). Upon entering the enclosure, the visitor is immediately confronted by the apse of the church dedicated to Kosmas Aitolos, with another church, now in ruins, located to the left. To the visitor's right, running along the entire length of the northern side of the enclosure, is a low, two-story building with rooms for a monastic community.

In recent years, the monastery was subject to a major renovation campaign. The process of this restoration effort can be easily observed by comparing several satellite

⁴²² Although the academic and archival sources place this monastery in the village of Kolkondas (Gr. Κολικόνδασι), today there is no kind of concentrated settlement immediately around the site. The closest village is Rreth-Libofshë, located 2 km east of the monastery as the crow flies. I have not been able to find any other information regarding the toponym Kolkondas.

views of the complex taken over the last decade (Fig. 144). Looking at these views, we can see that, at some moment between 2010 and 2015, an outer enclosure wall was constructed including the main gateway. Even though they were built only in the last five years, these walls share vernacular construction techniques, such as using large field stones and cut limestone blocks, that complement the aesthetic of the earlier structures found within (Fig. 145). Going further back to 2007, we see that the original monastic quarters on the northern side of the complex were a ruin, with only the outline of its stone foundations remaining. By 2010, this structure had been completely rebuilt (Fig. 146). Taking into account this construction of a new outer enclosure wall as well as the reconstruction of the monastic quarters, we can say that the site as it is found today largely took shape only in the last decade. In other words, a visitor in 2004 would only have seen the sanctuary of Kosmas Aitolos standing intact, surrounded by the remains of what had once been the larger monastic complex.

The remote location of the monastery on the river directly relates to the life and martyrdom of Kosmas Aitolos in the late eighteenth century. The most authoritative account for the life of the saint is a biography first published in 1814 by Sapphiros Christodoulidis, a disciple of Kosmas and himself an instructor at the Christian schools in Ioannina and Metsovo.⁴²³ According to Christodoulidis, Kosmas was born in Aetolia (near the Gulf of Corinth) in 1714. A precocious youth, Kosmas studied with great

⁴²³ Sapphiros Christodoulidis, *Akolouthia kai vios tou en Hagiois Patros Hemon Kosma tou Hiermartyros kai Isapostolou* (Venice: 1814). I am using an abridged English translation by Constantine Cavarnos published in his volume: *St. Cosmas Aitolos* (Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1971, 3rd edition 1985). Cavarnos, in turn, based his translation on a second edition of Christodoulidis' text, published in 1869 in Patras.

religious scholars, and eventually found himself residing in the monasteries of Mt. Athos. Called to serve as an apostolic preacher to the common people, Kosmas left his cloistered life in the 1760s and traveled to Istanbul to obtain the blessing from the patriarch for his new life as an itinerant preacher.⁴²⁴ Kosmas then proceeded to traverse throughout what is now northern Greece and the Ionian Islands, and in the end made his way to that noted den of sin, Albania. Christodoulidis writes, “here he preached to the Christians, walking and going through those barbaric provinces, where piety and Christian life were in danger of disappearing completely through...the many murders, thefts and other kinds of lawlessness into which they had fallen, having almost been worse than the godless.”⁴²⁵ Kosmas gained the hearts and minds of many through his fervent teaching, including Kurt Ahmed Pasha, then the governor of Berat, who is said to have been impressed when he granted Kosmas an audience, and had a special collapsible wooden throne or platform made for the preacher, “in order that he might go up on it and teach the people from an elevated place.”⁴²⁶

Despite these warm sentiments, Kosmas was ultimately martyred at the hands of the same Ottoman authorities in 1779. Christodoulidis blames the Jews of Ioannina, who were said to have gone to Kurt Pasha and delivered a large sum of money in exchange for the head of the preacher.⁴²⁷ At the time, Kosmas was traveling in the region of Fier, near

⁴²⁴ Cavarnos, *St. Cosmas Aitolos*, 13-14.

⁴²⁵ *Idem*, 35.

⁴²⁶ *Idem*, 41.

⁴²⁷ *Idem*, 42. This distinctive and disturbing strain of anti-Semitism is well-known in the sermons of Kosmas himself, and Christodoulidis takes an apologetic stance on the matter: “This Apostolic Teacher had never opened his mouth to say a word against the Jews...He only taught the Christians to live as

where the later church was established. He learned that the mullah of Kurt Pasha lived nearby, and appealed to him for permission to preach in that region. The mullah, who had received orders from the governor to execute Kosmas, detained him. The preacher, intuiting that the mullah intended to put him to death, was apparently delighted that he would end his preaching with martyrdom, and cheerfully awaited the appointed hour. The next day, the mullah's men took Kosmas next to the river bank and showed him the *firman* from Kurt Pasha that mandated his death. The preacher willingly kneeled and accepted his fate. After killing Kosmas, the men were said to have cast his body into the river with a large stone tied around his neck. Upon learning about the incident three days later, the priest Markos, head of the monastery dedicated to the Theotokos, went to the river and retrieved the body, which he buried properly behind the main sanctuary of the monastery.⁴²⁸

The fame of Kosmas as a martyr and holy figure spread astoundingly quickly after his death in 1779. As mentioned, the life of the saint was published only a few decades later, in 1814. A popular icon of the saint painted in 1829 indicates how these stories about Kosmas began to circulate among the Christians of the region (Fig. 147). This image relates the key moments of the life and death of the preacher, including his meeting with Kurt Ahmed Pasha (top center panel), the special throne the governor had

Christians, and to remain true and faithful to the authorities that God had given them...But the very sly and Christ-hating Jews of Ioannina, unable to bear the preaching of the Faith and Gospel of Christ, went and told the Pasha of the region that this holy Cosmas had been sent by the Russians to mislead the royal *rayahs* to go to Russia": 41-42.

⁴²⁸ Idem, 42-45.

built for Kosmas (top left), the execution of the preacher at the river (bottom right) and the retrieval of the body (bottom center) and burial at the monastery (middle left).

The life of Kosmas as presented by Christodoulidis can be used to lay out the various building phases of what is now the monastery of Kosmas Aitolos. The complex today has two churches, one adjacent to the other—the Church of Kosmas Aitolos and another ruined church to the south. The tomb of the saint is located in a small chamber located between the two sanctuaries, structurally joined to the ruined church, but only accessible from a small entrance to the north.⁴²⁹ The ruined church to the south must be the sanctuary of the monastery of the Theotokos described by Christodoulidis, where Kosmas found his final resting place. Although only part of the apse and northern wall of the church remain, an inscription survives on the exterior façade, which informs us the sanctuary had been rebuilt in 1782 (Fig. 148).⁴³⁰ Therefore, following Christodoulidis and what can be found on the ground today, we can conclude that, at the moment of Kosmas' martyrdom and burial in 1779, there was a monastic church dedicated to the Theotokos on the site. Then, only a year or two later, this church was destroyed for some reason (earthquakes and fire are usually the culprit), and was completely reconstructed in 1782. This is the ruined church we see today. Shortly thereafter, the second church dedicated to Saint Kosmas would be built, commissioned by Ali Pasha himself.

⁴²⁹ As for the remains of the saint, they are said to have been transferred from the monastery to the archaeological museum in Fier in 1984. Other relics of the saint are kept in the Metropolitan Church in Athens: Robert Elsie, *Historical Dictionary of Albania* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2nd edition, 2010), 95. There is still a simple funerary slab commemorating the saint in the tomb chamber of the monastery, and continues to be maintained and venerated with candles and wreaths.

⁴³⁰ Panagiotis Christopoulos, *Ta leipsana kai to monastiri Kosma tou Aitolou* (Athens: 1987), 570.

At the very end of his biography of the saint, Christodoulidis also describes the circumstances surrounding the erection of this second church. He recalls that Kosmas had actually met Ali Pasha when he was still a young man and in the service of Kurt Ahmed Pasha. Kosmas was prone to prophetic proclamations (he predicted the Greek Revolution as well as the automobile), and told the young Ali that “the district that he governed would grow a great deal,” and that he would “conquer many cities and all of Albania.” Decades later, Ali Pasha remembered the words of the saint and contacted the metropolitan of Berat to arrange to have a church specially dedicated to Kosmas constructed.⁴³¹

The story of Ali Pasha’s role in the foundation of the second church of the monastery continues on the walls of the church itself. There are two Greek inscriptions that can be found on the exterior of the sanctuary dedicated to Kosmas Aitolos, with the first located on the external wall of the eastern apse. This inscription is easy to miss because it is badly eroded and difficult to read, but the text is crucial because it names Ali Pasha himself as the patron of the building: “This holy and sacred church was erected from the foundations by the order and exhortation of his highness Vezir Ali Pasha from Tepelena” (Fig. 149).⁴³² Notably, the phrase “εκ βαθρών” (“from the foundations”) in the text implies that this structure was not rebuilt from an earlier phase—as was the case with the adjacent church of the Theotokos, but was rather an entirely new commission.

⁴³¹ Cavarnos, *St. Cosmas Aitolos*, 47.

⁴³² “ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ/ Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΟΥΤ/ΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΑ/ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΡΟΠΗΣ/ ΤΟΥ ΥΨΗΛΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΒΕΖΥΡ/ ΑΛΗ ΠΑΣΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΕΠΕΛΕ/ΝΗ.” This inscription was first published by Panagiotis F. Christopoulos: *Ta leipsana kai to monastiri Kosma tou Aitōlou*, 572. I have made some slight changes in the transcription presented here. The English translations of this text and the subsequent inscriptions presented in this chapter are my own.

Additionally, it is important to observe that this inscription refers to Ali Pasha both by his Ottoman administrative title (“Βεζύρ”) as well as his place of origin, the nearby district of Tepelena, a configuration that emphasizes both political and local claims to authority.⁴³³

A second inscription found above the main entrance on the northern façade provides even more information about the circumstances of the building’s construction (Fig. 150). Most importantly, this second inscription gives the date of foundation as May 1814, the text appearing on a simple plaque also bearing a cross carved in relief.⁴³⁴ Below this plaque are two cartouches with the main text of the inscription. The first cartouche reads:

This church of Agios Kosmas was built during [the reign] of his holiness Iosaf the Metropolitan of Belgrad (Berat) and his all holiness the abbot Theoklitos, and [during the service of the] administrators Nikoloaos Dimitriou and Hatzi Giankos as well as the chancellor Parthenios, through the labors and toil of all the faithful Christians, both clergy and lay.⁴³⁵

As for the lower cartouche, the beginning of the first line is badly damaged, but the scholar Panagiotis Christopoulos reports to have seen a date of June 1814, i.e. only a month after the date given above. The rest of the text in the lower cartouche, which is

⁴³³ This phrase could also be a Greek approximation of Ali Pasha’s Turkish designation, “Tepedelenli Ali Pasha,” which is usually how he is styled in Ottoman documents from the period.

⁴³⁴ The date is given in the Julian calendar: “ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ/ ΑΩΙΔ (1814)/ [ΜΗ]ΝΟΣ ΜΑΙΟΥ” (“In the year of Christ, 1814, in the month of May”). The practice of giving the year in Greek letters, whereby each letter of the alphabet represents a different number, is a common convention of ecclesiastic inscriptions from the period.

⁴³⁵ “ΕΚΤΙΣΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΑ/ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ/ ΒΕΛΙΓΡΑΔΩΝ ΚΙΡΙΟΥ ΙΩΑΣΑΦ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ/ ΠΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΚΛΗΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ/ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΓΙΑΝΚΟΥ/ ΚΑΙ ΜΠΡΩΤΟΣΥΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΚΟΠΩΝ ΤΕ/ ΚΑΙ ΜΟ[ΧΘ]ΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ/ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΛΗΡΙΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΙΚΩΝ.” Again, this inscription appears to have been first published by Panagiotis Christopoulos: *Ta leipsana kai to monastiri Kosma tou Aitolou*, 572.

much more legible, reads: “The chamber of Agios Kosmas was [built] under the inspection of Captain Nikolaos, from the village of Fourka in the parish of Agios Vellas.”⁴³⁶ It is unclear what is meant by the term “chamber (δῶμα)” of Kosmas, but it may be a reference to the saint’s tomb next to the church.

The inscriptions found on the church clarify the circumstances of the building’s patronage and construction, with Ali Pasha identified as the primary benefactor of the foundation, in cooperation with the local religious leaders such as the metropolitan and the abbot of the monastery, as well as lay notables from the village. This picture of the commissioning process is even further confirmed and clarified by several orders issued by Ali Pasha regarding the church’s construction, published in the memoir of Anthimos Aleksoudis, successor to Iosaf as the metropolitan of Berat.⁴³⁷

The first memorandum, dated September 12, 1813, addresses the Christians (“Ῥωμαῖοι”) of Berat as well as the people of Myzeqe⁴³⁸ and the Vlachs from Grabova. In this order, Ali Pasha notifies these communities that he has appointed a representative to construct the monastery of “Old Kosmas” (“Τέρο-Κοσμά”), and commands them to offer whatever financial assistance the metropolitan asks from them, stating that he himself has also given money to the cause (“εβοήθησα και εγώ άσπρα”). Ali Pasha continues with a

⁴³⁶ “[...] Δ[ΩΜ]Α ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΔΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑ/ΠΕΤΑΝ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΧΩΡΙΟΥ ΦΟΥΡΚΑ/ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΩΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΕΛΛΑΣ”: Christopoulos, *Ta leipsana kai to monastiri Kosma tou Aitolou*, 572. Fourka is a village near Konitsa, whose metropolitan presided in the nearby monastery of Agios Vellas.

⁴³⁷ My thanks to Sokol Çunga at the National Archives in Tirana for bringing these documents to my attention. Anthimos D. Aleksoudis, *Syntomos istorikī perigrafī tīs ieras mītropoleōs Belegradōn* (Corfu: H Ionia, 1868), 82. As is the case with all of Ali Pasha’s communications with local notables and communities, these orders are written in demotic Greek.

⁴³⁸ Myzeqe (Mouzakia) lies approximately in the modern district of Fier-Lushnjë, where the church of St. Kosmas is located.

warning: “anyone who does not assist me in my request will be in my debt, and will later be required to pay double the amount.” According to this document, Ali Pasha initiated this building project, providing some of his own funds for the church, but also expected to have the local Christian communities assist in meeting construction costs as well. Notably, Ali Pasha mentions the metropolitan Iosaf as a mediator with these communities, relying on the bishop’s influence to collect the requisite monies.

The other missive comes exactly a year later, on September 12, 1814. In this letter, Ali Pasha writes directly to the Metropolitan of Berat as well as two individuals named Hatzi Giakos and Koli Mitros, the same men named as lay notables in the inscription located above the main entrance of the church.⁴³⁹ The construction of the complex must have been nearly complete at this point, as Ali Pasha relates that he has been receiving their regular communications about the building activities, and he has also heard from the abbot, most likely the Theoklitos also mentioned in the inscription. The governor confides that he is “greatly amused” (“το έκαμα χάζι πολύ”) that they were able to obtain a *mukataa* (“μουκαέτιδες”), or building permission, from the kadi of Berat in the name of old Kosmas. This candid remark is an important and clear indication that Ali Pasha was familiar with the biography of Agios Kosmas, in that he was said to have been executed by the Ottoman administrators of Berat for inciting sedition. Ali Pasha’s comment suggests, therefore, that this construction project could be approached at least in part as a rather elaborate practical joke on the juridical officials in the nearby district

⁴³⁹ Koli Mitros is clearly a nickname for the “Nikoloas Dimitriou” named in the inscription.

capital, and perhaps the wider administrative apparatus that conferred authority on this individuals.

In his letter to the Metropolitan of Berat, Ali Pasha continues to relate that he would be sending to the monastery a “master builder” (“Πρωτομάστορα”), unfortunately unnamed, so that they could put the finishing touches on the complex, building the monastic quarters (*oda*, “οντάδες”) and the enclosure wall (“το κουλούρι”). These are likely the same structures that stood in ruin around the sanctuary in 2004. Because Christodoulidis describes the site in 1779 as a monastery, not an independent church, we have to assume that before 1814 there were some kind of separate living quarters for the monks near the church of the Theotokos. In this building campaign of 1814, it seems that these quarters were either enlarged or replaced, and the whole complex was surrounded by an enclosure wall (what I am calling the “inner enclosure wall” to differentiate from the outer wall that was built just a few years ago). As the foundation inscription of the church is dated May 1814, several months before Ali Pasha’s letter to the metropolitan, we can observe that the construction of the church proper was prioritized, followed later by the supporting buildings for the monks. Ali Pasha concludes his letter by expressing how he was very much looking forward to visiting soon and finding everything ready, alluding perhaps to plans for the official christening ceremony of the complex. Unfortunately, we can only speculate about such an event, when everyone would come to see the church that the pasha built.

The complex of Kosmas Aitolos is by no means the only example we have of Ali Pasha and his family commissioning churches in the region. In a village approximately 11 km north of Trikala can be found a church dedicated to Agios Nicholas, which was

constructed in 1818 under the patronage of Ali Pasha's Christian wife, Vasiliki (1789-1834) (Fig. 151).⁴⁴⁰ The church is in very good condition, and the masonry techniques in the arcades and walls of the main structure appear to date back to the early nineteenth century, although I did not have a chance to examine the structure from the interior, and there is clear evidence of various restoration efforts such as re-tiling the roof and the insertion of three double-arched brick windows in the upper registers of the side arms and narthex of the church. A tall bell-tower was constructed adjacent to the church, bearing a date of 1883 on its southern façade. The foundation inscription of this church, located above the southern entrance to the naos, states: "The holy church of Agios Nikolaos was rebuilt from the foundations by Vasiliki, wife of the voyvoda and by her brothers Georgios and Nikolos Simos" (Fig. 152).⁴⁴¹

While the memory of Ali Pasha's patronage of the church of Agios Kosmas has now all but faded, the role that his wife Vasiliki played in the construction of the church of Agios Nikolaos is prominently celebrated by the modern Greeks living in the village today. A recent bust of the patron adorns the courtyard of the church and bears an inscription that describes Lady Vasiliki as "a great benefactress of the place and

⁴⁴⁰ The village is in fact named Vasiliki, presumably after the patron of the church.

⁴⁴¹ The full transcription of the inscription is as follows: "ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ ΕΚ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ Δ(Ι')ΕΞΟΔΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΓΧΩΡΙΩΝ/ ΔΙΑ ΣΙΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΣΗΣ ΒΟΙΒΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΣΗΜΟΥ ΙΩ/ΓΡΟ ΤΡΟΙΗΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΧΑΓΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ: ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΣΤΑΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΝΘΙΜΟΥ/ΙΕΡΟΥΡΓΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΠΑΠΑΚΩΝΣΤΑ(ΝΤΙΝΟΥ) Π' ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ Π'ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΟΥ) Π'ΚΩΝΣΤΑ Π'ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΟΥ) ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥ/ΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ ΕΝΕΤΕΙ ΑΩΙΗ 1818 ΜΑΙΟΥ ΙΒ 12."

commissioner of this church” (Fig. 153).⁴⁴² When brought together, the portrait of church patronage by a Muslim husband and Christian wife across a considerable geographic expanse revises the current view we have on church building and restoration in the Ottoman Empire.

Towards a Multi-Confessional History of Ottoman Architecture

In this chapter, I have aimed to bring together and compare the architectural projects belonging to various confessional groups living side by side as there has thus far been such a stark separation in the study of Muslim and Christian structures within the wider historiography on Ottoman architecture. In other words, it is rare indeed to see scholarly studies on the built environment that take into account both mosques and churches, even if they are situated within the same geographic region and chronological frame, as is often the case for the Balkans. As for the broader surveys on Ottoman architecture, which largely emerge from an intellectual tradition based in Istanbul in the first half of the twentieth century, these texts typically omit non-Muslim buildings from the historical discussion of the built environment as it stood in Ottoman times.⁴⁴³ This phenomenon is partly due to an epistemological framework that places the art and

⁴⁴² According to Ottoman documents, Vasiliki also owned agricultural property (*çiftlik*) in the region, and even continued to receive a monthly salary from the revenues after the death of Ali Pasha: BOA, Istanbul, C.ML. 557/22866 (16 Receb 1239 AH/ 17 March 1824 CE).

⁴⁴³ The one exception to this rule is the inevitable discussion of how early Ottoman architecture emerged from Byzantine building traditions, and the practice of converting churches into mosques, see Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), especially 162-166. As for the survey books, save for a few churches constructed by Levantine architects in late nineteenth-century Istanbul, Doğan Kuban’s *Ottoman Architecture* makes no mention of building activity for non-Muslim sites during the Ottoman period.

architecture of the Ottoman Empire under the broader category of Islamic Art.⁴⁴⁴

Therefore, despite recent academic debates about the validity of placing such a wide geographic and chronologic span of material under the umbrella category of “Islamic,”⁴⁴⁵ most scholars still understand the Ottomans as heirs and peers to other predominately-Muslim polities such as the Seljuks, Timurids, and Mamluks.

It is fair to say that Ottoman historians have been principally preoccupied with the mosque complex as the premier building type of the empire.⁴⁴⁶ This historiographic reality is proportionate to the fact that the Ottoman state itself devoted a great deal of labor and funding to the construction of these complexes. Especially when the capital had been moved to Istanbul in the mid-fifteenth century, the sultans set their engineers to work in developing various iterations of the multi-tiered dome and minaret combination for their imperial mosques, with these structures in the process emerging as the most

⁴⁴⁴ Ottoman architecture appears in the most frequently-used Anglophone textbooks for Islamic art and architecture, including Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250 -1800* (New Haven: 1994); and Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York: 1994). Scholars of the Middle East and the Islamic world have long grappled with the awkwardness and inadequacy of the term “Islamic”—a word that ultimately refers to a religion—to describe a wide range of geographic and political spaces where Muslims were either politically or culturally dominant, but by no means the only actors, or even in the majority of the population. To circumvent this problem, Marshall Hodgson introduced the term “Islamicate,” although it has not really been taken up widely in the current academic literature.

⁴⁴⁵ See Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field,” *Art Bulletin* 85/1 (Mar., 2003), 152-184; and a response by Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (Jun., 2012), 1-26.

⁴⁴⁶ Even a brief glance through Ernst Diez’s *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul: 1946) or Godfrey Goodwin’s *A History of Ottoman Architecture* reveals this to be the case.

distinctively “Ottoman” of Ottoman buildings.⁴⁴⁷ In his autobiography, the great sixteenth-century architect Sinan notably lists mosques first, ahead of “lesser” building types such as medreses and hammams, in the long list of structures attributed to his tenure as the head of the royal architects corps.⁴⁴⁸ Meanwhile, as mentioned earlier, scholars have effectively demonstrated that the state also mobilized the construction of mosques as a strategy to “Ottomanize” the provinces.

Yet, scholars of Ottoman architecture could perhaps benefit from the long-standing trend in the field of history that frames the nature of the Ottoman state more as a system of negotiation, rather than top-down edicts.⁴⁴⁹ This greater emphasis on politics as a process of brokering power with “intermediaries” drawn from local elites has encouraged more attention on the multi-confessional nature of the sultan’s subjects. Questions about how non-Muslims were incorporated into the imperial project naturally raise issues regarding the use, construction and repair of their houses of worship, which were the most important physical spaces representing any *zimmi*⁴⁵⁰ (non-Muslim)

⁴⁴⁷ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, 63-85; and Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, 103-104.

⁴⁴⁸ Crane et al., ed., *Sinan’s Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, 92-99.

⁴⁴⁹ Especially Barkey *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*; and Yaycioğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions*.

⁴⁵⁰ *Zimmi* (Arabic: *dhimmi*) is a legal term in Islamic law to designate the Christian or Jewish subject of a Muslim ruler, who would grant these non-Muslim communities the right to property, quality of life, and freedom to worship in exchange for a special tax (*cizye*). This institution or approach to the “People of the Book” in Islamic lands was upheld throughout the duration of the Ottoman Empire, until 1856, when the sultan issued an imperial decree that ensured total equality among all of the subjects of the empire: Bruce Masters, “Dhimmi,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 185-186; and M. Macit Kenanoğlu, “Zimmi Osmanlılar’da,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 44 (2013), 438-440.

community. As one exasperated scholar asked during a symposium back in 2001: “Why can’t we talk about Ottoman churches?”⁴⁵¹

The relative lack of discussion about the religious architecture of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire may also be attributed to the fact that, by state policy (as well as Islamic law), churches and synagogues were not supposed to be built *ex novo*.⁴⁵² Thus, the building activity of non-Muslims, at least in theory, was strictly restricted to simple maintenance repairs of existing structures built before the conquest. In the case of serious damage due to fire or earthquake, non-Muslims could reconstruct a house of worship, but only if the new building precisely followed the footprint of the previous site. Practice did not always follow principle, however, when it came to the ban or restrictions placed on building churches. Depending on the discretion of local authorities, these policies could be either rigorously enforced or ignored altogether.⁴⁵³ There is perhaps no better example to demonstrate this point than the recent scholarly work titled *Churches in Greece after the Fall, 1453-1850*.⁴⁵⁴ A product of the National Polytechnic University of Greece, the ongoing series currently covers approximately 120 monuments in six volumes. Looking at these volumes alone, we can understand that

⁴⁵¹ Christoph K. Neumann, “A Hesitating but Challenging Closing Speech,” in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: “A Supra-National Heritage,”* ed. Nur Akin, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, (Istanbul: YEM, 2001), 26.

⁴⁵² Again, this would all change both with the 1839 Tanzimat Charter as well as the 1856 edict establishing equality among all imperial subjects, which would result in an explosion of church building activity that came to take on much more visibility and prominence, especially in the Ottoman capital: Paolo Girardelli, “Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), 233.

⁴⁵³ Masters, “Dhimmi,” 186.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ekklesies stin Ellada meta tin Alosi*, 6 Volumes (Athens: Ethniko Metsovio Politechnio, 1979-2002).

evidently there was a good deal of church construction in Ottoman lands before the nineteenth century reforms, and this material only covers the geographic area that is now within the borders of modern Greece.

Bringing different kinds of confessional architecture together also points to the fact that the repair of Orthodox Christian structures required the labor of local architects and craftsmen, who were likewise engaged in other building projects such as mosques, domestic architecture, fortresses, etc. In the case of Ali Pasha and his domain, it is clear that the same groups of local craftsmen were working on both mosques and churches. For example, the Fethiye Mosque in Ioannina, which seems to have been largely rebuilt during the late eighteenth century, features a lively interior decoration program in what could be described as a “folk Baroque” style (Fig. 154). Based exclusively on a formal analysis of these decorations, I have been able to identify the presence of the same group of craftsmen who produced these designs in the church of Shen Meri (St. Mary) in Labova e Kryqit, a small village located in the Drino River valley of southern Albania. Often touted as one of the most important historical monuments in the region, the core of the structure seems to date back to the thirteenth century, when the area was politically independent from Constantinople under the Despots of Epirus. Yet the interior of the sanctuary was decorated in the same style as the mosque in Ioannina, part of a 1776-78 renovation of the church that also involved the reconstruction of the apses and an exonarthex on the western side (Fig. 155 & 156).

A brief comparison of some design elements found at both the Fethiye Mosque and Shen Merise reveals that the interior decorations at both sites were executed by the same hand(s) (Fig. 157 & 158). Looking at these two examples, we can see that the

craftsmen working at both sites tended to create elaborate curving strap-work designs in a light pastel blue on a white ground, interspersed with bunches of flowers and fruit. Following this same comparative method, the handiwork of this group of artisans can also be found in other buildings located in Ioannina, such as the Monastery of St. Panteleimon on the island in Lake Pamvotis.⁴⁵⁵ Although we have virtually no information about the identity of these craftsmen, we can still conclude that, in this region, it was hardly unusual for artisans, no matter their place or origin or their religious background, to work on both Islamic and Christian monuments at the same time. The functions of these buildings as well as legal restrictions still determined key differences in their overall structural composition—for example, mosques had domes and minarets, while churches were restricted to pitched roofs or barrel vaults. Yet we can still posit a unified regional aesthetic or visual culture that was shared among multiple confessional groups.

Examining both Islamic and Christian monuments together also offers a clearer understanding of how different religious spaces may have related to one another within the urban context of the major centers under Ali Pasha's control. Due to a lack of reliable census records, charting out these buildings may also provide a useful approximation of where various religious communities based themselves. The 1820 map of Ioannina that is

⁴⁵⁵ Also, when compared to the decorations of the Fethiye Mosque, the dome of the Metropolitan church of Agios Athanasios in Ioannina contains almost identical "dentil"-like borders around the central medallion. The painting program in the church seems to have been executed in 1831-32: Varvara Papadopoulou, *Mnimeia ton Ioanninon* (Ioannina: 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, 2009), 70-71. Additionally, the walls and ceilings of the summer apartments in the mansion of Nikolaos Konsta in the Zagorachoria, first decorated around 1795, also appear to have been executed by this same group of artists: Stefanos Tsiodoulos, *H zografiki ton spition tou Zagoriou: Teli 18ou-arches 20ou aiona istorikh kai politismiki proseggisi* (Rizareio Idrima, 2009), 249-251.

today in the Bibliothèque National provides us with a general idea of the town's makeup in that time period. The cartographer has indicated all of the major religious monuments of the town, and we can presume that most of these foundations represented the nucleus of a particular neighborhood and faith community (Fig. 160). By this point, only Muslims and Jews were permitted to reside within the old city walls (the Kastro), and as a result there are no churches in this quarter, only the two mosques sitting on the two crests of the peninsula [No. 3 & 4] and a synagogue in the northwest quarter [No. 25]. Beyond the walled city, neighborhoods seem to have been fairly mixed with regards to religion, with many churches situated almost adjacent to mosques. This is the case with an un-named mosque [No. 5] and Agia Ekaterini [No. 15], as well as the mosque founded by Ali Pasha's son Veli Pasha [No. 9] and the Agia Marina church complex [No. 18]. As discussed earlier, the two tekkes of the town, established by Ali Pasha and his son Muhtar Pasha, are located on the outskirts of Ioannina, just off the main roads leading north and south [No. 1 & 2]. Similarly, the church of Agios Nikolaos Kopanon [No. 14] stands sentinel at the northern gate of the city, directly across from the customs control (*douane*). A cluster of mosques in the southern part of the city just beyond the bazaar area indicates a concentration of Muslim inhabitants there, while the island on Lake Pamvotis appears to have been exclusively occupied by Christians in the village as well as the numerous monasteries. Of all of these structures indicated on this annotated map, we know that both tekkes, some of the mosques, and a number of the churches were either constructed anew or rebuilt in the time of Ali Pasha. Mapping out the variety of religious structures in Ioannina, therefore, gives the impression of the shifting balance of space maintained among the Muslim and Christian communities in Ioannina during the

Ottoman period.

Despite the evidence for stylistic tastes that transcend confession as well as the intimate spatial interplay of Muslim and Christian architecture in the Balkans, there is still a lack of dialog between two academic communities working either on “Ottoman/Islamic” or “post-Byzantine/Greek/Christian” architecture. These historiographies barely acknowledge that the buildings under examination co-existed in the same regions at the same time, and were built and maintained by the same groups of craftsmen. Of course, this lack of dialog can be explained at least partly by the political contingencies of the modern nation state. Within the academic tradition of Greece, for example, archaeological and cultural material dating from the Ottoman era is typically divided between two categories, “post-Byzantine” (Μεταβυζαντινός) and “Ottoman” (Οθωμανικός). The term “post-Byzantine” is almost always restricted to the art and culture of the Christian communities living in the Ottoman lands: church and monastic architecture, icons, liturgical garments and implements, religious manuscripts, and the like.⁴⁵⁶ Meanwhile, the term “Ottoman,” specifically within the context of architectural studies in Greece, is usually a catch-all to describe all other (non-Christian) buildings, both Islamic and secular sites, although this once firm convention is beginning to relax.

Throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Greek scholars naturally privileged the study of the Christian material from the Ottoman era, guided by a nationalist ideology that posited the cultural and ethnic continuity of “Greek” civilization

⁴⁵⁶ Angelos Delivorrias, “Some Thoughts on the Secular Art of Hellenism under Foreign Rule,” in *From Byzantium to Modern Greece: Hellenic Art in Adversity, 1453-1830*, ed. Angelos Delivorrias (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2005), 133.

from ancient Athens through Byzantium and onwards to the modern Hellenic state.⁴⁵⁷

This methodological approach was institutionalized in the organizational structure of the Greek Archaeological Service, presently part of the Ministry of Culture and first established in 1833, shortly after the foundation of the Greek state. Today, the Archaeological Service is divided into three major administrative divisions: Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities, and Modern Cultural Heritage.⁴⁵⁸ From one perspective, it is refreshing to see the Byzantine and Ottoman periods treated as a coherent historical unit within the Directorate of Antiquities, as there certainly was a degree of continuity in building techniques and materials across these imperial regimes.⁴⁵⁹ Yet, it is still problematic that all monuments from the Ottoman period today located in Greece officially fall under the bureaucratic designation of “post-Byzantine,” which, as explained above, almost always refers to Christian cultural material, at least in academic texts.

As Yannis Hamilakis argues, these historical categories are by no means neutral or inconsequential; the tripartite division of the State Archaeological Service “constructs time and legitimizes relations of inclusion and exclusion.”⁴⁶⁰ While, in practice, the archaeological service has made great strides to document and conserve Islamic and

⁴⁵⁷ Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*, 83-85.

⁴⁵⁸ In 2014, during my research for the dissertation, the organization of this ministry was overhauled, mostly as part of a government-wide effort to minimize state spending in response to the ongoing economic crisis. As part of these changes, the regional offices of Classical and Byzantine antiquities were merged into single administrative units administered under one director, although these distinctions of historical periods remain valid when classifying and allocating funds to projects.

⁴⁵⁹ See Robert Ousterhout, “The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture,” *Gesta* 43/2 (2004), 165-176.

⁴⁶⁰ Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins*, 75.

secular sites from the Ottoman era,⁴⁶¹ this semantic distinction between the Christian/post-Byzantine material to the exclusion of all other cultural remains continues to have a meaningful impact in the way that the Ottoman period is presented and interpreted at museums as well as historic sites. With a few rare exceptions—such as the Benaki Museum collection in Athens—there is currently no real venue in Greek museums, either state or private, for the display of Ottoman material that is not explicitly Christian. The latter is itself usually found in a “post-Byzantine” section in the national Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens and its various regional branches.

There have been some notable recent efforts by Greek scholars to be more hospitable to research about Ottoman/Islamic architecture, which could be understood as part of the recent wider trend in international organizations and the European Union to celebrate multi-culturalism.⁴⁶² Still, such initiatives usually fall short of bringing together for comparative analysis the full spectrum of buildings, both religious and secular, that constituted the reality of living in the Ottoman world. For example, the introductory essays found in the 2008 volume put out by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, do acknowledge that Ottoman subject-hood was complex and included a wide range of religions and ethnicities, but there are also hints of a more

⁴⁶¹ The issue of Jewish sites from the Ottoman period is another thorny issue, especially in light of the harsh persecution of the Jews in Greece under German occupation in WWII. The only major Jewish site in Ioannina is the synagogue, rebuilt in the late nineteenth century. It is still privately maintained and used by the small community of Epirote Jews living in the city. My thanks to the members of this community for granting me access to the building.

⁴⁶² One of the official themes for UNESCO is “Learning to Live Together”: <http://en.unesco.org/themes/learning-live-together>, accessed June 3, 2016. For example, Aristotle University in Thessaloniki is preparing to launch a new program in Islamic Studies, to my knowledge the only department of its kind in Greece.

conservative conviction that the Ottomans were one of many foreign civilizations that occupied Greek lands, “coexisting with the natives.”⁴⁶³ Similar works on Ottoman architecture found in what is today Albania also have this issue with excluding the Christian material from the same period, with “Ottoman” implicitly defined as the realm of the more dominant Muslim population.⁴⁶⁴ This detente does no favors to the study of Ottoman history, especially in light of the trumpeted rise of the “spatial turn,” which seeks to reconstruct the Ottoman world in terms of exchange, conflict, and negotiation between groups across different types of landscapes. In this chapter, I have sought to reformulate the more conservative divisions and periodizations within architectural historical studies by bringing a methodology of comparative analysis to both Muslim and Christian structures, at the same time looking at material that crosses modern national borders.

⁴⁶³ For the quote, see Ioanna Koltsida-Makri, “Prologue,” *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, ed. Ersi Brouskari (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2008), 16. In the same volume, a more subtle discussion of Ottoman society can be found in Elias Kolovos, Antonis Anastasopoulos, and Marinos Sariyannis, “The Ottoman Empire and the Greek Lands,” 33.

⁴⁶⁴ See Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania, 1385-1912*. However, it should be mentioned that the same author in another volume on *The Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1985) deftly unpacks the methodological problem of separating the study of Christian and Islamic art in the Ottoman Balkans. Similar to Greek historiography, Albanian scholars also use the term “post-Byzantine” to describe Christian architecture erected under Ottoman rule. See, for example: Aleksandër Meksi and Pirro Thomo, “Arkitektura posbizantine në Shqipëri (bazilikat)” [Post-Byzantine Architecture in Albania, Basilicas], *Monumentet* 21 (1981), 99-138.

CHAPTER 4

Spoils for the New Pyrrhus: Alternative Claims to Antiquity

In the autumn of 1812, the Danish archaeologist Peter Brøndsted was busy wrapping up what had been several months of excavation in the Morea. As was common during the earliest days of scientific archaeology, Brøndsted and his other collaborators on the excavation team did not claim institutional support from a museum or academic society. Rather, they could best be described as a motley group of gentlemen scholars and diplomatic officers who had all independently made their way from Western Europe to Ottoman lands. Their common goal was to search for the material traces of antiquity, which they defined as the remains of ancient Greece and imperial Rome. Brought together by this mutual mission to locate, document, and, ideally, extricate classical sculpture, the members of this “little company of adventurers,” as they liked to call themselves, decided to pool their resources in order to carry out the first major expedition to the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae.⁴⁶⁵ This monument, thought to have been constructed in the fifth century BCE, even today impresses the visitor with its dramatic setting perched high up in the remote mountains of the Western Peloponnese (Fig. 160).

Once the excavations at the temple were complete, Brøndsted began preparations to return home to Denmark. Yet he resolved that he should first pay a visit to the great Ottoman governor to the north, the notorious Ali Pasha. In a later account of his travels, Brøndsted explained that his curiosity was piqued by a man whose numerous exploits were “one of the principal themes of the popular songs, which we often heard in almost

⁴⁶⁵ Frederick Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas, Vol. 1 The Architecture* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992), 13.

all of the provinces [...] from Taygetus to Olympus and the Acroceraunian mountains as far as Carystos in Euboea.”⁴⁶⁶

Ali Pasha’s reputation was so far-reaching that one of Brøndsted’s colleagues at the excavations, Otto von Stackelberg, recorded one of these popular songs about the governor in the final publication of the Bassae expedition’s results: *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien* (Fig. 161). Stackelberg mentions in this volume that the workers from the local village liked to sing the tune as they labored to uncover the stones from the temple.⁴⁶⁷ The ballad recounts the tragic fate of Frosini, a young woman from Ioannina who had the misfortune of attracting the attention of both Ali Pasha and his son Muhtar. While the lyric affirms Ali Pasha’s status as a veritable pop icon during his own time, Stackelberg’s musical notation appears in the publication alongside lithograph plates showing the ground plans and friezes from the Temple of Apollo Epikourios (Fig. 162 & 163). Such images, which privilege the scientific gaze of the archaeologist, have come to dominate our narratives about the history of classical archaeology, and, more specifically, define Enlightenment Europe’s “re-discovery” of ancient Greece. Yet the excavators were clearly aware that they were also standing in the presence of a modern myth-maker, as they busied themselves unearthing monumental warriors locked in eternal combat.

⁴⁶⁶ Peter Oluf Brøndsted, *Interviews with Ali Pacha of Ioannina*, ed. Jacob Isager (Athens: The Danish Institute at Athens, 1999), 35.

⁴⁶⁷ Otto von Stackelberg, *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien und die Dasselbst Ausgegrabenen Bildwerke* (Rome: 1826), 117-18. William Dinsmoor later noted that the excavating team removed the stones from the temple “with the encouragement of native music”: “The Temple of Apollo at Bassae,” *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 4, no. 2 (Mar., 1933), 204.

This chapter investigates how Ali Pasha's own engagements with antiquity intersected with the birth of classical archaeology as an academic discipline. Drawing upon a wide range of evidence—architectural inscriptions, archival documents, European travel accounts, and oral tradition—I examine to what extent the governor appropriated the ancient past to secure his own political legitimacy. The zenith of Ali Pasha's career in the early nineteenth century coincided with an increased flow of European travelers in the regions largely under his control. Once deterred by the difficulties of traveling unhindered within Ottoman lands, these groups found their way to Greece and Albania as part of their “Grand Tour,” when the Napoleonic Wars effectively closed Italy and spurred them to seek new regions to explore.⁴⁶⁸ I contend that, in this period, local Ottoman administrators such as Ali Pasha were also emerging as major players in the search for antiquity. As demonstrated in previous chapters, Ali Pasha was invested in branding the local landscape with his architectural interventions—whether through his palace complexes or numerous defensive fortifications—all in order to build his own legacy in the region. The vizier proved to be equally capable of mobilizing classical antiquity for his own aggrandizement. Stationed in his de facto capital in Ioannina, Ali Pasha found himself in the middle of what has been memorably described as a “scramble for the past,”⁴⁶⁹ and he in turn developed a diverse range of strategies for inscribing his claims to the forms and figures of antiquity onto both urban and sub-urban spaces.

⁴⁶⁸ James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840),” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 2002), 38.

⁴⁶⁹ Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, ed., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011).

Ali Pasha developed a peculiar variety of antiquarianism that was primarily political in nature, serving to secure the governor's calls to power by forging connections with ancient rulers. As I will explain in the following sections, this process primarily took the form of architectural patronage. In other words, Ali Pasha strove to transform several of his constructions into "*lieux de mémoire*,"⁴⁷⁰ sites that compelled his subjects—again, a remarkably diverse population in terms of ethnicity and faith tradition—to consider the ancient past as a common heritage shared among the people of Epirus. At these sites, epigraphic inscriptions, geographic location and the materiality of re-used marble all served to place the monuments—and, by extension, the governor himself—into a much longer continuum of history that was emphatically local. In order for these references to work, Ali Pasha drew upon or re-activated various strains of collective memory ingrained in the imaginations of the communities that he ruled.

After a more thorough discussion of Ali Pasha's role as antiquarian and how this "invented tradition"⁴⁷¹ overlapped and interacted with other competing narratives over common sites and objects of interpretation, I will explore three specific moments in which the vizier staged encounters with the past. I shall begin with Ali Pasha's attempt to place himself at the end of a long line of classical heroes by constructing his own palace on the site of the Monument of Augustus at Nikopolis, the city founded by the Roman emperor to commemorate the Battle of Actium. Ali Pasha thus sought to establish a direct

⁴⁷⁰ The term was coined by the French scholar Pierre Nora in his three volume series *Les lieux de mémoire*, published between 1984 and 1992.

⁴⁷¹ See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially Prys Morgan, "From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period," 43-100.

link between Augustus's victory over Antony and Cleopatra and the governor's own routing of Napoléon's troops amid the ruins of the ancient site. I then demonstrate that Ali Pasha also made explicit claims about his own direct descent from King Pyrrhus, the great Hellenistic ruler of Epirus, most notably in a Greek inscription that the governor commissioned to be placed above the city gates in Ioannina. This claim was not isolated to public texts, however, but also found purchase in contemporary folk songs celebrating the life of the governor, lending crucial insights into local—both Muslim and Christian alike—perceptions of heritage. Last, I will examine Ali Pasha's involvement with archaeological excavations, focusing on an enterprising initiative at Nikopolis (with Peter Brøndsted at the same time being pressed into the service of the vizier), and reflect on how these activities were tied to Ali Pasha's large-scale development projects in the nearby port city of Preveza.

In all of these examples, Ali Pasha's engagements with the past foreground the importance of "locality." In other words, the success of these interventions depends entirely upon the specificity of the sites in which they are staged, from the walls of Ioannina to the stones of Nikopolis. This approach stands in stark contrast to that of the vizier's European contemporaries. Although Western Europeans traveling in the region frequently remark upon matters of ancient geography in their accounts, reading the topography of the landscape through the lens of ancient authors in order to re-discover the locations of ancient sites,⁴⁷² their ultimate goal was to discover and extract the

⁴⁷² See especially Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, and Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania [...] during the Years 1809 and 1810*. Both of these travelers would eventually become members of the Royal Geographical Society, founded in 1830. As a diplomat and lieutenant-colonel in the British military, Leake's official correspondence, today found in the National Archive in London, provide a more "behind-

choicest selection of carved marbles to fill the museums in their native countries. These statues formed the material evidence of the artistic and moral genius of classical antiquity, which, in the European worldview, served in turn as the foundation of Western Civilization. Thus, such sculptures were perceived to be more at home in the galleries of an imperial museum rather in their sites of origin. Diverging from this more universal-colonialist⁴⁷³ perception of the past, Ali Pasha's method for embedding his own legacy into the landscape relies on re-establishing conscious links with (local) ancient rulers.

Ali Pasha's approach to antiquity also takes a long view of history that transcends the political reality of the Ottoman state. That is, this emphasis on cultivating spaces of local memory does not contribute to a broader vision of empire, which, however "flexible,"⁴⁷⁴ works to consolidate far-flung territories under a single political order. Interestingly, the claims to global sovereignty made by Sultan Mehmed II and Süleyman I, who both famously styled themselves as the new Alexander and Caesar of Rome,⁴⁷⁵ eventually gave way in the eighteenth century to what could be considered another brand of localism in the capital, with royal mosques in the "Ottoman Baroque" style looking

the-scenes" view of the contemporary political machinations behind Leake's visits to the region. Meanwhile, his published account falls more in line with the genre of a genteel gentleman's travel narrative, its stated purpose being "ancient history and geography [...] the opinions on those subjects were generally formed upon the spot, on a careful examination of the ancient testimonies, by means of portable editions of the works": I, vi.

⁴⁷³ Bruce Trigger, "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist," *Man* 19, no. 3 (Sep., 1984), 360-361.

⁴⁷⁴ Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limits on the Ottoman Frontier," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 15-31.

⁴⁷⁵ Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 249; and "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (September 1989), 411.

specifically to nearby Byzantine monuments.⁴⁷⁶ Back in Epirus, historians both now as well as during the time of Ali Pasha may consider the Ottoman conquest as the beginning of a new era in the region, a “limit event” that bifurcates history into two periods. Yet the view of history as presented in these various case studies presents a longer and continuous narrative, one that downplays the significance of the Ottoman arrival in Epirus.

Ali Pasha as Antiquarian

For the purposes of this project, I am employing a broad definition of antiquarianism, a term that I use to describe any society’s awareness and revival of the past.⁴⁷⁷ This more generous interpretation allows us to escape the strict confines of antiquarianism as a cultural practice specific to Western Europe alone, beginning in Renaissance Italy and carrying on through the Enlightenment period until it is supplanted by modern archaeology in the nineteenth century. The particular notion of antiquarianism as early modern Europe wrangling with the past is difficult to escape. One could even say that it has become an entire sub-field in the discipline of intellectual history, characterized by a trend of revisionist scholarship that seeks to rescue (European) antiquarians from the label of misguided dabblers and restore them as the crucial

⁴⁷⁶ Ünver Rüstem, “Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2013), 281-287.

⁴⁷⁷ For this take on antiquarianism that is much broader than the traditional definition of collecting or trading in antiquities, see the recent volume Alain Schnapp, ed., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), especially Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Mesopotamian Antiquarianism from Sumer to Babylon,” 121.

precursor to modern cultural sciences.⁴⁷⁸ In this chapter, I seek to join recent efforts that expand on the traditional understanding of who antiquarians were and where they might be found, a “global antiquarianism” that looks from China to Latin America.⁴⁷⁹ In regards to the Mediterranean world, the role of foreign travelers and scholars dedicated to the study of ancient Greece and Rome has been well documented. Still, historians have largely overlooked how the local populations living in the Ottoman Empire interpreted and perceived the traces of the classical past found on their own doorstep. The case of Ali Pasha and his court in Epirus therefore offers a parallel discourse on Greek and Roman antiquity that has largely been ignored or even suppressed by modern scholarship.

Yet Ali Pasha’s antiquarianism, however local, is coming primarily from the perspective and resources of an elite ruling class that are a product of an increasing globalization of trade, education, and travel. There have recently been a handful of notable publications that propose to evaluate “indigenous” and “alternative” archaeologies in Rumelia and Anatolia during the Ottoman period.⁴⁸⁰ Yannis Hamilakis,

⁴⁷⁸ See, for example, Peter Miller, ed., *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Noah Herringman, *Sciences of Antiquity: Romantic Antiquarianism, Natural History, and Knowledge Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009); Arnaldo Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), 285-315.

⁴⁷⁹ Schnapp, ed., *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*; Stefanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837-1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 12-23; Peter N. Miller and François Louis, eds., *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500-1800* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012).

⁴⁸⁰ See the numerous publications by Yannis Hamilakis, “Decolonizing Greek Archaeology: Indigenous Archaeologies, Modernist Archaeology and the Post-Colonial Critique,” in *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece*, ed. by D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 273-284; and “Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece,” in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani et

one of the main proponents of this new scholarly initiative, defines indigenous archaeology as “local, vernacular discourses and practices involving things from another time.”⁴⁸¹ Although this description seems to be a wide enough umbrella to include Ali Pasha’s ideas on antiquity, it is clear that Hamilakis is primarily invested in examining how non-elite, local inhabitants coexisted with and interpreted the past. These non-elite interpretations of ancient ruins were embedded in the routines of daily life, and often took on a mystical or superstitious nature, with locals ascribing magical powers—and, thus, life itself—to figural sculpture. It is precisely this kind of ancient sculpture that was most prized by the Europeans seeking to visit the shores of ancient Greece. Any attempts by or on behalf of the Europeans to remove these kinds of statues were thus frequently met with strong resistance from the local population, making archaeological sites “not only contact zones in the colonial sense, but also conflict zones.”⁴⁸²

This historiographic emphasis on a dynamic of transgression and resistance makes an explicit distinction between the premodern archaeology of local inhabitants and the modern archaeology of European foreigners, setting up an oppositional relationship between “indigenous” and colonial, or, in this case, crypto-colonial, actors. The case study of Ali Pasha re-introduces back into this paradigm a third group of stakeholders who played an important and sometimes mediating role in these cross-cultural, trans-imperial exchanges: Ottoman provincial elites. While the European travelers who came to

al., 49-70. Also see Benjamin Anderson, “‘An alternative discourse’: Local interpreters of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 40, no. 4 (2015), 450-460.

⁴⁸¹ Hamilakis, “Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece,” 49.

⁴⁸² *Idem*, 51.

the Hellenic peninsula in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be considered a rather small group of men with relatively similar education and class background, the locals that they encountered could hardly be subsumed under a single language, class, or creed. Rather, the inhabitants of the area under question made up an entire social and political ecosystem that was distinctively Ottoman.

To say a few more words about this “ecosystem” and the administrative apparatus of the Ottoman provinces, we can note that, in the premodern period (which can be placed before the so-called *Tanzimat* modernization reforms beginning in the 1840s),⁴⁸³ these territories were governed by a small class of administrators (always Muslim), who in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were usually drawn from the area, but still appointed to their position by the central authorities. Besides these governors and their retinues consisting of scribes and military officers, one would also find in the Ottoman provinces, and especially in the Balkans, a class of elite notables including wealthy and educated merchants, mostly Christians who had spent some time working or studying abroad, the clergy (both Muslim and Christian) as well as the headmen of villages or neighborhood communities.⁴⁸⁴ Most of these notables were linked to networks of land ownership and tax-farming. The rest, and the majority, of the population consisted of the *re'aya*: the tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman Empire. When we speak about European encounters with the “indigenous” population in the Morea or Boeotia, therefore, we are principally referring to this last group, the (mostly Christian)

⁴⁸³ For a critical reappraisal of these reforms and a review of the relevant literature, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript,” *Die Welt des Islams* 34 (1994), 173-203.

⁴⁸⁴ Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 242-255; and Bruce McGowan, “The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812,” 637-758.

villagers who lived among or nearby the ruins of sites such as Delphi, Corinth, Mycenae, Bassae, Aegina, Olympia, etc., and who were primarily occupied with farming and shepherding, as well as the occasional stint as archaeological laborers.

It is important to delineate the social stratigraphy and hierarchies in operation within the Ottoman Empire during the earliest days of classical archaeology because Ali Pasha's prominent political position places him outside of a colonial-indigenous dynamic. Rather than being an antiquarianism "from below," Ali Pasha's approach to the past is more of a history from the side. To delve a bit further into the interplay between these alternative approaches to antiquity, let us return for a moment to Peter Brøndsted, who, after leaving the Morea, eventually found Ali Pasha residing at his palace in the port city of Preveza. In conversation about the nearby ruins at Nikopolis, Ali Pasha voiced his astonishment at how the "Franks, at the extremity of the world," were so "well acquainted with [his] countries, and [his] cities."⁴⁸⁵ In his later account, Brøndsted reports the vizier's comment with a degree of smugness, mentioning in an aside that he had become accustomed to locals expressing their amazement at his knowledge of the region—"a thing which often happens to us with the Turks."⁴⁸⁶ Yet, in what Brøndsted assumes to be a transparent expression of Ali Pasha's admiration, it is also possible to hear as well an edge of criticism, or, perhaps better, ambivalence.

⁴⁸⁵ Brøndsted, *Interviews*, 70. In using the term "Frank" (Φράγκου), Ali Pasha was referring generally to all visitors from Western Europe, a common linguistic convention of the time. In his text on the Apollo Temple, Frederick Cooper notes that the local Greeks referred to the European excavation party as "the Franks": Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*, 13.

⁴⁸⁶ Brøndsted, *Interviews*, 70.

By emphasizing just how far this “Frank” had trekked to visit his territory, Ali Pasha betrays his confusion about why a Western European would not only wish to travel back in time, but across space. That is, why would a European antiquarian spend a great deal of energy learning the history of a country that is not his own, and then leave behind all the security of his friends and family to seek out old ruins? By all accounts, Ali Pasha had a keen sense of humor, and he often teased the occasional European visitors who appeared at his court about the strangeness of their traveling so far and enduring great hardships—from sickness and shipwreck—for the chance to tour his region.⁴⁸⁷ The British architect and archaeologist Charles Cockerell, who coincidentally was also one of Brøndsted’s colleagues working at the Apollo Temple, relates that, at his own meeting with Ali Pasha in Ioannina, the governor asked his traveling companion if he had a family back in England, and, upon hearing that he was an only child, exclaimed that “it was a sin that he should leave his mother [...] Why did he not stay at home?”⁴⁸⁸

Ali Pasha’s combined fascination and incredulity about the “Franks” who came from “the extremity of the world” highlights the various cross-cultural encounters and exchanges that were taking place due to the “opening” of Greece to the West. More specifically, the governor’s ambivalent views on the Western European obsession with

⁴⁸⁷ Brøndsted and his colleagues, on their way from Rome in 1810, were shipwrecked on their way to Corfu, where they were then confined for a month due to illness: *Idem*, 15.

⁴⁸⁸ Cockerell, *Travels in southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817*, 240.

classical antiquity upsets the grand “Archaeologist as Hero”⁴⁸⁹ narrative of scientific exploration, making their ventures seem instead eccentric or strange.

What’s more, the view of Ali Pasha as thoroughly engaged in the exploration of antiquity challenges the commonly-held perception that, provincial Ottoman officials were at this time ambivalent at best to the traces of the classical past that had begun to attract the attention of European archaeologists and local Greek revolutionaries.⁴⁹⁰ In an essay tracing how Ottoman perceptions of antiquity changed throughout the nineteenth century, Edhem Eldem describes the early phase of Ottoman attitudes towards archaeology as one of “general indifference, resulting in an almost systematic compliance with western demands.”⁴⁹¹ Using two case studies—one in Istanbul, the other in Athens—where Lord Elgin interacted with authorities to secure permission to remove ancient sculpture from Ottoman lands, Eldem demonstrates that the elites in Istanbul freely accommodated such requests. In a fascinating document, an Ottoman imperial decree allows that “stones of this kind, decorated with figures, are not held in consideration among Muslims, but are appreciated by the Frankish states,” thus using

⁴⁸⁹ Neil Asher Silberman, “Promised lands and chosen peoples: the politics and poetics of archaeological narrative,” in *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*, ed. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University, 1995), 251-252.

⁴⁹⁰ In her account of French archaeological endeavors in the Near East, Nicole Chevalier writes that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, “Les milieu ottomans et arabes ne s’intéressèrent que beaucoup plus tardivement à la sauvegarde et à la découverte de ce patrimoine”: Nicole Chevalier, *Le recherché archéologique Française au Moyen-Orient, 1842-1947* (Paris: CultureFrance, 2006), 17. A similar accusation has been lobbed at the Muslim administrators in Egypt from around the same time: Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?: Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Oakland, CA: University of California, 2003), 29.

⁴⁹¹ Edhem Eldem, “From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869,” in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani et al., 282.

religion to rationalize what was essentially a diplomatic and commercial transaction.⁴⁹² A distinction must be made, however, between the highest levels of decision-making at the Ottoman Porte and what was going on in the provinces at Ali Pasha's court. While the vizier seems to have been equally open to working with European visitors to locate sculpture found in his territory, Ali Pasha—an Albanian Muslim—also endeavored to position himself as the rightful heir to the region's ancient past, through its sites, stories, and stones.

Ali Pasha's literal claims about his direct descent from ancient rulers suggests the existence of a local population who had persisted and succeeded in shepherding this great lineage into the contemporary era. Yet we must understand the formation of this narrative as an artifact of a historical moment in the early nineteenth century, shaped by certain socio-political contingencies, and with the participation of both local Christian elites as well as foreign European antiquarians. A similar constellation of provincial actors relying on both European intellectuals as well as indigenous peoples to serve as "acceptable bearers of historical wisdom" can be seen in the case of Creole elites governing Colonial Mexico.⁴⁹³ These cases on either side of the Atlantic suggest a meeting of the global and the local that is remarkably modern, and, at least for Ali Pasha, does not fall easily into categories of empire- or nation-building.

Ali Pasha met and interacted with foreign scholars who had committed themselves to the study of the classical past, and in turn exploited these travelers for their

⁴⁹² *Idem*, 293.

⁴⁹³ Peter Villela, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 2016), 13.

expertise on the subject. This transfer of knowledge, however, did not result in a desire on the part of the governor to implement a wholesale adoption of the archaeological discipline and its attendant practices of systematic collecting or museum exhibitions.⁴⁹⁴ Such activities did not prove to be useful in the on-going project of Ali Pasha's self-presentation as an effective administrator.

At the same time, there was also a growing interest in the ancient past among local Christian elites at Ali Pasha's court in Ioannina, proponents of the so-called "Greek Enlightenment."⁴⁹⁵ Several members of this elite had traveled abroad in their youth and were educated in intellectual centers such as Venice and Vienna, and had brought back with them the conviction that a well-rounded individual should be versed in the work of ancient authors. While participating in a Europe-wide phenomenon, these individuals were also aware that they were in some way specially positioned to receive the ancient myths and texts, as they hailed from lands within the geographic domains of ancient Greece and Rome. These very same men were also important fixtures in the court of Ali Pasha, primarily serving as secretaries, translators and physicians. When visiting Ioannina in 1813, Thomas Hughes was brought to the home of a Christian gentleman who was an officer in Ali Pasha's retinue:

⁴⁹⁴ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), especially 124-27. This was interestingly not the case in other parts of the empire around the same time; Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt issued a decree in 1835 that, because "foreigners are destroying ancient edifices," there should be a repository or depot established in Cairo for the protection and display of (Pharaonic) antiquities. This proposal ultimately never got off the ground: Gaston Wiet, *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts: Centenaire de Mohammed Ali* (Cairo: Dar al-Maaref, ca. 1949), 28; quoted in Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 21.

⁴⁹⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2013), especially 43 and 302.

He was richly dressed and wore a fine brilliant in a ring upon his finger, which had been given him by his sovereign [i.e. Ali Pasha]. At this house we met a Greek who had just arrived from the country of ancient Pthiotis, and who boasted of his descent from the celebrated Achilles. He had much better reason to boast of his proficiency in Hellenic literature, for he was the best Homeric scholar I met with in Greece.⁴⁹⁶

Many scholars have understood the Greek Enlightenment primarily as an incubator for the ideals of the revolution that would follow. Yet it would also be fruitful to consider these elites as important collaborators or mediators in Ali Pasha's court, who provided the intellectual context in which the governor formulated his own claims to power.

Ali Pasha's brand of antiquarianism can, then, be defined as one that consists of a synthesis of both the familiarity of local interpreters as well as the more studied estrangement of outsiders. Thus, while the governor may not have fully appreciated the personal motivations of an antiquarian like Brøndsted, he still understood that change was in the air, and that he could utilize knowledge gleaned from these Western travelers to promote himself to the cultural milieu in his own region.

Monuments of Victory

The history of Epirus is full of ancient heroes, ripe for appropriation. The earliest example of Ali Pasha's own attempts to reckon with antiquity was in Nikopolis, where the governor constructed a palace to mark the place that he had defeated Napoleon in battle. The precise location of this site is significant because it seems that Ali Pasha's domicile-cum-memorial was intentionally situated directly above the spot where, almost

⁴⁹⁶ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 502.

two millennia beforehand, the Roman emperor Augustus had built his own monument to commemorate his triumph at the Battle of Actium.

As mentioned above, the city of Nikopolis was founded by Octavian (later Augustus) to celebrate his victory over Antony and Cleopatra in a great naval battle that took place off the shores of the Actium peninsula in 31 BCE. Several years after the conflict, the emperor ordered that a large monumental complex—the Tropaion—be built as part of the new city to serve as an official victory memorial (Fig. 164, building no. 28 on the map). The monument's particular geographic position on the top of a hill overlooking the city to the north (now referred to as Michalitsi) was supposed to correspond with the location where Octavian had established his own camp to watch the battle take place in the gulf below.⁴⁹⁷

The results from recent excavations indicate that the Tropaion complex consisted of a two-terraced platform oriented south, facing towards the town, “in a scale that far surpassed the more modest victorial monuments set up in the Forum Romanum in Rome” (Fig. 165).⁴⁹⁸ Perhaps the most notable feature of this structure is the facade of the lower terrace, which displayed 36 bronze warship rams (*rostra*) that had been captured from enemy ships. These war spoils were accompanied by a long marble dedicatory inscription that attributed the great victory to the gods Mars and Neptune. On the upper terrace was a

⁴⁹⁷ Konstantinos Zachos, “The tropaeum of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003), 65.

⁴⁹⁸ Jacob Isager, “Visitors to Nicopolis in the reigns of Augustus and Ali Pacha,” in *Nicopolis B: Proceedings of the Second International Nicopolis Symposium (11-15 September 2002)*, ed. Nikos Karabelas, Michael Stork, and Konstantinos L. Zachos, 2 Volumes (Preveza, Greece: Actia Nikopolis Foundation, 2007), I, 30.

u-shaped stoa with a dedicatory altar decorated with elaborate friezes depicting both a triumphal procession as well as military spoils (armor, rostra, standards, etc.).⁴⁹⁹

In the ninth century CE, the city of Nikopolis, including the Actium monument, had been almost completely abandoned. The site was eclipsed by the rising star of Preveza, a port city situated further south directly on the isthmus to the Gulf of Arta (Fig. 166). A town that only came into its own in the early modern period, Preveza continues to be the main urban center in the region today. By the early nineteenth century, therefore, Nikopolis had become a large-scale ruin, given over to agricultural development. At that point, it could best be described as a farming village on the main road between Ioannina and Preveza.

The positioning of Nikopolis at a choke point that connected the Preveza peninsula with the rest of Epirus made it the natural place for staging another important military incursion. Again, in 1798, upon the collapse of the Venetian Republic, Napoleon's forces entered and occupied the formerly Venetian-controlled areas on the mainland, including Preveza. As a result, war broke out between the French and the Ottoman Empire. This was finally Ali Pasha's opportunity to invade Preveza, which had thus far been off-limits to the governor's control.⁵⁰⁰ In order to reach Preveza, his troops coming from the north were forced to face the French redoubts and trenches thrown up on the site of Nikopolis (Fig. 167). On October 23, 1798, thousands of Ali Pasha's

⁴⁹⁹ Konstantinos Zachos, "Excavations at the Actian Tropaeum at Nikopolis," in *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece*, ed. Jacob Isager (Aarhus, The Netherlands: Aarhus University, 2001), 30.

⁵⁰⁰ This awkward arrangement where four mainland dependencies (Preveza, Vonitsa, Butrinto, and Parga) remained under Venetian control in an otherwise Ottoman territory was one of the terms of the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718.

soldiers succeeded in completely overwhelming the combined forces of the French and local insurgents, who were only about 600 in number.⁵⁰¹ The subsequent entry and massacre perpetrated by Ali Pasha's troops the next day in the port town remains a notorious event in Greek historiography, known as the "Destruction of Preveza."⁵⁰²

What was the significance of Nikopolis as an archaeological site to local inhabitants in Ali Pasha's day? In the early modern period, the people living in this region seemed to have been fully aware that the ruins visible on the surface—which were still quite substantial—indicated the presence of what was once a large ancient city. The seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, for example, relates in his characteristically hyperbolic style that “nowhere, in no places, has a fortified city been built on such a scale,” and that a Roman emperor had once brought a thousand ships to the place.⁵⁰³ The latter comment may betray some kind of sustained regional memory of the Battle of Actium, especially considering that Evliya often based his claims on stories he heard from the local inhabitants in a given area. Yet, it remains highly unlikely that Ali Pasha knew specifically about the Monument to Augustus when he first planned his offensive against the French. Recent archival research indicates that the French forces staged their defensive line primarily in anticipation that Ali Pasha's troops would descend down into the plain from the top of the Michalitsi Hill, which was originally along the

⁵⁰¹ Curlin, “«Remember the Moment when Previsa fell»: The 1798 Battle of Nicopolis and Preveza,” 1, 269.

⁵⁰² “Ο Χαλασμός της Πρέβεζας”: Anastasios Papastavros, *Ali Pasas apo listarchos igemonas*, 2 Volumes (Apeirotan, 2013), I, 103-129.

⁵⁰³ As quoted in Ergolavos, *Evliya Tselebi, Taxidi stin Ipeiro*, 36.

main land route from Preveza to Ioannina.⁵⁰⁴ The connection about Michalitsi also serving as the site of the Augustan Tropaeion seems to have only been discovered after the battle with the French took place.

Thus, Ali Pasha's original strategic decision to place himself at the summit of the Michalitsi Hill later became an opportunity to draw a connection between the governor's victory and the triumph of Augustus at Actium, one of the most famous military battles in ancient Rome. When Ali Pasha was in conversation with Brøndsted about Nikopolis, he relates that he had already learned about the ancient history of Nikopolis from another English traveler, and this is most likely a reference to William Martin Leake, who visited the site in 1805, about seven years after the Battle at Nikopolis.⁵⁰⁵ Contemporary archaeologists credit Leake with the modern discovery of the Augustan monument.⁵⁰⁶ At that moment, the site itself seems to have been completely covered up with the earth of terrace farming, so the only clues about the whereabouts of the monument could be found in topographic information provided by ancient authors. By reading classical texts such as Strabo and Suetonius, Leake identified the hill of Michalitsi north of the city as the most probable site for the Actium memorial.⁵⁰⁷ In a plan of the ancient site that Leake included in the publication of his travel account, the Michalitsi Hill at the top of the map is labeled in parentheses as "T. of Apollo" (Fig. 168). This is a reference to the fact that it

⁵⁰⁴ Curlin, "«Remember the Moment when Previsa fell»,” I, 270.

⁵⁰⁵ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 180.

⁵⁰⁶ Zachos, "The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis," 66.

⁵⁰⁷ The most commonly read ancient sources for the Monument to Augustus seem to be the poet Propertius (poem 16 BCE), Suetonius (2nd century CE biography of Augustus), Plutarch (Antony, 65.3), Cassius Dio and Strabo: Isager, "Visitors to Nicopolis," 31.

was supposed to be Apollo who assisted Augustus in his victory at Actium, and thus the deity honored at the Tropaion monument.⁵⁰⁸

Unfortunately, we are not privy to the precise exchanges that occurred between Leake and Ali Pasha regarding Nikopolis, but the evidence we do have indicates that the Englishman must at some point have explained the historical significance of this particular site to the governor, or to one of his associates. Putting two and two together, Ali Pasha then arranged to have his own construction mark the place where two ambitious leaders, separated by almost two millennia, both observed their fate unfold in the land and sea below.

The single most important source for Ali Pasha's project on the Michalitsi Hill and its significance to the vizier is the travel account of Thomas Smart Hughes. By the time that Hughes made his own visit to Nikopolis in 1813, eight years after Leake, it seems that, in the intervening time, Ali Pasha had built his own edifice at Michalitsi. Hughes reports that "behind the theatre, upon one of the highest peaks of the northern range of hills, stands a small serai belonging to the vizir." He then confirms that this palace had been

Built upon the spot where [Ali Pasha] fixed his tent to observe the battle of Nicopolis, when his eldest son Mouchtar Pasha routed the French and Prevesans at the head of his Albanian cavalry. The same spot is assigned by many intelligent travellers to the tent of Augustus before the battle of Actium: there he built an hypaethral edifice to Apollo, surrounded it with a stone enclosure, and dedicated the naval spoils, as well as two bronze statues of a man and an ass from an incident which, according to Plutarch, befell him just before the engagement.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁸ *Idem*, 31-32.

⁵⁰⁹ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily*, I, 420. Plutarch relates a strange story about Octavian encountering the propitiously named peasant Eutychos (Fortune) and his ass Nikon (Victory) before the Battle of Actium, which he took as a good omen for the upcoming skirmish.

Besides this textual description, which places Ali Pasha's palace on one of the upper ridges of the hill north of the theater, an accompanying plan of the site prepared by Hughes indicates that Ali Pasha placed the house in the vicinity of the Augustan monument (Fig. 169, building no. 8 on the map). From an archaeological perspective, it is entirely probable that the palace would have stood directly above the ancient site, as the foundations of the Actium memorial were cut into the very side of the hill, and, once covered over with earth, would have created a convenient, flat platform upon which Ali Pasha could build (Fig. 170).

The dynamics of local memory and academic scholarship remain fluid, and do not progress in a continuous line. Knowledge about this site seems to have been repeatedly remembered and then just as soon forgotten, only to be rediscovered again. In the early nineteenth century, Leake and Hughes had developed a reasonable hypothesis that the hill at Michalitsi must correspond to the location of the Actian Tropaeum as described in antique sources. Yet it seems that, by the early twentieth century, this identification of the site had once again been lost. In a preliminary report of the most recent archaeological excavations of the Augustan monument at Nikopolis, Konstantinos Zachos relates that the site was only first traced and excavated in 1913 by Alexandros Philadelphus, who interpreted his finds as the remains of an unidentified Corinthian-style temple.⁵¹⁰ Unfortunately, none of these modern excavation records mention the presence of an early modern building—i.e. Ali Pasha's residence—above or near the ruins. In my own fieldwork, I was unable to detect any significant remains of an Ottoman-era domestic

⁵¹⁰ Zachos, "Excavations at the Actian Tropaeum at Nikopolis," 29.

structure in the immediate zone around the Actium Monument, which is today fenced off as an archaeological site. It is my suspicion that shortly after Ali Pasha's death in 1822 the residence would have fallen into disuse, and whatever was left disappeared during WWII, when Italian soldiers reportedly employed local inhabitants to gather and break stone blocks found on the Michalitsi Hill in order to construct guard-houses.⁵¹¹

One visual representation of Ali Pasha's palace in Nikopolis comes down to us from the hand of William Haygarth, in a collection of large-sized sketches today located in the collection of the Gennadius Library in Athens (Fig. 171).⁵¹² This view of the ruins of Nikopolis is dated August 1810 in the upper left corner, and was no doubt executed during the artist's five-month journey to the region from 1810-11. Haygarth's rapid brush-strokes in a sepia wash lend an immediacy to the image; it seems likely that this sketch was produced on site. In the painting itself, the landscape is neatly divided into three perspectival sections, lending the effect of a theatrical set. We stand among the ruins of the ancient city, looking north. In the foreground is a half-fallen arch and brick wall probably from what is now known as the Northern Thermae (no. 24 in Fig. 164), with the remains of the stadium (no. 26) and theater (no. 27) standing just beyond in the plain. Way up on the summit of the hill rising in the distance, Haygarth has depicted a large rectangular structure with a pitched roof and set of windows or an open porch facing the site. As discussed in Chapter 1, this configuration corresponds with the general character of large-scale Ottoman residential architecture, as seen in Ali Pasha's numerous

⁵¹¹ Idem.

⁵¹² Another view by Haygarth from the same series of sketches has been used by Nikos Karabelas to identify and discuss Ali Pasha's *saray* in his article "O Anglos theologos Thomas S. Hughes stin Preveza kai ti Nikopoli," 91-92.

palaces in Ioannina, Preveza, Arta, etc. Based on the textual description of Hughes as well as the building's position in the topography as presented by Haygarth, this must be the *saray* of Ali Pasha, which was built directly above the Tropaion.

Haygarth's sketch allows us to appreciate what must have been one of the most important aspects of this construction, and that is its prominent visibility from the plain of Nikopolis. In a set of registers from the State Ottoman Archives in Istanbul that list in detail the entirety of Ali Pasha's landed property, this palace is recorded under the entry for the governor's "Michalitsi" farmstead and is described as a residence accompanied by an orchard.⁵¹³ Although this structure could certainly be considered quite modest ("*bir bab konak*") when compared to Ali Pasha's urban palatial complexes, it is clear from Haygarth's painting that this *saray*, by virtue of its positioning "on the high ground," still commanded a dominating presence over the site of Nikopolis, as must have also been the case for the Monument of Augustus when it was constructed almost two thousand years before that.

It is impossible to say today to what extent the local population would have been aware of the deeper connection between Ali Pasha and a great Roman ruler that this structure represented. We do have other examples where propaganda about the governor was conveyed in a decidedly elite format (like epigraphy) but the overall content of the message trickled down to a wider popular audience through oral transmission. At any rate, this palace was positioned in the middle of a hotly-contested landscape, within which international borders had been drawn and re-drawn in the preceding fifteen years.

⁵¹³ BOA, Istanbul, MAD d.9767 (29 Şevval 1241 AH/ 6 June 1826 CE), 17.

It is probably not a coincidence that this residence was constructed sometime between 1805 and 1810, in other words, shortly before or after the end of the Septinsular Republic and its administration over Preveza in 1807. This palace would have fallen about three kilometers behind the border of the independent territory governed from Preveza. It is doubtless that this structure reminded everyone who passed by of Ali Pasha's decisive victory over Napoleon in 1798, which the governor felt entitled him to the direct control of Preveza.⁵¹⁴ This kind of "antagonistic siting" has precedent in Ali Pasha's patronage; in 1801, the governor also constructed a fortified residence on the coast in a place called Mitika, sitting almost directly on the newly established border between Ottoman territory and independent Preveza, apparently for the express purpose of inciting panic in the port city.⁵¹⁵ Thus, Ali Pasha's residence on the Michalitsi Hill functioned as a beacon, inscribing the topography with a permanent trace of a significant but ultimately fleeting event. And, at least in the mind of the governor, and perhaps among the local inhabitants who heard the story, this *saray* also cemented the profound connection between Ali Pasha and Augustus across time—a coincidence so uncanny, it could only be explained by the force of destiny.

The Mirror of Pyrrhus

⁵¹⁴ National Archives, London. FO 78/53, John P. Morier to Charles James Fox, Ioannina (April 27, 1806).

⁵¹⁵ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, 189; Letter from Muhtar Pasha to Ali Pasha, Arta (June 27, 1801), Panagiotopoulos et al., ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 82, 142-145. For a discussion and illustration of this border territory, see James Curlin and Nikos Karabelas, "Adi 31 Agosto 1797: A Dispute in the Venetian-Ottoman Border of Preveza," in *Proceedings of the 10th National Cartographic Conference (Ioannina 2008)* (Thessaloniki: 2010), 111-140.

The governor also made explicit claims about a shared kinship between himself and ancient heroes through the commissioning of public inscriptions and poetic works, which frequently refer to Ali Pasha as the new Pyrrhus. A great Hellenistic-era general and statesman, Pyrrhus (318-272 BCE) consolidated a number of tribal regions in ancient Epirus and brought them under the “Epirote Alliance.”⁵¹⁶ This Greek king frequently challenged and bested the early leaders of Rome, but at the considerable cost of his own men, which is why he is best remembered today with the phrase “a Pyrrhic victory.”

Perhaps the most notable example of Ali Pasha invoking the name of this local ancient ruler is a Greek inscription that once appeared over one of the entrances to the old walled city of Ioannina (See Fig. 12). This marble plaque, virtually unknown to the wider scholarship on Ottoman epigraphy, is today on display at the city’s Byzantine Museum. It commemorates the completion of Ali Pasha’s renovation and reconstruction of Ioannina’s walls in 1815—a major infrastructure project that, as seen in Chapter 2, employed over a thousand laborers and masons.⁵¹⁷ The text itself consists of twenty lines of demotic Greek verse, organized into ten rhyming couplets, or distichs, with the second line of each couplet set off by an indentation on the left. The top left corner of the inscription has now been lost, obscuring our ability to comprehend the meaning of the first six lines in their entirety. It is, nevertheless, clear that this text does much more than simply record Ali

⁵¹⁶ Plutarch, *Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony, Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1920), 357-59; Hammond, *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus*, 568-569; Pierre Lévêque, “The Reign of Pyrrhos,” in *Epirus: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*, ed. M.B. Sakellariou (Athens: Demetrius and Egle Botzaris Foundation, 1997), 74-75.

⁵¹⁷ Register of masons working at the ‘Kastro’ of Ioannina, Ioannina (September 19, 1801), Panagiotopoulos et al., ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 102, 184-187.

Pasha's building efforts. Rather, it works to situate this action within an imagined longer history of Ioannina's walls. The fragmentary text that remains indicates that the inscription begins with the initial construction of the city in ancient times, and then goes on to highlight the ineptitude of later rulers when the fortification walls inevitably required maintenance and repair:

- (7) In order to renew and rise up
- (8) [...] to recover the walls again
- (9) As the former despots (i.e. bishops) pled
- (10) And always asked for renovation,
- (11) And though when many centuries passed,
- (12) And with them many rulers and sovereigns,
- (13) None could take up the burden
- (14) And prove themselves as a benefactor to this country
- (15) And, despite all the many years that passed,
- (16) Failed to lay down a single stone.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁸ (1) [...] Ο(ΣΤ) ΝΕΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΒΙΑΣ
(2) [...] ΕΣΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΦΩΤΙΑΣ
(3) [...] ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΖΗΤΟΥΣΕ
(4) [...] ΠΟΤΕ ΔΕΝ ΗΜΠΟΡΟΥ(Σ)Ε
(5) [...] ΟΣΑ ΤΟΥ ΗΤΑΝ ΧΡΕΙΑ
(6) [...] ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΥΘΥΣ Ν' ΑΝΑΨΗ ΤΗΝ ΦΟΤΙΑ
(7) ΠΟΥ ΔΙΑ Ν' ΑΝΑΙΩΘΗ ΕΤΙ ΝΑ ΑΝΑΖΗΣΗ
(8) ΤΑ [...] ΩΜΕΝ(Α) ΤΕΙΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΝΑ ΑΝΑΚΤΗΣΗ
(9) ΟΠΩΣ ΕΤ... ΠΡΩΗΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΟΥΣΑΝ
(10) ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΑΝΑΚΑΙΝΙΣΜΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥΣΑΝ
(11) ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΠΟΥ ΑΠΕΡΑΣΑΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ ΑΙΩΝΕΣ
(12) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΕΞΗΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΤΑΤΟΙ ΥΠΑΤΟΙ Κ' ΗΓΕΜΩΝΕΣ
(13) ΚΑΝΕΝΑΣ ΔΕΝ ΗΜΠΟΡΕΣΕ ΝΑ ΛΑΒΗ ΤΗΝ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΔΑ
(14) ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΝΑ ΔΕΙΧΘΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ
(15) ΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΕΥΣΙΝ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ
(16) ΗΜΠΟΡΕΣΑΝ ΝΑ ΒΑΛΛΩΣΙ ΚΑΝΕΝΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ ΜΟΝΟΝ
(17) Ο ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ Δ(Ε) ΑΛΗ ΠΑΣΙΑΣ ΒΕΖΥΡΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ
(18) ΠΕΡΙΦΙΜΟΣ ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΟΥ ΠΥΡΟΥ
(19) ΩΣ ΑΛΛΟ ΠΥΡ ΘΑΥΜΑ[ΣΤ]ΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΙΝΕΙ
(20) ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΩΡΑΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΙΝΕΙ
(21) ΑΩΙΕ

The English translation is my own. A transcription of this text has been published in Soulis, "Tourkikai Epigrafai Ioanninon," 92-93; and *To Kastro ton Ioanninon* (Ioannina: 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, 2009), 47. The transcription included here has been adapted from the 2009 volume, which I consider to be the much more reliable of the two.

Having thus justified the urgent need for a restoration—and modernization—of the city walls, the text continues:

- (17) Until the most powerful Ali Pasha, the vizier of Epirus
- (18) The renowned descendant of Pyrrhus the marvelous
- (19) As another wondrous flame, he brings this [city] back to life
- (20) And restores it, as beautiful as ever.
- (21) 1815

This inscription proposes a teleological view on the succession of rulers and civilizations that have ruled over the region, as Ali Pasha is presented as the necessary antidote to centuries of neglect, or decline. The claim that Ali Pasha—a Muslim and an Ottoman administrator—is the best thing that has happened to Ioannina since antiquity stands as a fascinating counter-position to the conceit of the Ottoman Turk enslaving the oppressed Hellas that was being touted around the same time by Greek revolutionaries and phil-Hellenes alike. What we see here is an assertion of regional identity that cannot be accommodated by our current understanding of the emergence of nationalism in the Balkans.

In the inscription, Ali Pasha and Pyrrhus are connected via their analogous legacies as strongmen rulers in the region, united by their duty to serve a shared homeland, which can be translated here as “country” (*patrida*, Line 14), or “fatherland.” The text even goes further to assert a clear genealogical kinship between the two heroes of Epirus. That is, along with his Ottoman administrative title (*veziris*, Line 17), Ali Pasha is designated as the progeny, “the descendant” (*apogonos*, Line 18), of Pyrrhus.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁹ Conversely, the word that is most often used to describe a successor to a position or title is *o epigonos* (ο επίγονος).

Ali Pasha's connection with Pyrrhus is further reinforced with the description of the vizier as "another wondrous flame" (Line 19). The term used for the word "flame" is not the commonly used "fotia," which also appears in this inscription on line 2. Rather, the author of this text employs the rarer synonym, "pir," creating a sophisticated pun on the name of Pyrrhus (Pirou), which occurs at the end of the preceding line. Thus, Ali Pasha is another flame, another Pyrrhus, who, through his cleansing abilities, tears down the older city fabric only to construct it again.

The linguistic sophistication of the Greek verse found in the public inscription points to an author well-educated in more advanced literary circles, who inevitably must have been among the Greek-speaking intellectuals in Ali Pasha's court. A key locus where we can observe the education of this Ioannina "literati"—and, measure the distribution of knowledge about the ancient past—are the various Greek schools in Ioannina. Under Ali Pasha's tenure there were no less than three academies for the local Christian population: the Kaplaneios, Balanos and Maroutsia schools. There seems to have been a good deal of internal rivalry among these "cultural representatives" over the curriculum of these different schools in Ioannina.⁵²⁰ While more conservative factions at the Balanos and Maroutsia schools represented the tradition of religious humanism first embraced by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, proponents of the new enlightenment movement such as Athanasios Psalidas (1767-1829) and his followers at the Kaplaneios school advocated for the inclusion of subjects like world history, geography, ethics and experimental physics

⁵²⁰ Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*, 43 and 302.

alongside the more conventional program of grammar, logic, rhetoric and metaphysics.

What would have been the role of ancient history in these schools? William Haygarth

reports on the curriculum of Psalidas:

There are schools in Ioannina for instruction in the ancient Greek, and with the master of one of them, Athanas Psalidas, I was well acquainted. He was certainly the most learned man I met in Greece, well skilled in the ancient language of his country, and master of Latin, Italian, French, German and Russ. According to the information which he gave me, the cultivation of literature is making considerable advances amongst the modern Greeks. At his own school he taught Thucydides, Xenophon, Theophrastus, and Homer. Psalidas had published a metaphysical and theological work, entitled *Αληθής Ενδαιμονλια*. He has also made a collection of songs and canzonets in the Romaic language entitled *Ερωτος αποτελέσματα*. He is likewise a geographer, and is about to publish a map of Albania. Milesius, a writer held in great estimation by his countrymen, author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and of a large work on ancient and modern geography, is a native of Ioannina.⁵²¹

It seems, therefore, that Psalidas was not only engaged in historical time as part of a broader, more abstract concept of the classical past, but also sought to apply this knowledge to the space around him.

Even though this inscription was originally displayed prominently on the city walls as a public text, the esoteric style of the language would arguably have made it accessible only to the select educated elite in Ioannina. Some would even argue that the contents of this inscription would have even been beyond the comprehension of Ali Pasha himself, who was possibly illiterate. In his account, John Hobhouse had this to say about the vizier: “Like Justin and Theodoric, the contemporary lords of the Eastern and Western Empires, has raised himself to his present power, without perhaps knowing any

⁵²¹ Haygarth, *Greece, A Poem, in Three Parts*, 128.

letters of any alphabet. He is doubtless a great man; but without saying or knowing that he is the worthy successor of Pyrrhus.”⁵²²

If the inscription above the Ioannina gates is not evidence enough that Ali Pasha was capable of creating a cultural climate where such analogies would be possible, a quick review of some other accounts of travelers who met and conversed with Ali Pasha reveals that the governor was fully aware of Pyrrhus and his significance to the region. Moreover, Ali Pasha was apparently in the habit of claiming descent from the ancient king to just about anyone who would listen. Leake writes:

It must be admitted the success with which Aly has indulged his ambition in Greece and Albania, not only in defiance of the Porte, but hitherto with a constant increase of influence over the Supreme Government, is a proof of skill, foresight, and constancy of purpose, in which few statesmen or monarchs have ever excelled him [...] He sometimes compares himself to Burros, because Pyrrhus was his predecessor in Epirus, and possibly because Pyrrhus is the only great man of antiquity he ever heard of except Alexander.⁵²³

When Thomas Hughes came to Ioannina, he was invited to a raucous dinner party including the governor and some of his retinue, including the archbishop of Ioannina, the two primates of the city (επιτροπή), serving as leaders of the local Christian communities; a Muslim notable visiting from Istanbul; and the previously mentioned Athanasios Psalidas. When it came time to offer toasts, “Ali gave the health of the Prince Regent, and the Royal Family of Britain; in return for which we drank to the prosperity of his house and dynasty, and to the immortal memory of Pyrrhus, his heroic *ancestor*.”⁵²⁴

⁵²² Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania [...] during the Years 1809 and 1810*, 113.

⁵²³ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, IV, 223.

⁵²⁴ Emphasis in the original text. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, II, 53.

Yet, the question still lingers if Ali Pasha's claims to be the new Pyrrhus ever found their way beyond the walls of the *saray*. My research has uncovered evidence for a popular tradition that also celebrates Ali Pasha and his connections with antiquity, primarily in the form of local Greek folk songs. Due to the more fluid nature of oral tradition, it is often difficult to determine when a particular song was first composed and gained popularity.⁵²⁵ An important exception to this caveat is the "Ballad of Ali Pasha" ("Fillada tou Alipasa"), published by the French Hellenist Émile Legrand. It chronicles Ali Pasha's dramatic last stand and mourns his ultimate execution at the hands of the sultan's men.⁵²⁶ Although Legrand published this song in 1886, he relates in his preface to the text that he first transcribed the poem in Athens in 1875 as dictated by an old man named Jean (Ioannis) Pagounis. This individual had been a baker in Ioannina and remembered the song from his youth, a fact that could easily place this song shortly after Ali Pasha's death in 1822. Pagounis was apparently illiterate and could recite the some 650-line poem from memory "without hesitation."⁵²⁷ The opening invocation of the poem itself wishes that Ali Pasha's soul find God's mercy (*rahmet*), a conventional

⁵²⁵ What's more, ethnographers only really began to record or write down the majority of these songs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—as part of a wider nationalist impulse to discover a "modern" Greek identity: Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London: Longman, 1997), 316-17.

⁵²⁶ Émile Legrand, *Complainte d'Ali de Tébélen, Pacha de Janina: Poème historique en dialecte épirote* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886). The full title of this song is given as "Φυλλάδα του Αλήπασα όποιος νά τήν διαβάση νά εύφρανθη είς τά θαύματά του τά όσα είχεν κάμη και νά του δώδη πολύ ραχμέτι" ("The Ballad of Ali Pasha, whoever reads it may they rejoice at the marvelous things he performed and [pray] that [his soul] receive mercy").

⁵²⁷ *Idem*, 8. Legrand further notes that a second copy of the song was recited for him again in 1875 in Istanbul by a Greek working in the Hôtel du Luxembourg. As to be expected from oral tradition, the different versions of the ballad are quite similar, but not identical. In his publication, Legrand offers an edited edition of the song incorporating both versions and noting when each manuscript varies from the other.

Islamic prayer for the dead. This feature indicates that the original composer was probably a Muslim originating from the Epirus region. This attribution serves as a stark reminder that the genre of Greek folk songs cannot be assumed to be the singular domain of Christians living in the Ottoman Balkans, but rather reflects a local tradition shared by multiple confessions living side by side.

As can be expected, the slain vizier is hailed in the opening lines of the “Ballad of Ali Pasha” in evocative terms:

- (5) The renowned Ali Pasha, the hero of Epirus,
- (6) The awesome and terrible, the imitator of Pyrrhus.⁵²⁸

It is significant that at the very beginning of this epic poem, Ali Pasha is first and foremost designated as a formidable warrior from the region of Epirus, comparable to the ancient king Pyrrhus. The author never invokes Ali Pasha’s official Ottoman titlature (*vizir*, *mutasarrif*, etc.), but rather, if anything, describes the governor in oppositional terms against the imperial government. The specific word used here to describe Ali Pasha's relationship with Pyrrhus—“*o mimitis*,” translated here as “imitator”—again raises themes of regeneration and genealogy. As the “*mimitis*” (literally, “the one who performs mimesis”) of Pyrrhus, Ali Pasha is presented as the contemporary embodiment of the foregone hero of Epirus. If we understand the pre-modern conception of a mirror as offering a modified reflection, captured famously by the biblical phrase “through a glass,

⁵²⁸ (5) Ο ξάϊουστος ό Αλήπασας, ό ήρως της Ηπειρού
(6) Ο τρομερός και φοβερός, ό μιμητής του Πύρρου.

Idem, 13.

darkly,⁵²⁹ we could more accurately propose that Ali Pasha was remembered in popular song as the mirror of Pyrrhus.

The format and title of the “Ballad of Ali Pasha” (“Φυλλάδα του Αλήπασα”) also draws an interesting parallel with another hero of antiquity, Alexander the Great. As early as the fifth century CE, the “Alexander Romance,” an epic poem recounting the life and miraculous feats of the Hellenistic king, became a favorite of Byzantine intellectuals and over the centuries underwent numerous revisions and adaptations.⁵³⁰ In the Ottoman period, the work experienced a revival when a modern Greek version in prose appeared, most commonly dubbed as the “Ballad of Alexander the Great” (“Φυλλάδα του Μεγαλέξανδρου”). Its first known publication appeared in Venice in 1680.⁵³¹ The tale continued to be published into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the material constantly being re-organized to accommodate stories of Alexander as a popular folk hero.⁵³² This abundance in stories about the life of Alexander would have been well known in Epirus during the time of Ali Pasha. One example that comes down to us today is a printed version published in Venice in 1804, crediting Panos Theodosios from Ioannina as the editor of the text.⁵³³ It is no wonder that Leake claims the only other “great man of antiquity” whom Ali Pasha had heard of was Alexander. The epic

⁵²⁹ 1 Corinthians 13:12.

⁵³⁰ George Galavaris, “Alexander the Great Conqueror and Captive of his Death: His Various Images in Byzantine Art,” *Canadian Art Review* 16, no. 1 (1989), 12.

⁵³¹ *Idem.*

⁵³² See Charalabos Minaoglos, *O Megaleksandros stin Tourkokratia* (Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Press, 2012); and Loukas Akselos, ed., *H Fillada tou Meg' Aleksandrou i Istoría tou Megalou Aleksandrou tou Makedonow Bios, Polemoi kai Thanatos Autou, Istoriki Eisagogi* (Athens: Stochastis, 1999).

⁵³³ Panos Theodosios, *Διήγησις Αλεξάνδρου του Μακεδόνοσ* (Venice: Enetisi, 1804).

treatment of Ali Pasha's resistance to the sultan as well as his tragic fall thus found good company among an already established tradition of popular legends that were being widely circulated throughout the region.

While it is interesting that a popular folk song celebrating Ali Pasha echoes similar tales of heroes like Alexander the Great, it is perhaps not so surprising or unusual. After all, by the early modern period, versions of the Alexander Romance had found an impressively wide geographic audience, spanning from the French court to Mughal India.⁵³⁴ More germane to the question of how Ali Pasha cultivated links to the ancient past are the governor's frequent references to Pyrrhus. As Pyrrhus inherited ancient Epirus and expanded its territory to include regions that now comprise parts of modern Greece and Albania, today he is lionized as an ancestral hero in both of these nation states. In Ioannina, the local airport is named after Pyrrhus, and a statue of the king unveiled in 2009 stands in a small park located in the heart of the modern city, only a few hundred meters from where Ali Pasha's inscription commemorating the construction of the walls was once displayed (Fig. 172). The plaque that accompanies this modern statue hails Pyrrhus as the "symbol of Epirus." A similar equestrian statue in Arta and the 2013 exhibition at the Ioannina Archaeological Museum, "Pyrrhus: King of Epirus, the Mediterranean, and the Universe," rounds out the contention that there is a local contemporary effort in Greek Epirus to revive public consciousness of the ancient king.

Meanwhile in Albania, Pyrrhus is touted in history museums as one of the great kings of Ilyria, the ancient tribe that Albanians claim ethnic descent. In the Skenderbeg

⁵³⁴ Daniel L. Snelden, "Mapping the Alexander Romance," in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, ed. Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson and Ian Netton (Groningen: Barkhus Press, 2012), 19-20.

Museum in Krujë, a bust of Pyrrhus, which is directly based on an ancient portrait of the king now at the Archaeological Museum in Naples, appears next to a bust of Queen Teuta, another important queen from the days of ancient Ilyria (Fig. 173). This tableau is tied together semantically with a quotation from Skenderbeg, another local hero, placed on the wall above: “If our chronicles are trustworthy, we are named Epirotes, and you must have known that in past days our forefathers crossed your land that you own now; they had great battles with the Romans, and as we know most of the time they retreated with honor, not with shame.” With this quotation, Skenderbeg was supposedly addressing the Ottoman forces, vowing to thwart their efforts to bring him to heel by reminding them of his ancestor Pyrrhus’s ability to check the advances of the early kings of Rome.

Ali Pasha’s claims to Pyrrhus are therefore temporally framed by twentieth-century nationalist ideologies on the one hand, and the boasts of Skenderbeg in the fifteenth century on the other. While the inscription commissioned to be placed above the walls of Ioannina was a unique product of Ali Pasha’s domains as well as his power base and court, it is equally important to note that in Ioannina these references to antiquity, and, more specifically, King Pyrrhus, extended beyond these more elite groups and pervaded popular imagination.

Excavating Nikopolis to Build Preveza Anew: Archaeology and Spolia

Ali Pasha also engaged the ancient past through the commissioning of excavations within his territory. The governor most likely first awoke to the potential of digging for ancient sculpture by following the activity of his son, Veli Pasha. While serving as governor of the Morea (1807-1812), Veli became quite active in his own

archaeological excavations at Mycenae and Argos, and ended up being a financial backer and stakeholder in the expedition to the Temple of Apollo at Bassae.⁵³⁵

The vizier would have his own chance to search for ancient sculpture when Peter Brøndsted finally did make his way to Preveza after the excavations at Bassae. During their first audience, the vizier invited Brøndsted to join a short “scientific excursion”⁵³⁶ that he was organizing to some ruins located just outside the city. These ruins were of course the remains of Nikopolis. The significance of Nikopolis as a historical site must have intrigued Brøndsted, but, after almost seven years of constant travel, he would have preferred to depart immediately from the Ottoman lands and press on for home. Despite these demurrals, Ali Pasha proved to be quite persuasive on the matter, and in the end Brøndsted reluctantly agreed to the proposal.

Several days later, the archaeologist found himself being frog-marched out to the site with the pasha, who rode in his richly adorned carriage accompanied by a hundred guards. Having reached the extensive ruins of the ancient city, Ali Pasha made himself comfortable in the small house of a farmer that had been refitted for the occasion with cushions and long nargileh pipes. The governor then asked Brøndsted first to relate everything that he knew about the ancient city. Once Brøndsted had finished rehearsing the history of Nikopolis, Ali Pasha nodded and replied that “he had already been acquainted with every thing [Brøndsted] had just stated; and had merely questioned [him]

⁵³⁵ I explore Veli Pasha’s excavations in the Morea in a forthcoming essay: “Rivaling Elgin: Ottoman Governors and Archaeological Agency in the Morea,” in *Antiquarianisms: Contact, Conflict, and Comparison*, ed. Benjamin Anderson and Felipe Rojas (Oxford: Oxbow Books).

⁵³⁶ Brøndsted, *Interviews*, 68.

on the subject, to compare [his] account with that which an Englishman had given [Ali Pasha], some time before.”⁵³⁷

With that, the governor invited Brøndsted to take a walk with him among the ruins so that the antiquarian could “show him something handsome.”⁵³⁸ Stopping at the ancient hippodrome, a ruin that even today holds a commanding presence on the site, Ali Pasha assured Brøndsted that he would soon have the inner space of the stadium smoothed so that his Albanian soldiers could practice their races and military exercises, “as in former days.”⁵³⁹ After an examination of the city's theater and an imperial palace complex, Ali Pasha reminded the young antiquarian of their ultimate purpose for their outing: archaeological excavations. Brøndsted insisted that any digging in Nikopolis would not produce any satisfactory results in terms of discovering ancient sculpture, as the city was known to have been plundered already by Constantine, but nevertheless offered to show the governor a temple within the old walls of the city that might yield some architectural fragments, if excavated carefully. Ali Pasha eagerly agreed, and they set off to summon the local workers.

As the twenty-odd men labored to clear away the earth under two niches on the longer side of the temple, where they might find statues that had toppled over from their base, Brøndsted remarked to Ali Pasha that they were wasting their time because the workers, armed with only shovels and axes, did not have the suitable equipment for

⁵³⁷ Idem, 70.

⁵³⁸ Idem. “Νά μου δείξης ευμορφόν τι.” Brøndsted’s account proves to be a valuable source because the young antiquarian spoke demotic Greek and seems to have communicated directly with Ali Pasha. He often provides in his text the original phrases in Greek that the governor used in conversation with him.

⁵³⁹ Idem, 71.

proper digging. Having just completed his own search for sculpture at Bassae, Brøndsted knew that, in order to move large blocks of stone, the local laborers would need to have the necessary implements, such as iron levers and ropes, to clear away debris and locate the marble sculptures they all so eagerly sought. Ali Pasha immediately ordered his headmen to bring all the tools from Preveza the following day, and construct a shed to hold the equipment as well as “the things we [were] going to find.”⁵⁴⁰ After a few hours of work, the team had not found any statues, but had extracted three fine marble slabs, probably part of the temple's ancient pavement, which Ali Pasha had placed “with the greatest care upon a sort of rolling/sedan-chair (*chaise roulante*) and covered with straw, to be conveyed to Prevesa.”⁵⁴¹ At the end of the work day, Ali Pasha rose from his perch where he had observed the laborers, paid the villagers for their trouble, and alit to his carriage to return to his palace in Preveza, with his ancient “spoils” in tow.

There is no doubt that Ali Pasha put the wealth of marbles at his disposal to use as tokens of diplomatic good will between himself and the European guests at his court. During his own visit to Nikopolis, John Hobhouse notes that he saw some pieces of ancient sculpture, but that a lot of stones had been taken to Preveza for the various new constructions, and some other pieces had been set aside as a gift for the “English Resident” living in Ioannina, no doubt referring to the consul William Leake.⁵⁴² And, when excavations at Nikopolis yielded choice pieces of sculpture, the pasha would often display them in his palaces; the traveler Thomas Hughes remarks: “Since our departure

⁵⁴⁰ *Idem*, 73.

⁵⁴¹ *Idem*.

⁵⁴² Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania [...] during the Years 1809 and 1810*, 33.

from Epirus I understand that [Ali Pasha's] excavators have discovered a very fine bust of Trajan which now decorates one of the principal rooms in the Prevesan seraglio."⁵⁴³ Yet, as Hobhouse explains, it is also likely that the marble slabs extracted by Brøndsted would have been utilized in one of the vizier's new building projects in Preveza. Thus, any discussion of Ali Pasha's archaeological activities inevitably turns to the problem of spolia.

A term that first appeared in the fifteenth century to define goods or property seized by violent force, "spolia" was appropriated by art historians in the early twentieth century to describe the specific phenomenon of architectural sculpture or building materials being used outside of the context of their original creation.⁵⁴⁴ Despite the wide currency that spolia is now enjoying as a theoretical tool—especially in concert with postmodern concerns like appropriation and assemblage—the question of architectural re-use continues to arise especially within the context of the post-classical Mediterranean. This is to account for the fact that, well before the advent of modern concepts such as archaeological preservation and cultural heritage, which advocate for the total conservation of sites deemed to be of historic value, the primary way that medieval and early modern societies encountered the remains of classical antiquity was the despoiling of ruins for construction materials.

It is therefore not terribly surprising that several of the buildings commissioned by Ali Pasha—particularly palaces, mosques and city walls—incorporate stone blocks and

⁵⁴³ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 416.

⁵⁴⁴ Dale Kinney, "The Concept of Spolia," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 240.

sculpture taken from nearby ancient sites. This is most evident in Preveza, where most of the buildings constructed by the vizier re-use spolia from the nearby ruins of Nikopolis. It can even be said that Ali Pasha's masons treated Nikopolis as a large open-air storeroom for building materials, ferrying blocks of stone to Preveza by the cartloads. Because Nikopolis was a common stop on the itinerary of the Western European travelers that were increasingly making their way through the region at this time, we have several additional first-hand accounts of this despoliation process as it was underway. Hughes further reports that in the acropolis of the ancient city "there is one spot, where the agents of the pasha had been making excavations, upon which some superb temple must once have stood: the numerous marble shafts and pieces of entablature that are discovered, are all carried off to be worked up in his forts and serai at Prevesa."⁵⁴⁵ We need not entirely rely on Western travelers to document Ali Pasha's spoliation practices; an order from Tahir Abazi, Ali Pasha's representative in Preveza, requests the headman of a nearby village to send men to operate the large carts that will "carry stones from Ai Petros for the works in Preveza."⁵⁴⁶ According to slightly earlier Venetian maps for the Preveza region, Agios Petros was the contemporary name for the site of Nikopolis.

Meanwhile, the end results of this mass spoliation effort can still be observed today in the walls of Preveza itself. Several of the buildings or infrastructure projects commissioned by Ali Pasha in the city bear architectural fragments brought from Nikopolis, to the point that modern archaeologists are often able to identify the specific

⁵⁴⁵ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, I, 416.

⁵⁴⁶ Letter from Tahir Abazi to Ali Aga Koutsi, Preveza (April 1, 1818), Panagiotopoulos et al., ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, III, no. 1069, 84-86.

ancient monument from which certain stones were taken. For example, the entire perimeter of the sea walls of the Pantocrator Fortress, completed in 1815, include in its lowest courses large slabs of masonry that stand in stark contrast from the smaller, rougher-cut limestone blocks that make up the upper registers of the wall (Fig. 174). Besides this variegation in the overall appearance of a structure, the other clear giveaway that building materials are being re-used and not freshly quarried is the irregular shapes of individual pieces, with blocks being cut down and fit together in a kind of jig-saw pattern to make up a uniform height in the building courses. Although this re-cutting of blocks makes it more difficult to determine the exact source from which Nikopolis workers were taking their stone, clues get left behind. On the northwest façade of the Pantocrator's seawall, archaeologists have noted two slabs that have had deep channels carved into them, most likely for the conveyance of water. These slabs correspond to other blocks found at the Roman bath-nymphaeum complex during twentieth-century excavations at Nikopolis (Fig. 175).⁵⁴⁷

This same nymphaeum complex, which was transformed into a basilica in the early Christian period, seems to have been a wealthy source of stones for Ali Pasha's buildings. Visiting Nikopolis around 1812, Henry Holland noted that, at the place he identified as a "bath-church" monument, "many of these channeled marbles, as well as the fragments of marble columns, have been taken away by the orders of Ali Pasha, and applied to different purposes in the construction of his Seraglio at Preveza."⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Athina Konstantaki, "I poli tis Prevezas kai I Nikopoli apo ta teli tou 11ou eos tis arches tou 20ou ai.," in *Preveza B*, ed. Nikos Karabelas and Michael Stork (Preveza: 2010), 10.

⁵⁴⁸ Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c.*, 73.

Unfortunately Ali Pasha's palace on the point of the peninsula no longer stands, the ruins having been completely demolished in the 1960s to make way for a WWII memorial and public park. Several of the large stones used for landscaping in this park, which I believe to be the last remains of Ali Pasha's palace on the point, are cut in an irregular fashion similar to the blocks found at the Pantocrator, suggesting that these stones may also have been brought from Nikopolis (See Fig. 43). In his diary from his travels with Lord Byron, John Hobhouse wrote that he saw at Preveza "within the walls of the palace, which is also a kind of fort, [...] the masons cutting up antiques from Nicopolis for the building of some paltry house – but yet the Turks seem aware of the value of these curiosities."⁵⁴⁹

This quip cuts to the heart of scholarly discussions about spolia, which essentially strive to understand the extent to which we can ascribe meaning to the re-use of building materials. The term "spolia" itself, if we consider it in its original context of armor or booty displayed as trophies of war—a common theme seen on the triumphal arches of ancient Rome, or, for that matter, the Tropaion in Nikopolis—implies a patron's intent to convey the idea of conquest through architecture. With the recycling of building materials being ubiquitous in all periods throughout the Mediterranean, it seems far-fetched to interpret every instance of re-use as an index to ideological victory. Yet even efforts to reduce re-use to strict terms of economic pragmatism (sometimes, a column is

⁵⁴⁹ John Hobhouse, *Diary: Greece and Albania*, ed. Peter Cochran (1809), 49, Viewed April 30, 2016, <<https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/04-greece2.pdf>>.

just a column)⁵⁵⁰ ring hollow when considered from the perspective of emerging methodologies, such as energetics.⁵⁵¹

There is no doubt that one of the primary reasons Ali Pasha's buildings in Preveza use ancient material is simply because of the geographic proximity of Nikopolis. In other words, it was easier to cart stone blocks from Nikopolis than to freshly quarry and cut new limestone masonry. The walls of Ioannina, which do not appear to have used significant amounts of ancient material, seem to have been built from small limestone blocks brought from quarries located directly south-west of the city.⁵⁵² Even if we understand the large-scale spoliation of this site as a practical measure, however, there is still something to be said about the clear preference for ancient materials when they are available, perhaps for reasons of aesthetics as well as economic expediency. The wholesale transport of several tons of large building blocks over a distance of about seven kilometers remains a significant investment of time and money in the reconstruction of Preveza. Western European travelers claimed that Nikopolis was brought to its final state of ruin not over centuries, but in a matter of years at the hands of Ali Pasha: "Within these last twenty years [the site] has suffered greater dilapidation than it probably had

⁵⁵⁰ Michael Greenhalgh, "Spolia: A Definition in Ruins," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Press, 2011), 75-76.

⁵⁵¹ See Jordan Pickett, "Energetics and Economies of Construction in the Byzantine World," in *Byzantine Archaeology in Method and Theory*, ed. W. Caraher and K. Kourelis (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

⁵⁵² These quarries are indicated in the 1820 Barbié du Bocage map of Ioannina, today located in the Bibliothèque National.

done for many preceding ages, since the fortifications and other extensive works at Prevesa owe in great measure their existence to the demolition of Nicopolis.”⁵⁵³

Discussions about large-scale spoliation efforts are another matter entirely from the instances of *spolia* in which specific items are specially singled out by craftsmen and framed in visibly prominent locations. Our most obvious example is a sculptural panel once embedded to the left side of the main gate to Preveza’s inner fortress. As discussed in Chapter 2, this entrance was built around 1808 under the supervision of Bekir Ağa, Ali Pasha’s headman in the city.⁵⁵⁴ Because these inner walls were demolished in the 1930s as part of a campaign to urbanize the city’s quay, our only access to this monument are historic photographs (See Fig. 25). These images make it clear that this panel of three hexagonal-flower shapes inscribed by squares is none other than an ancient Roman ceiling coffer taken from one of the temples in Nikopolis—and today located at the site’s Archaeological Museum (Fig. 176). Once the panel was extracted from the gate of Preveza in the 1930s, it was revealed the reverse side of the panel is also decorated, featuring cross motifs carved in relief. This discovery indicates that this panel has not only been re-used once but twice, when the early Christians living in Nikopolis in the fifth or sixth century CE took the Roman roof tiles and re-purposed them as iconostasis screens in their basilicas.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily*, I, 422.

⁵⁵⁴ Nikolos Karabelas, “To Neo Kastro ‘sto Kyparissi.’ To simerino Kastro tou Agiou Andrea,” Paper presented in Preveza, May 12, 2012, 12.

⁵⁵⁵ This particular panel appears to have been re-used in what archaeologists working at Nikopolis now refer to as Basilica B.

The complex chronology for this single marble panel underlines the importance of understanding the circumstances of visibility and display when interpreting spolia. When the ceiling coffer was first adapted as part of an iconostasis, the Christian craftsmen seemed to be more interested in the panel's ideal shape for the railing of the screen, and not its elaborate vegetal and geometric decorations, which would have been hidden from the view of the congregation. Rather, the builders opted to carve new designs on the other side of the panel conveying the Christian imagery of the cross. This means that when the workmen sent by Ali Pasha decided to use this same panel for the gate in Preveza, they had a choice of displaying either the Roman or early Christian side, and in the end they opted for the geometric decoration. I am not arguing here that this panel is some kind of reflection of how early nineteenth-century craftsmen perceived their own identity vis-a-vis the pagan or Christian past (the workers were most likely Christian anyway), but I am rather stressing that people across time held different priorities and motivations in using spolia. As more work is being done on the reception of antiquity among local Ottoman populations, it is becoming more clear that exemplary pieces of ancient sculpture were prized and incorporated into public monuments for reasons of aesthetics as well as a popular belief that such objects held apotropaic powers. Yannis Hamilakis argues that, in this way, spolia can be proposed as a different mode of archaeology, which employs a materiality embodying "time as coexistence rather than succession... embedded in the fabric of social life."⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶ Hamilakis, "Indigenous Archaeologies," 61.

Ancient columns and capitals from Nikopolis were also prominently displayed at the mosque Ali Pasha constructed within the inner citadel of Preveza. Although only the foundation platform and fountain of the mosque complex survive today,⁵⁵⁷ early twentieth-century photographs of the building have allowed local historians to identify specific archaeological fragments today at the museum in Nikopolis incorporated into the external arcades of the mosque's porch (See Fig. 124).⁵⁵⁸ For example, an early fifth-sixth-century Byzantine capital, sporting two tiers of acanthus leaves and eagles, seems to have been located in the western arcade of the mosque (Fig. 177). When describing Ali Pasha's mosque in Preveza, the traveler Thomas Hughes makes special note of this object: "The building had been constructed with some degree of elegance; upon one of its pillars the figures of eagles are carved in high relief, instead of volutes, with basket-work between them and leafy ornaments below."⁵⁵⁹ At some point, the eagles on the capital lost their heads, which may have occurred when the capital was being transported from Nikopolis to Preveza, to make it suitable for a mosque context. This kind of adaptation of ancient sculpture to adhere to the mores of Islamic religious culture is frequently seen throughout the Mediterranean. Another foreign visitor from around the same time, however, complains about the mixture of fragments in the mosque at Preveza, finding the combination of different orders inappropriate:

The mosque is a curious specimen of taste in the way of architecture. It is surrounded by a colonnade, which is made up of fragments of ancient pillars in

⁵⁵⁷ The rest was demolished after sustaining heavy damage in a WWII air raid.

⁵⁵⁸ These photographs were first published by the director of the museum Fotios M. Petsas in an issue of *Archaialogiki Efimerida*: "Eidiseis ek tis 10is Archaialogikis Perifereias (Ipeirou)," 32-34.

⁵⁵⁹ Hughes, *Travels in Sicily*, I, 412.

every order: a capital of the Corinthian or Composite often crowning a plain Tuscan or Doric shaft. It was obviously necessary that they should all be of the same height to support the roof, accordingly this is the only point of uniformity in this odd assemblage, which might well be named the disorder of architecture. All the pillars are short, the longer fragments having been cut down to match the shorter. Some of them are beautifully fluted. In many the flutings run spirally round the shaft, which is far from being an improvement to the column: the perpendicular flutings give an idea of strength and stability, which this gothic conceit destroys altogether. There are a few rich capitals, but much mutilated, crowning these extraordinary stumps: so that of the building, one may say with Horace, “---ut, nec pes nec caput uni Reddatur formae...”⁵⁶⁰

In the architecture of Epirus, marble continued to be a sine qua non for conveying the status and taste of a patron. Marble columns were a particularly sought-after commodity, as the basilica-style architecture of both churches and mosques demanded solid supports for arcades and domes. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, marble had become rare. In the early modern period, the famous marble quarries of the Mediterranean had long dried up or gone out of use. Ali Pasha also seemed to go to great lengths to acquire marble. A document in the Ali Pasha Archive dated May 1804 confirms that the vizier had sent one of his ships to Istanbul for the express purpose of transporting marble back to Epirus.⁵⁶¹ Once Preveza came under the governor's direct control a few years later in 1807, workmen were sent out to the ruins of Nikopolis to hunt for the best selection of white stone that could be used to build the

⁵⁶⁰ Goodison, *A Historical and Topographical Essay Upon the Islands of Corfu, Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante*, 96. Another traveler arriving a few years later, James Wolfe, described the mosque colonnade as a site where “bases, shafts, and capitals of all orders afforded by the ruins of Nicopolis, are thrown together in whimsical confusion.” This quotation can be found in James Wolfe, “Observations on the Gulf of Arta, Made in 1830,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 3 (1833), 78.

⁵⁶¹ Letter from Theodoraki Saraili to Ali Pasha, Constantinople (May 10, 1804), Panagiotopoulos et al., ed., *Archeio Ali Pasa*, I, no. 229, 426-428.

numerous fortification and palatial complexes that were soon underway in Ali Pasha's new port city.

In the depot of the Archaeology Museum in Nikopolis, there is an inscription written in Ottoman Turkish, hitherto unknown, which celebrates the governor's building program at Preveza. It is most likely that the plaque was placed above one of the main gates of the city, similar to the inscription in Ioannina. The lines of the text read: "(1) So worthy of praise, abundant Preveza (2) Which Vizir Ali Pasa Tepedelenli built anew. (3) The Lord will be merciful to his ancestors. (4) The story of the vali of Yanya and Tirhala will be told from tongue to tongue."⁵⁶² The phrase "built anew" (*müceddeden bina etti*) could be considered although quite conventional as far as Ottoman epigraphy goes. Yet, given the context of Preveza and its relationship with the site of Nikopolis, it is possible as well to understand in this phrasing broader themes of regeneration, or rebirth, similar in the way that Ali Pasha brought new life to the walls of Ioannina. In the days of the vizier, one city gives its life so another can be reborn.

Hybrid Archaeologies

The assertion that Muslim societies possess an intrinsic aversion towards ancient civilizations, which, for example, has been most recently rehearsed in contemporary news coverage of ISIS, finds deep roots in earlier narratives about Europe's discovery of ancient Greece and the birth of classical archaeology. Despite some recent scholarly interventions, the view that the Ottomans were ambivalent to the ruins of antiquity

⁵⁶² The English translation is my own. My sincere thanks to Nicholas Karabelas, who brought this inscription to my attention and made photographs of the object available to me. Georgios Liakopoulos is preparing a forthcoming study that will be a full treatment of this inscription.

acquired in their lands especially remains persistent in academic literature, and is echoed in contemporary conflicts over the restitution of cultural artifacts between nation states. In 1812, precisely when Ali Pasha and Brøndsted visited Nikopolis, the final shipment of the Parthenon sculptures acquired by Lord Elgin arrived in London, ultimately headed to the galleries of the British Museum, where they can still be seen today. Indeed, the Elgin marbles remain a lightning rod in debates about cultural patrimony and the relevance of the encyclopedic museum in the post-modern age. On their website, the Trustees of the British Museum contend that “The Museum is a unique resource for the world,” and that “The Parthenon Sculptures are a vital element in this interconnected world collection. They are a part of the world’s shared heritage and transcend political boundaries.”⁵⁶³

Many scholars have already noted that contemporary invocations of the primacy of world heritage are, potentially, simply coded ways of re-affirming a much older conviction that Western powers are the most worthy stewards of antiquity, drawn in all of its forms from throughout the globe.⁵⁶⁴ What the case of Ali Pasha presents is an alternative view on antiquity, one that is not based on ethnicity, language or creed, but place, a common locality. This view could even be considered as an alternative proto-nationalist identity in the Balkans, an experiment that in the end never got off the ground.

⁵⁶³ “The Parthenon Sculptures: The Position of the Trustees of the British Museum,” Accessed March 23, 2015, http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/statements/parthenon_sculptures/trustees_statement.aspx.

⁵⁶⁴ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 1998), especially 240-44; Immanuel Wallerstein, *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power* (New York: The New Press, 2006); Sophia Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value* (AltaMira Press, 2013), 15.

This investigation of Ali Pasha and his relationship with the ancient past has been inspired by a recent movement in Ottoman studies in which scholars interrogate the notion that classical and Near Eastern archaeology was a European invention imposed on a latent Ottoman population. Such academic interventions, primarily focusing on the late nineteenth century, still must ultimately grapple with the Ottoman intellectual elites in Istanbul and their palpable anxiety about “catching up” with Western European nations. What is so fascinating about Ali Pasha’s interest in antiquities, almost a century earlier in the early 1800s, is the complete absence of this anxiety, and in fact a sense of ownership and entitlement to the material located within the territory that he controlled. It is clear that the reception for these various attempts to assert continuity between Ali Pasha’s administration and the ancient past was intended for the local population itself, and not government officials in Istanbul. Ali Pasha felt no obligation to make the interpretation of the past mutually comprehensible to both a local and foreign audience, as would be the burden of most modern nation states.⁵⁶⁵

Ali Pasha, while an example of a native, local interpretation of antiquity that stands counter-poised or parallel to other, better-known worldviews, cannot really be considered what Susan Schroeder has termed a “loser history” as proposed within a postcolonial framework.⁵⁶⁶ Rather, in regards to the classical past, the vizier exemplifies an Ottoman official who was fully in control of exploiting the political, monetary and

⁵⁶⁵ Neil Asher Silberman, “Promised lands and chosen peoples: the politics and poetics of archaeological narrative,” in *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*, ed. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University, 1995), 257; and Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade*, 243.

⁵⁶⁶ Susan Schroeder, “Introduction: The Genre of Conquest Studies,” in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, ed. Laura Matthew and Michel Oudijk (University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 9-13.

cultural capital that could be gained by forging his own connections with local ancient heroes, embodied in material fragments, and embedded in the earth itself.

Conclusion

In this study, I have aimed to provide a fuller understanding of the Age of Revolutions, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, by presenting one provincial power-holder's engagements with architecture and landscape. Tepedelenli Ali Pasha and the buildings that he commissioned could be considered liminal in many respects. From a geographic perspective, these structures were situated on the border between the powers of Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire, and were as much in dialog with the Adriatic as with the capital in Istanbul. In terms of chronology, Tepedelenli Ali Pasha's experimental and innovative approach to architectural patronage opens new paths for the study of imperial space during a turbulent period of transition, from the early modern to modern world. Throughout the Ottoman Empire, subaltern, or, perhaps better, sub-imperial, lines of spatial conception emerged in places such as Epirus, a flourishing multiplicity of architectural voices in the provinces.

In terms of his patronage practices, Ali Pasha focused on commissioning and appropriating a wide diversity of structures, with the result of completely transforming the physical composition of the region. Ali Pasha and the local building specialists he employed developed distinctive architectural typologies that served to announce the governor's dominion, a spatial strategy to usher in "the age of Ali Pasha." Besides concentrating on urban centers, the governor also invested in infrastructural networks of roads, waystations, and military installations both within his territory and along its borders. Drawing on imported building technology as well as on more local architectural traditions, the governor sought to consolidate a diverse population of different religious

and ethnic communities, with the Christian elites at his court increasingly cosmopolitan in their connections to a wider zone of trade and intellectual culture.

The government in Istanbul at first tacitly accepted and even encouraged Ali Pasha's efforts to bring together a number of micro-regions under a unifying political order defined by his aggressive expansion policies. This concession was part of a wider policy that delegated the administration of the empire to a number of "partners" who were savvy to the mores of local politics. Ali Pasha's increasing autonomy in terms of matters of governance was intrinsically tied to a profound shift in architectural patronage. The erection of public buildings that had once been almost the exclusive prerogative of the royal family and their courtiers—especially Friday mosques, fortifications, and governor's palaces—now fell to the responsibility of provincial power-holders. Ali Pasha's tendency in his architectural projects was to ignore established protocols for showing deference to the throne (such as including a tuğra in a building's foundation inscription) and, in fact, to treat the population under his administration more like his own subjects, rather than those of the sultan. The practice sufficiently aroused the ire of the center to bring about his eventual downfall.

I began this study with an examination of Ali Pasha's palaces; these served as the heart of the governor's peripatetic court. By constructing a series of urban palace complexes as well as a number of roadside waystations, Ali Pasha redefined the governor's palace from a single, isolated unit to a node existing within a wider and constantly activated network of architectural authority. These urban and sub-urban palaces also served as sites for the staging of Ali Pasha's power for local, state, and foreign actors through the assertion of the governor's panoptic gaze as well as for the

display of an impressive treasury of gifts and luxury items.

This review of Ali Pasha's urban interventions was followed by an investigation of the governor's development of coastal fortifications along the Ionian Sea. The macro-politics of the Eastern Question telescoped into a micro-level tussle over key disputed territories that were often only a question of a few square kilometers. With or without the knowledge of Istanbul, Ali Pasha built a series of fortresses along his coastline to antagonize the communities who had resisted his ambitions to expand his zone of power. To achieve this line, the governor employed both foreign and local building specialists who generated a military architecture that was impressive to behold. Whether it could survive a concerted military attack was not immediately apparent. Still, these same architects were responsible for re-building the walls of Ioannina and the heights of the fortified Litharitsa palace complex. Both complexes kept the sultan's troops at bay for almost two years, so it is difficult to predict in hindsight the full defensive capabilities of these structures.

Turning from matters of international diplomacy to more local politics, this study explored how Ali Pasha established an astonishingly wide array of religious complexes for the different communities living under his rule. First, the governor proved to be rather cavalier about enforcing the Islamic restrictions stipulating no new Christian constructions. Orthodox Christians continued to display a firm presence in the Ioannina townscape with new and renovated structures. He and his Christian wife Vasiliki even commissioned churches themselves, although these foundations were in rather removed locations. Second, in all of the most important cities of his territory, Ali Pasha constructed Friday mosques in prominent locations, all of them looking to the recently

renovated Fethiye Mosque in Ioannina as a model. Third, he also patronized a number of tekkes in the outskirts of these towns and their surrounding hinterlands, a whole typology of architecture that is now almost completely lost in Greece and Albania.

Finally, one aspect of provincial patronage seems to be unique to Ali Pasha: his interest in appropriating the ancient past. By highlighting the case of the governor's actions in Epirus, I have challenged the recent scholarship on the Ottoman elite's putatively passive stance on the empire's classical heritage. A true antiquarian, he aggrandized his image by laying claim to antiquity and, thus, configuring himself as the rightful heir to the history of the land he ruled. His use of spolia from the Roman site of Nikopolis as an act of "regeneration," and his valorization of Nikopolis by building his own villa there attests to Ali Pasha's position vis-à-vis Greco-Roman antiquities. The argument about Ali Pasha's claim to own antiquities is further strengthened by his assertion to be a descendant of Pyrrhus—as registered in Greek on a gate on the walls of Ioannina and commemorated in Greek folk songs.

Throughout this dissertation, an alternative narrative to the history of Ottoman architecture has emerged by examining a sub-imperial actor who challenged the established decorum of patronage. This study likewise offers historians a richer view of provincial power-holders, and their articulation of authority on the margins of empire. These provincial actors actively sought to shape the built environment and the wider physical landscape. Their role in this shaping of landscape much more effectively addresses the impact of a shift in political order within a local context than, say, diplomatic history, or a history that relies on texts alone. Archival sources such as Ali Pasha's chancery testify to the governor's social and political networks, but remain

limited for drawing a picture of Ali Pasha's broader vision of sovereignty. Multiple strands of evidence—both architectural and textual—have been used to weave the story of Ali Pasha and the people of Epirus. Through intensive archival as well as parallel field work, I have been able to bring together and analyze a large data set of both buildings and historical documents either unpublished or understudied by scholars. An act of architectural patronage, therefore, can be defined not merely as a sum total of a patron's buildings, but rather as a reflection of that patron's worldview as well as his ambitions, —a material biography that can then in turn go on to live a life of its own.

Haunted Landscapes

Back in 2012, the Prime Minister of Albania Sali Berisha decided to approach the Turkish Republic with a rather strange request. His mission: To win back the head of Ali Pasha.

As discussed in the introduction of this study, Ali Pasha ultimately met his end in 1822, after he was declared an enemy of the state and the sultan's forces had been sieging the governor's stronghold in Ioannina for about two years. Following the standards of the time, the head of the wayward vizier was taken back to Istanbul as proof of the Porte's ability to suppress such a rebellion.⁵⁶⁷ For a time, this prize was exhibited publicly in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, accompanied by a written decree listing all of the ex-governor's crimes against the imperial order. Eventually, the head of Ali Pasha was laid to rest alongside the remains of his sons and grandson in a cemetery beyond the

⁵⁶⁷ The messenger who carried Ali Pasha's head to Istanbul was compensated with a cash reward as well as a silk robe: BOA, Istanbul, C.DH 135/6709 (6 Rebiülahir 1232 AH/ 23 February 1817 CE).

city's land walls at Silivrikapı. The tombstone inscription, which can still be found in situ, reads in Ottoman Turkish: "Here lies the head of the famous Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, the former governor of the Yanya *sancak*, who distinguished himself in Albania with more than thirty years of transgression."⁵⁶⁸

Despite (or perhaps because of) his ignominious end, Ali Pasha has recently enjoyed a revival as a figure of popular history, especially among Albanians. Prime Minister Berisha himself praised the former Ottoman governor as "one of the most extraordinary personalities of the Albanian nation, a great politician, outstanding strategist, sterling diplomat, visionary statesman, brave general, who, as well as the Bushatlı family, practically established an independent Albanian state."⁵⁶⁹ With 2012 being the centennial year of the foundation of Albania, Berisha had thought of one way that Turkey, a friendly ally, could join the people of his country in celebrating their independence. During an official visit of the Turkish Defense Minister in Tirana, Berisha requested that Turkey exhume the head of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha so that it might be laid to rest in the land of his birth. In a way, the Prime Minister's proposal mimicked the Ottoman sultan's original demand for Ali Pasha's head, a contemporary attempt to reverse the sequence of actions that had first brought the governor's visage to Istanbul

⁵⁶⁸ "Otuz seneden mütecâviz/ Arnavutluk'ta teferrüd eden/ Yanyâ Sancağı Mutasarrıfı Sâbık/ Meşhur Tepedelenli Ali/ Paşa'nın Ser-i maktûudur": Süleyman Berk, *Zaman Aşan Taşlar (Zeytinburnu'nun Tarihi Taşları--Envanter)* (Istanbul: 2006), 303. Also see Robert Walsh, *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England* (Philadelphia: 1828), 63-66.

⁵⁶⁹ Sali Berisha, "Biografia e Ali Pashë Tepelenës, Berisha: Strateg i shquar dhe pararendës i Rilindjes," *NOA* (October 4, 2015): <http://www.noa.al/artikull/biografia-e-ali-pashe-tepelenes-berisha-strateg-i-shquar-dhe-pararendes-i-rilindjes/520224.html>, accessed 3 March 2016.

almost two hundred years prior.⁵⁷⁰

Ahmet Davutoğlu, at the time the Turkish Foreign Minister, denied Berisha's request outright. Although Davutoğlu did not make any comments to reporters about the rationale behind his decision, Berisha would later speculate that this was yet another attempt on behalf of the AK Parti to assert a neo-Ottomanist agenda: "the imperial wrath against [Ali Pasha] is not yet extinguished."⁵⁷¹ In an article about this dispute, the Turkish journalist Murat Bardakçı countered the Albanian claim to the head, arguing that Ali Pasha's great-grandfather was a Mevlevi dervish from Kütahya, a small town in what is now northwest Turkey, and for this reason the governor—supposedly referred to as "Anatolian Ali"—should remain in the purported country of his ancestry. Additionally, Bardakçı pointed out that the governor's body had actually been left behind and buried in Ioannina, a city that is now in modern Greece, thus exposing the fiction that bringing Ali Pasha's head to Albania would make him corporeally whole again.⁵⁷²

This back-and-forth between Albania and Turkey serves as a strange sidenote amid the increasingly depressing news cycle covering Eastern Europe and the Middle

⁵⁷⁰ The Prime Minister also requested the restitution of the remains of the famous Ottoman writer and lexicographer Şemsettin Sami: "Paşa'nın kellesini geri verin!" *Haberturk* (February 1, 2013), <http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/818790-pasanin-kellesini-geri-verin>, accessed March 15, 2016.

⁵⁷¹ "Përprekja qe bëmë për te sjelle kokën e Ali Pashë Tepelenës nga Stambolli ne 100 Vjetorin e Pavarësisë se Shqipërisë, dëshmoi se ne Turqi ende e mbajnë peng Vezirin e Janinës dhe se akoma nuk është shuar zemërimi imperial ndaj tij." See above: Berisha, "Biografia e Ali Pashë Tepelenës."

⁵⁷² Murat Bardakçı, "İşte, Arnavutlar'ın 'Bize verin' dedikleri Tepedelenli'nin bal torbasındaki kellesi," *Haberturk* (February 17, 2013): <http://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/murat-bardakci/820857-iste-arnavutlarin-bize-verin-dedikleri-tepedelenlinin-bal-torbasindaki-kellesi>, accessed March 16, 2016. When I myself visited Ioannina in Spring 2013 for fieldwork, officials from the local archaeological services, who are technically responsible for the maintenance of Ali Pasha's tomb, told me that it was the first they had heard of the matter of restituting his head, but, during our discussion, they did recall that Berisha's office had contacted them several months before about the precise situation regarding the mortal remains of the governor in Ioannina.

East. Still, this minor diplomatic scuffle over the bones of a renegade pasha also points to the unassailable fact that the history of the Ottoman Empire is alive and well in its former provinces, providing ample material for the enactment of political theater on an international stage. Ali Pasha in particular continues to maintain cultural and political relevance; he is still a household name in Albania, Greece, and Turkey.

This dissertation has set out to document how a provincial power-holder like Ali Pasha sought to secure his own legacy through the medium of architecture. Throughout this process, I have been interested in tracking how this legacy played out in the wake of the vizier's downfall, in the pages of history books, on the lips of Greek and Albanian folk singers, and of course within the built environment itself. I have come to understand the material under consideration here as haunted landscapes, inextricably tied to an individual who was eminently committed to the cultivation of his own personal mythology. The traveler Richard Burgess, who visited Epirus in 1834, only about a decade after the death of Ali Pasha, could not help but note that "At Yanina, every spot is connected with the name of Ali Pacha: his memory, like a haunting spirt, claims every thing for its own: if there is a house of a better appearance than the rest, he either began it, or planned it, or was the cause of its comparative splendour."⁵⁷³

Ali Pasha was himself responsible for commissioning a range of structures—especially palace complexes, fortifications, and mosques—that adhered to distinctive formal typologies and spatial configurations, establishing a recognizable brand or franchising of power throughout his territory. In the direct aftermath of the governor's

⁵⁷³ Burgess, *Greece and the Levant; or, Diary of a summer's excursion in 1834*, 63.

destruction, officials appointed by the central government in Istanbul consciously attempted to uncouple the memory of the vizier from the monuments themselves, thus deactivating this branding process in order to render these structures and spaces usable again for the service of empire. In the citadel of Ioannina, Ali Pasha's heterodox program of architectural epigraphy was replaced with tuğras and inscriptions in Ottoman Turkish praising the name of the sultan as a glorious victor. The palaces of the governor and his sons were demolished and replaced with army barracks and government offices.

In the subsequent age of nationalism in this region, issues of preservation and historical memory have become even more layered and contentious in regards to Ali Pasha's buildings. Just as the dismembered remains of the vizier now lie far flung across international borders, his architectural corpus is equally fragmented along political lines. In 2012, critics of Berisha asserted that the Albanian Prime Minister only made the request for Ali Pasha's head to garner nationalist votes in the upcoming election. One official who was particularly bitter about Berisha's gambit was Tërmet Peçi, the mayor of Tepelana, a town that takes great pride in being Ali Pasha's birthplace. Peçi wondered why, if the Prime Minister claimed to be so concerned about preserving the legacy of one of Albania's greatest sons, he cared nothing for the great architectural monuments that the governor had left behind "It has been more than 20 years since someone has invested in the fortress at Tepelena," the mayor is reported to have stated, "and [Berisha] speaks of bringing back a head. What about the castle [*kalaja*]? It is in a ruinous state, and we as a municipality do not have the funds to restore it. The eastern wall is at risk to collapse, and

this is not all.”⁵⁷⁴

With the monuments constructed by Ali Pasha in various states of risk or ruin in both Greece and Albania, this dissertation has made use of the material record at hand, triangulating between foreign, state, and local archival sources, in order to reconstruct architectural and spatial environments that have been greatly altered or lost entirely. Rather than rely on these archives of buildings and documents as a sobering corrective to Ali Pasha’s sensational and dramatic biography, however, I have been more interested in considering how the vizier’s building program, which was forged first and foremost by the governor himself, worked to substantiate and perpetuate the myth of Ali Pasha.

Future Directions

A logical extension of this project would be an examination of Ali Pasha’s efforts to shape or mark the wider landscape beyond the strict confines of architectural monuments. For example, I am currently undertaking a project that employs geospatial systems to map Ali Pasha’s extensive agricultural holdings (*çiftlik*). Besides serving as governor to a large swath of territory, Ali Pasha, in his time, was one of the biggest landowners in the Ottoman Empire, and thus, the single major economic stakeholder in the southern Balkans.⁵⁷⁵ As early as 1912, the Greek scholar Andreas Andreades recognized that, in order to construct the rich architecture and considerable public works

⁵⁷⁴ “Kthimi i kokës së Ali Pashës? Berisha do bënte mire të jepte fonde për kalanë, pasi po rrezohet.” *Gazeta Tema* (December 26, 2012): <http://www.gazetatema.net/web/2012/12/26/kthimi-i-kokes-se-ali-pashes-berisha-do-bente-mire-te-jepte-fonde-per-kalane-pasi-po-rrezohet/>, accessed March 19, 2016.

⁵⁷⁵ Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, 54-55; Hamiyet Sezer, “Tepedelenli Ali Pasha’nın Çiftlikleri üzerine bir Araştırma,” *Bellekten-Türk Tarih Kurumu* 62, no. 233 (April 1998), 75-76; and Dennis Skiotis, “From Bandit to Pasha,” 221.

projects around Epirus, Ali Pasha accumulated a level of wealth that could “haunt the imagination.”⁵⁷⁶ By employing GIS to visualize Ali Pasha’s çiftlik holdings, I seek to substantiate this claim of Ali Pasha as a leading land holder. This kind of mapping project, which utilizes abundant yet previously unmapped archival evidence, offers Ottoman studies new and unexpected opportunities for the analysis of landscape. Reconstructing Ali Pasha’s agro-economic regime in its spatial dimensions not only allows for a detailed depiction of provincial administrative hierarchies, but also for a snapshot of local people’s experience and understanding of the region in which they lived. An additional and corollary facet of a broader investigation of infrastructure would be a more thorough documentation and mapping of the road systems, roadside architecture (*menzil, han*), and checkpoint stations in the mountain passes (*derbend*), which Ali Pasha continuously developed and maintained throughout his tenure of governor.

This project aims to facilitate future investigations of architectural patronage in the Ottoman provinces. In order to gain a more complete picture of the nature of “ayan architecture,” a detailed examination of Ali Pasha’s building efforts would need to be complemented by other case studies on the patronage of his near contemporaries such as Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt, the Çapanoğlu family in central Anatolia, Osman Pasvantoğlu in Bulgaria, and so on.⁵⁷⁷ Presently, Ali Pasha stands as the most prolific provincial governor in the empire in terms of architectural patronage, but with more

⁵⁷⁶ “Ali...amasser des richesses dont le montant hantait les imaginations:” Andreas Andreades, “Ali Pacha de Tébélin, économiste et financier,” *Revue des Études Grecques* 25 (1912), 429.

⁵⁷⁷ As an initial gesture towards this goal, I am currently preparing a study on the varying modes of epigraphic inscriptions deployed by different ayan patrons throughout the empire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

research and as more archival documentation comes to light, other figures may yet emerge as equally, if not more, important.

This study also has the potential to open up an even wider view beyond the Ottoman Empire to a comparative study of provincial patronage across the globe during the Age of Revolutions. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the rise of a new class of local figures who secured government positions through military clout and lucrative land investments was a phenomenon not only in Ottoman lands, but also in other imperial spaces such as those of the Russian Empire, Japan, India, and the Holy Roman Empire. Thus, Ali Pasha and his realm, although a product of the specific political forces shaping the Ottoman lands at the turn of the eighteenth century, may also reflect a larger global moment when the demands of empire were giving way to a series of more local, circumscribed theaters of fortune and triumph.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6

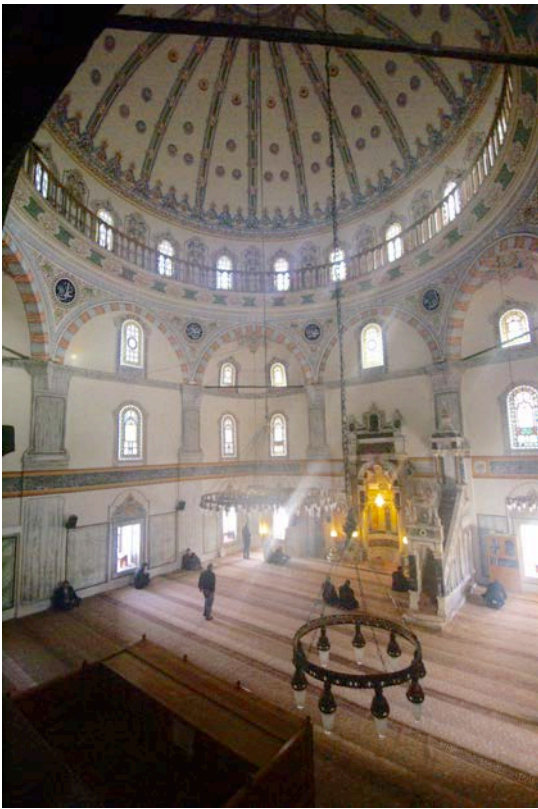


Figure 7

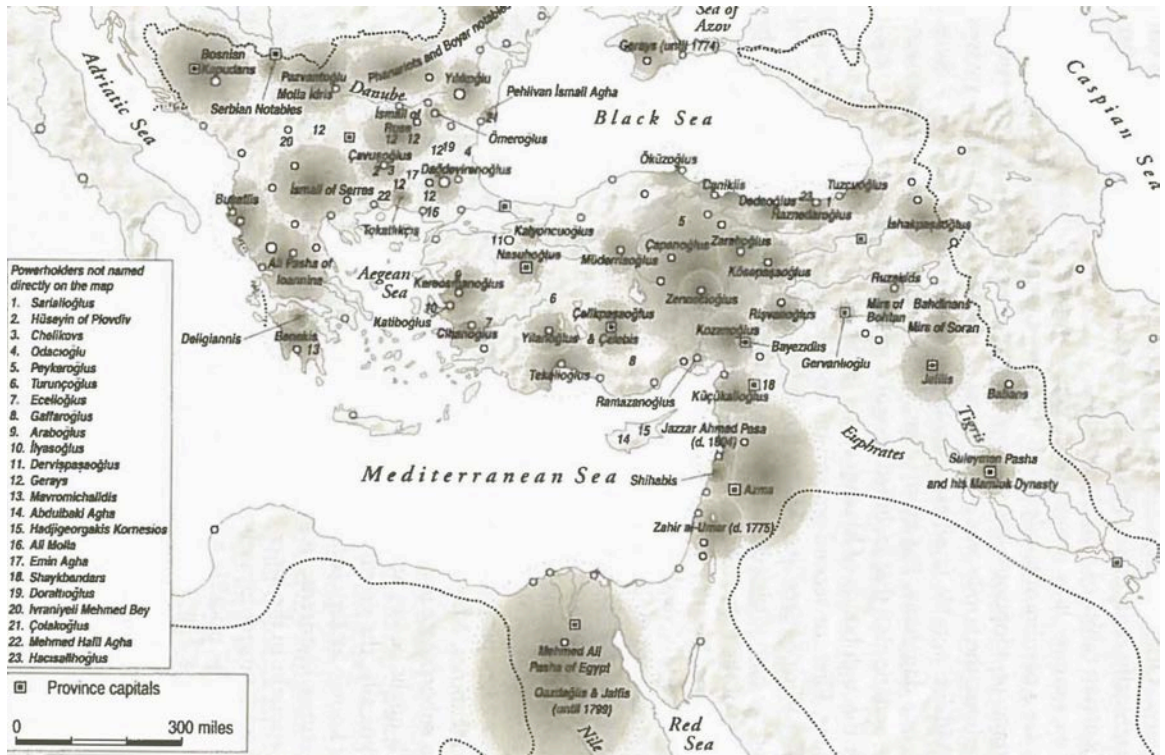


Figure 8

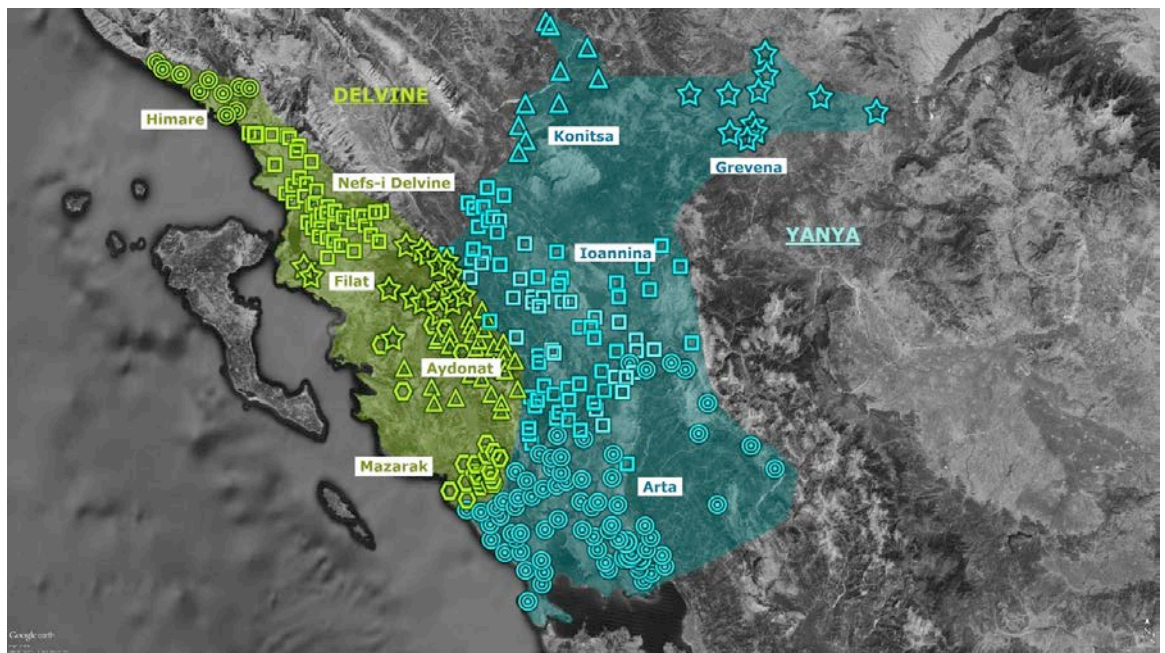


Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20

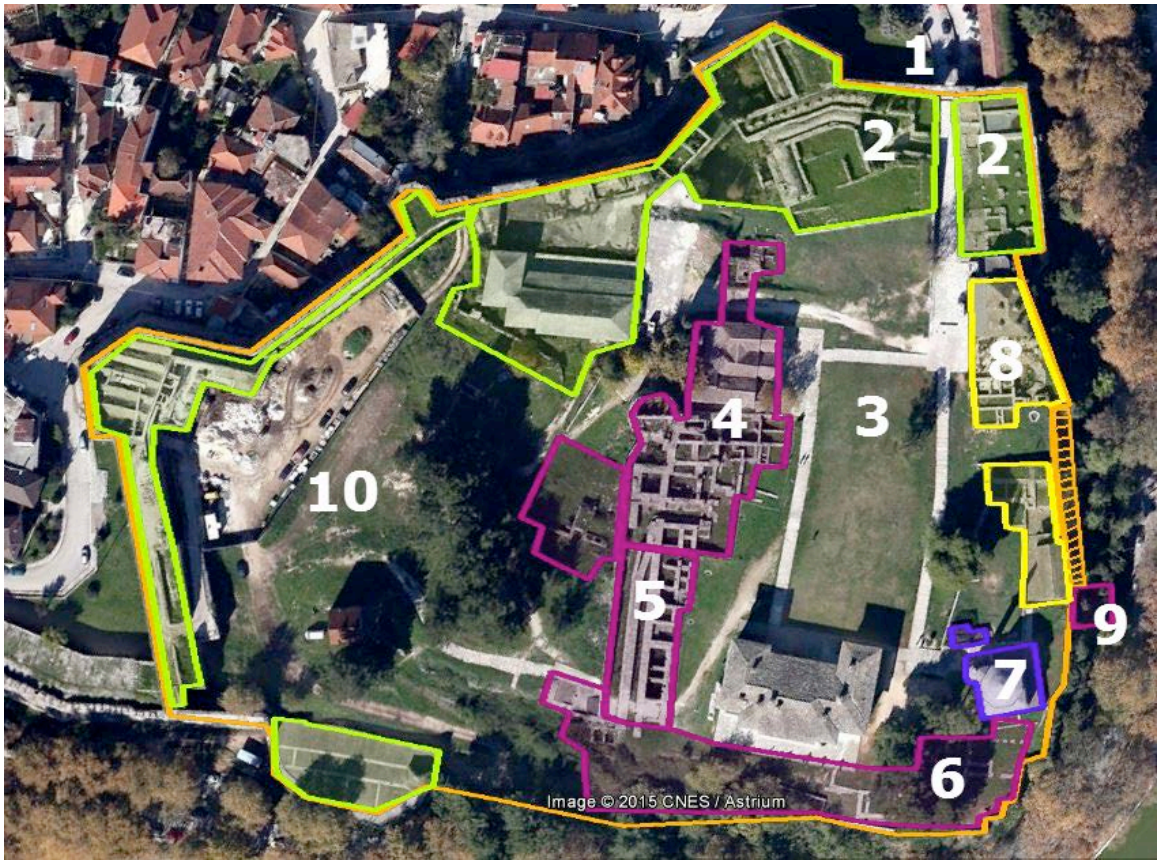


Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24

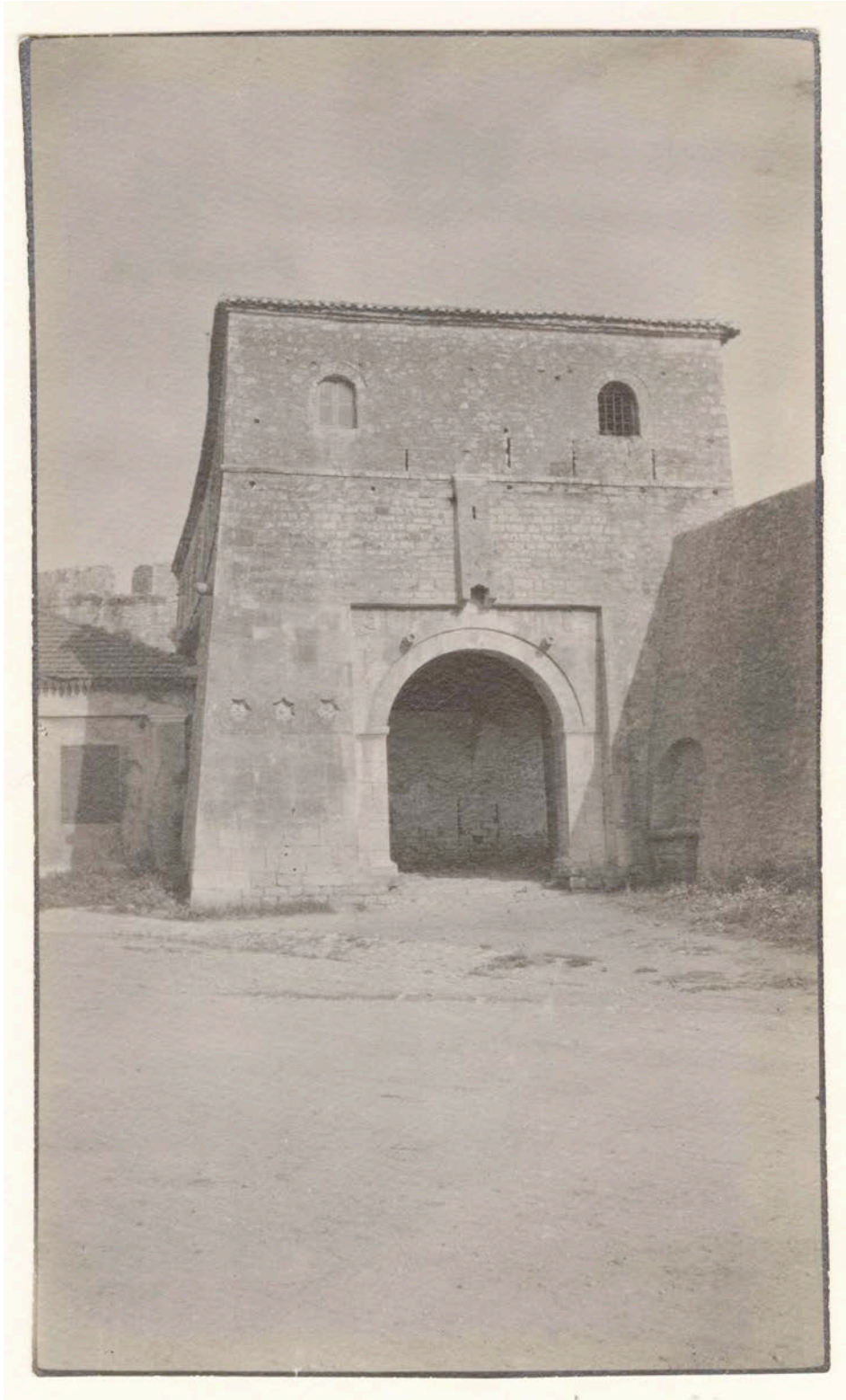


Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36

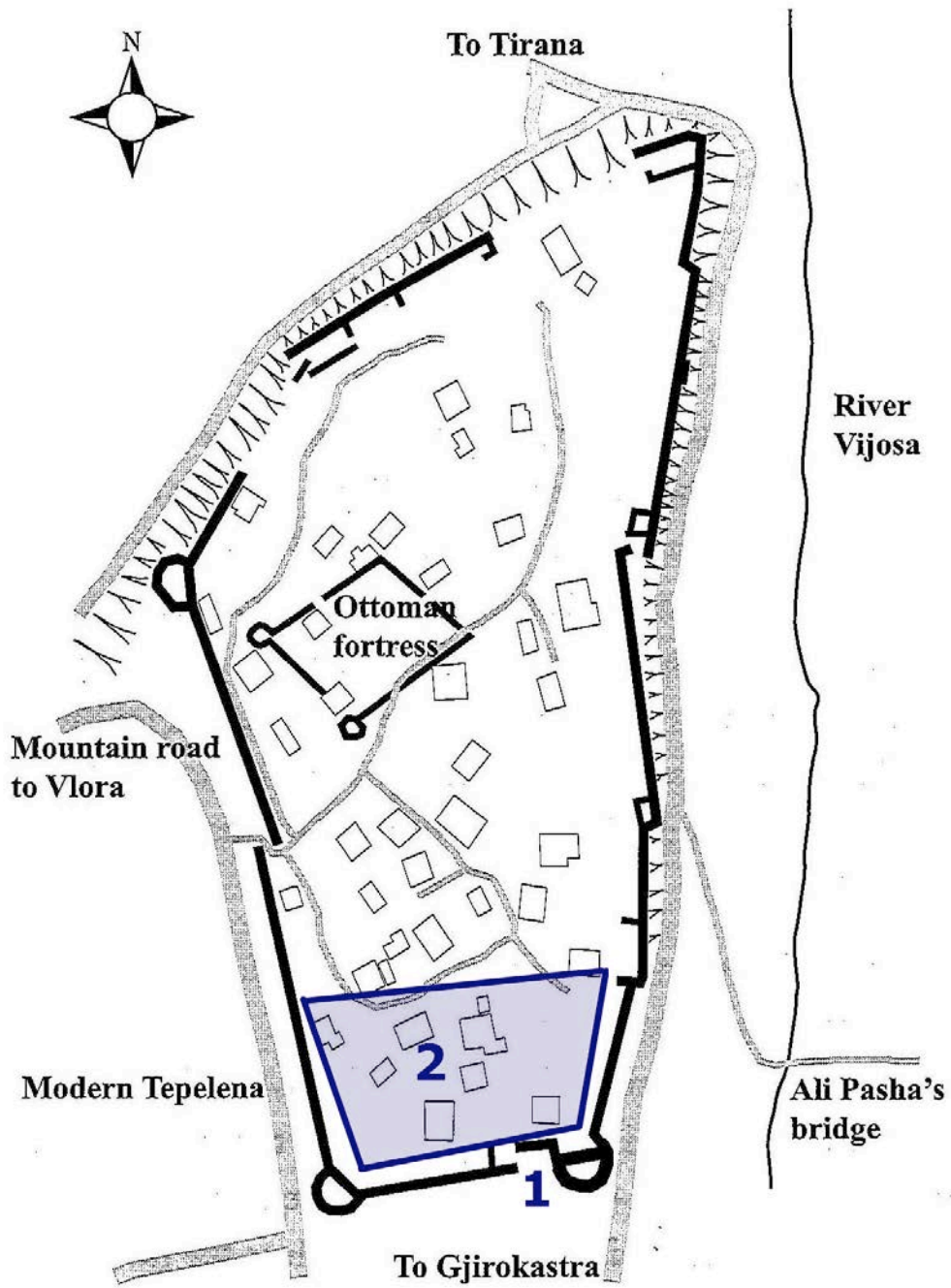


Fig. 117 Plan of Tepelena.

Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 40



Figure 42



Figure 43



Figure 44



Harvard University, Houghton Library, pga_ms_typ_55_26_635

Figure 45

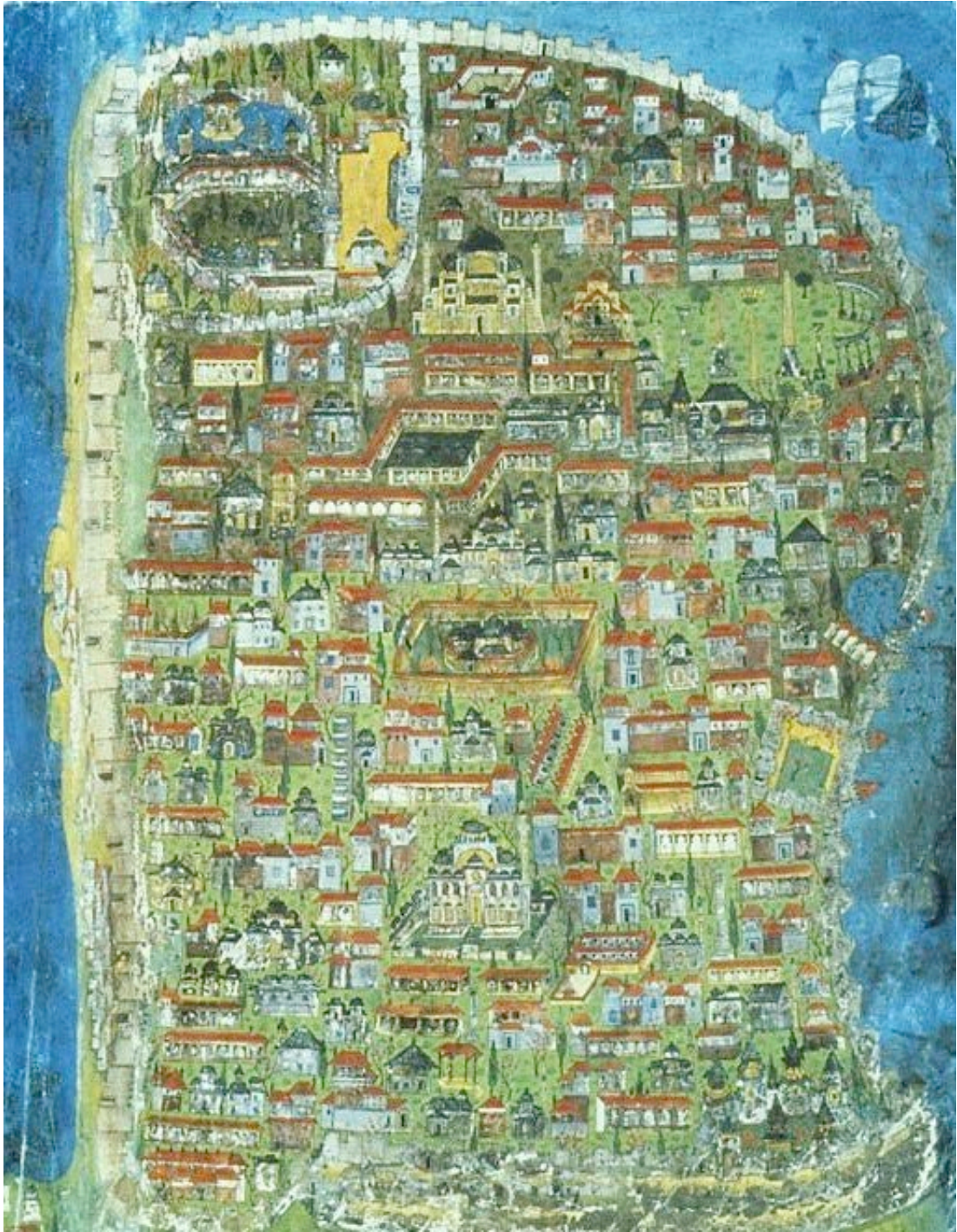


Figure 46



Figure 47

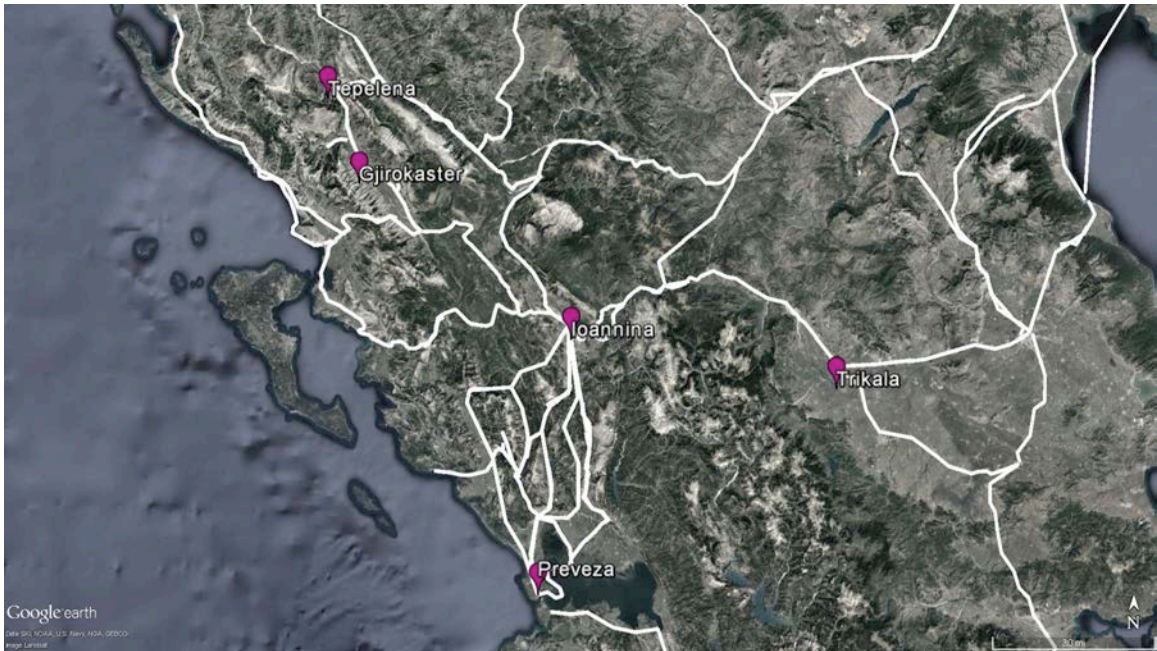


Figure 48



Figure 49

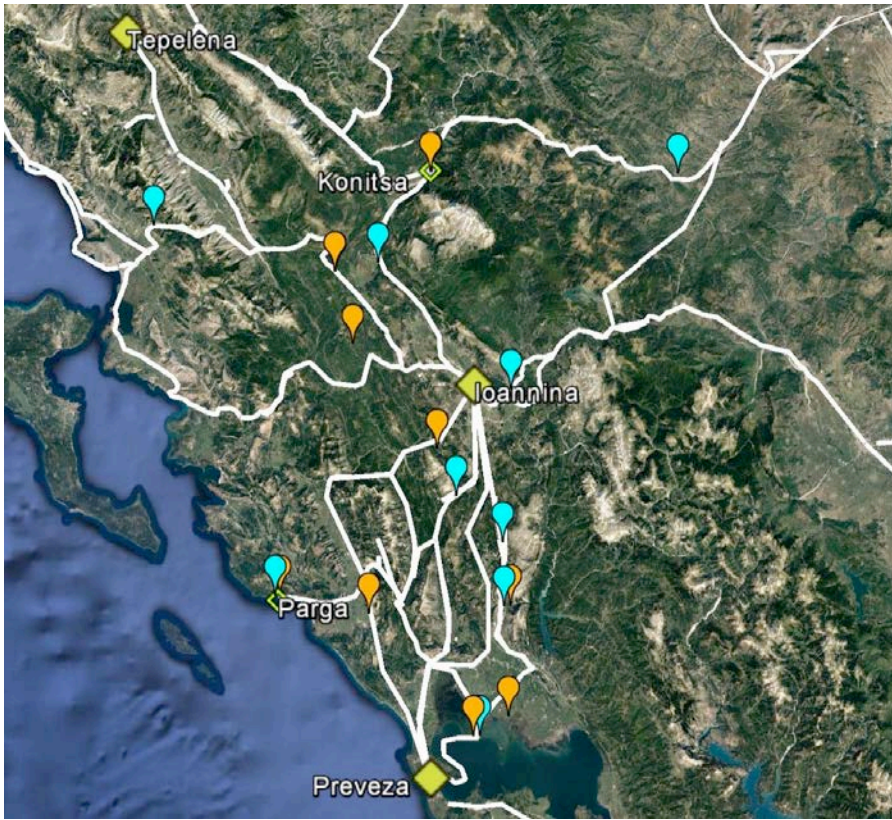


Figure 50



Figure 51



Figure 52



Figure 53



Harvard University, Houghton Library, pga_ms_typ_55_26_763

Figure 54



Figure 55

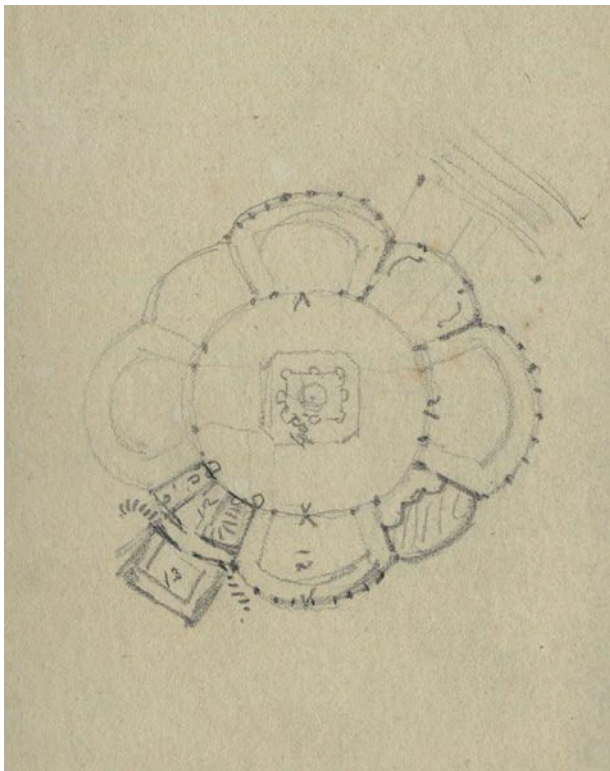


Figure 56

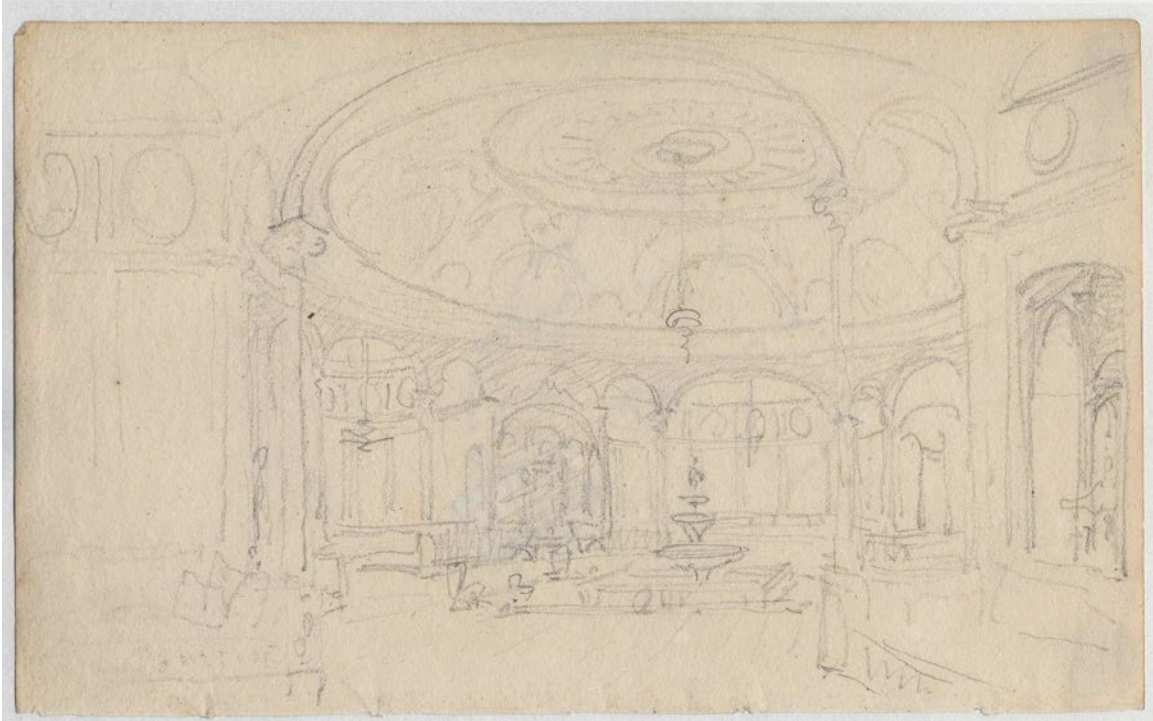


Figure 57

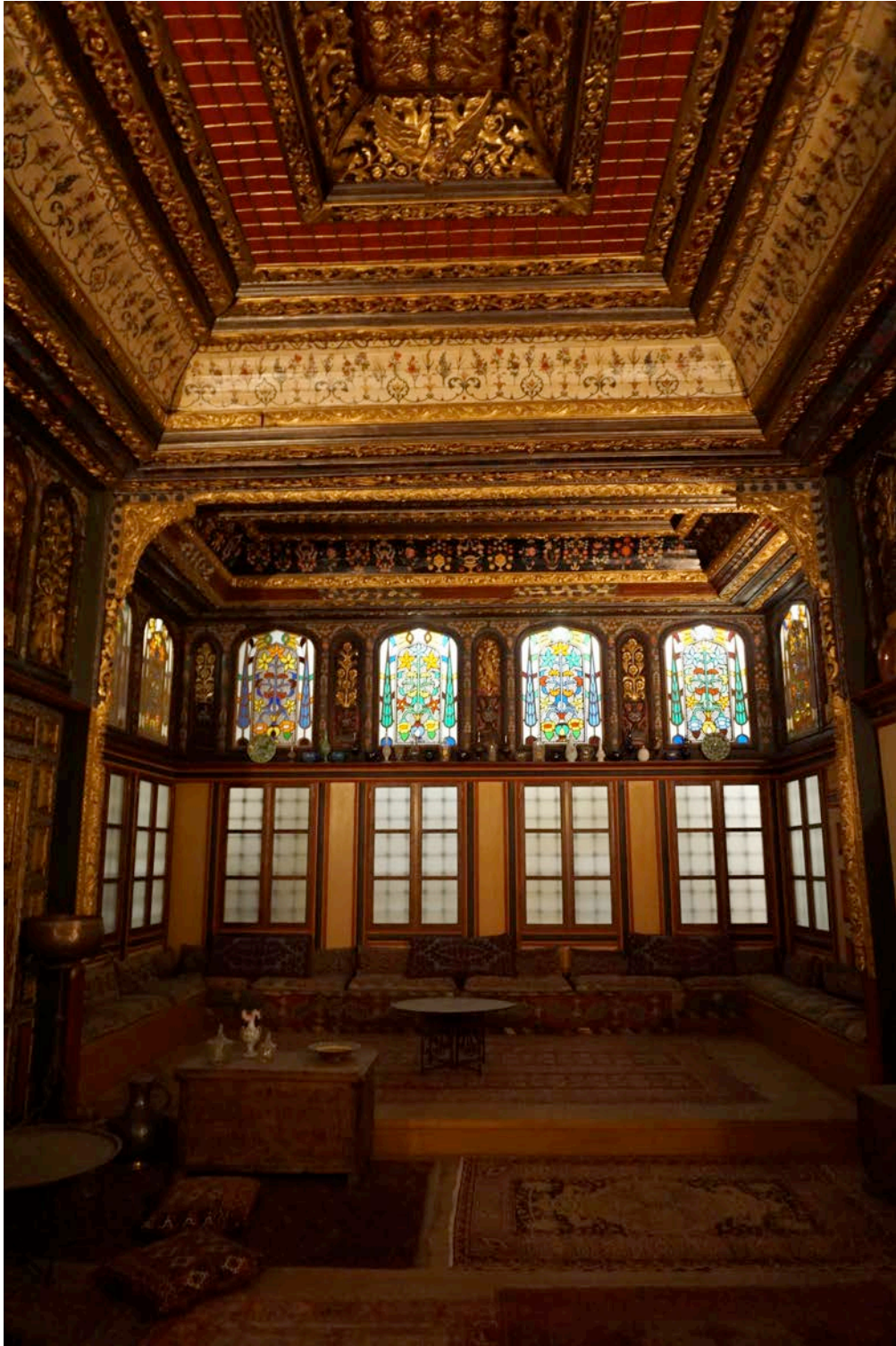


Figure 58



Figure 59



Figure 60

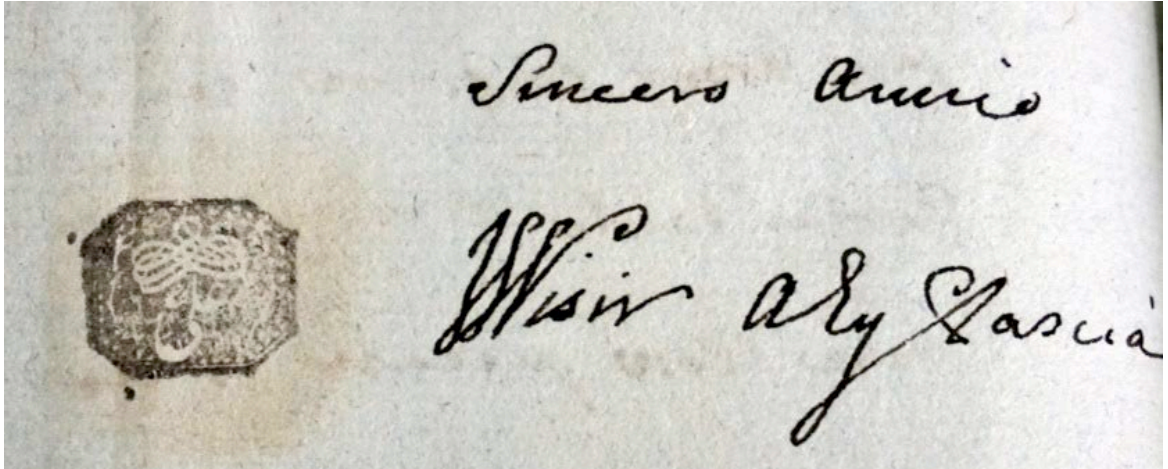


Figure 61



Figure 62



Figure 63



Figure 64



Figure 65



Figure 66



Figure 67



Figure 68



Figure 69

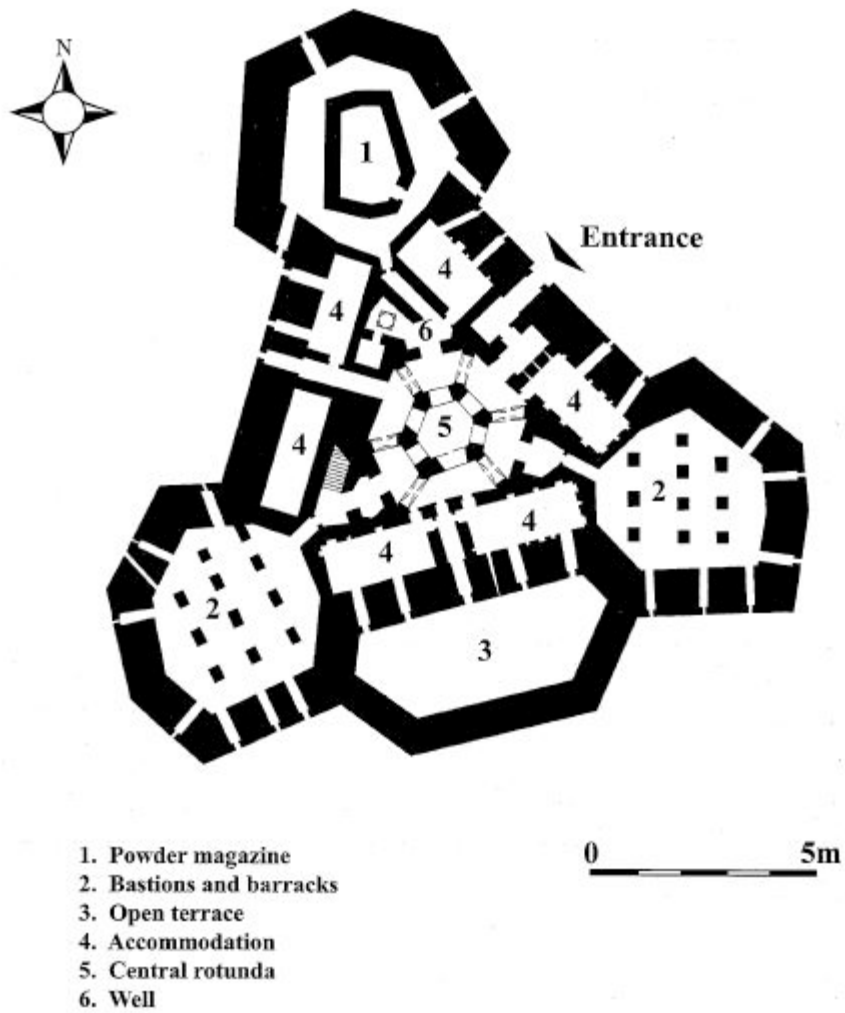


Fig. 100 Plan of Porto Palermo castle (after Karaskaj).

Figure 70

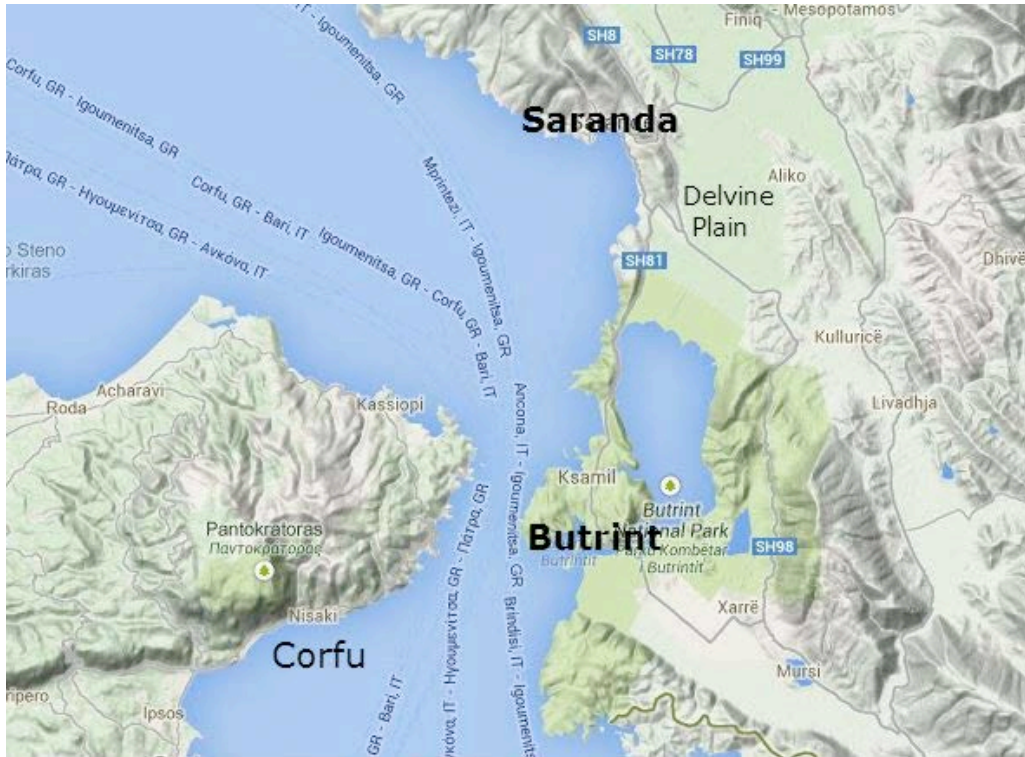


Figure 71

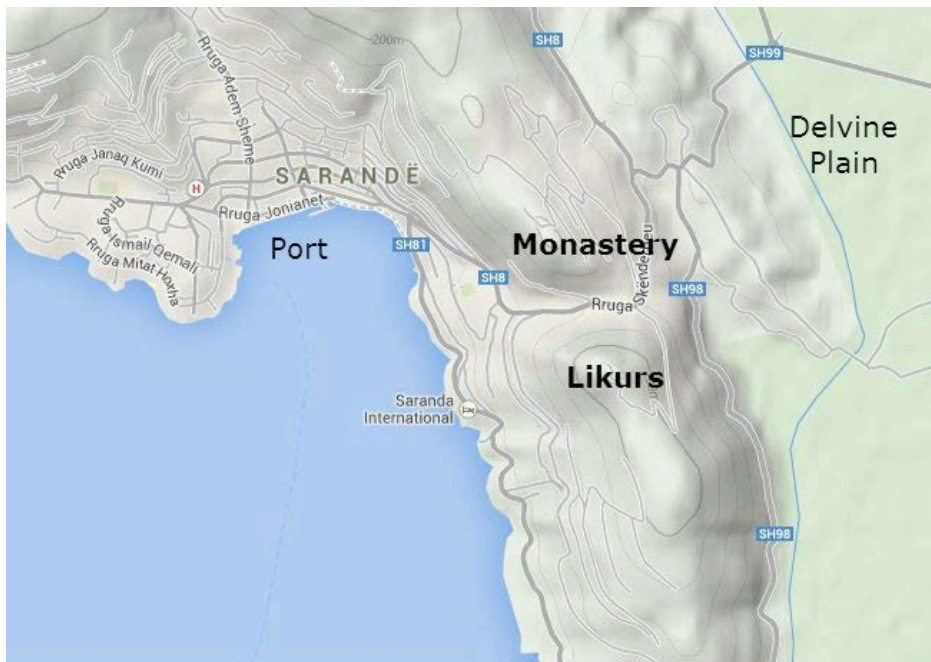


Figure 72

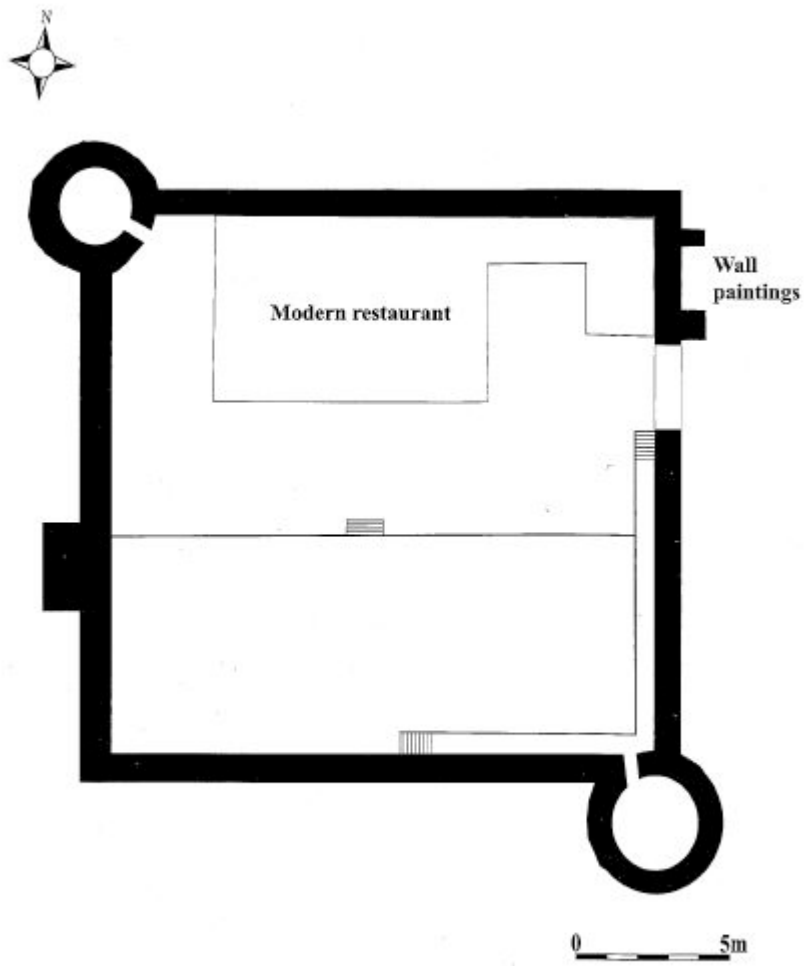


Fig. 108 Plan of Lekures castle.

Figure 73



Figure 74



Figure 75



Figure 76



Figure 77



Figure 78



Figure 79



Figure 80



Figure 81

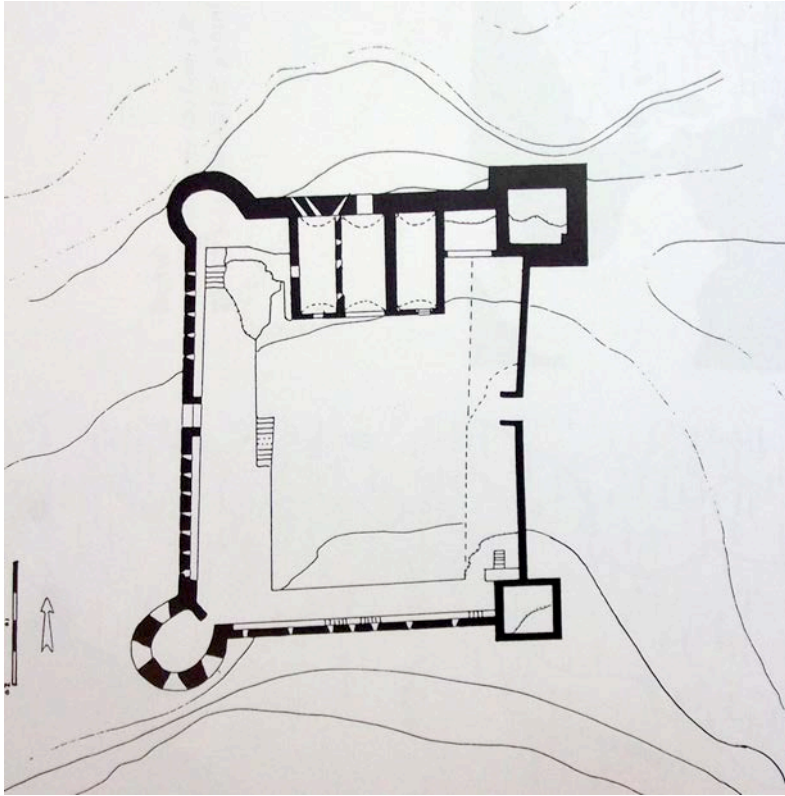


Figure 82



Figure 83

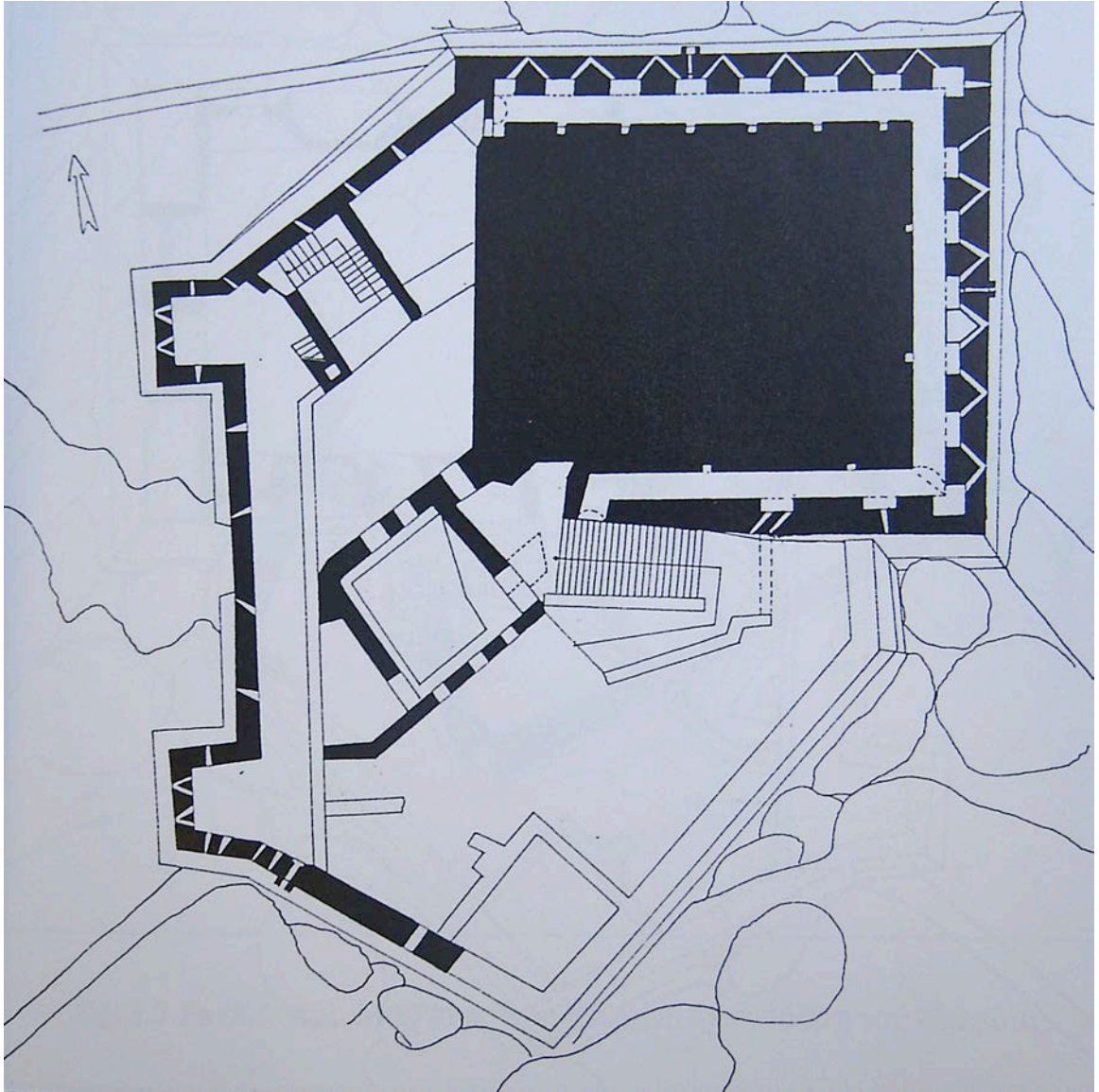


Figure 84



Figure 85



Figure 86



Figure 87

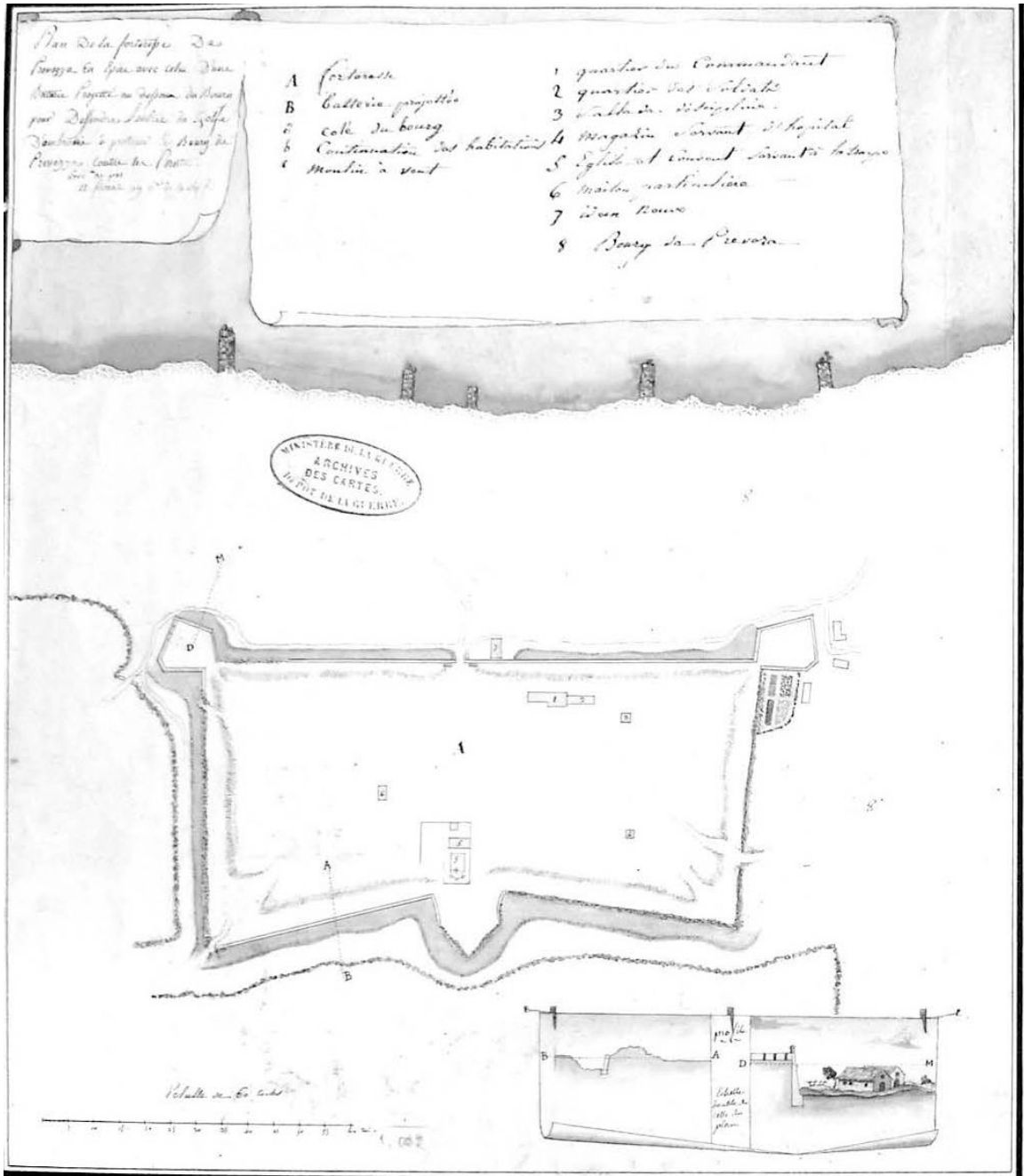


Figure 88

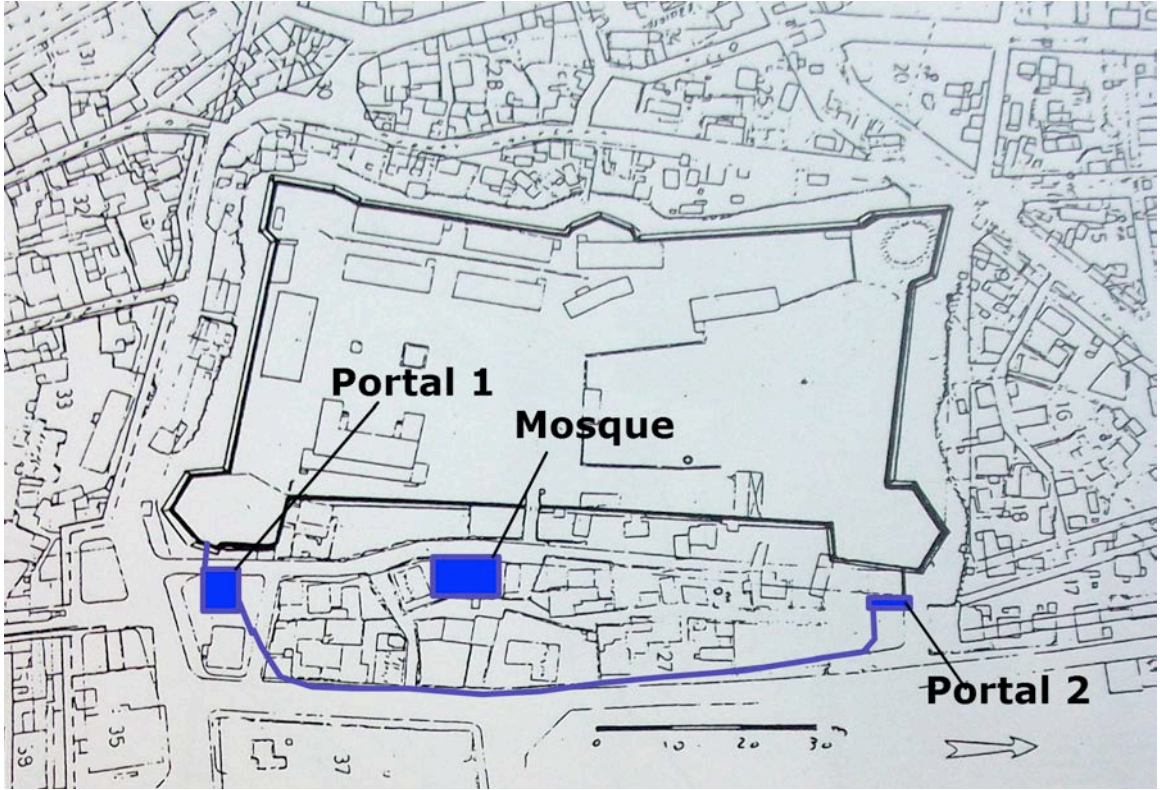


Figure 89



Figure 90

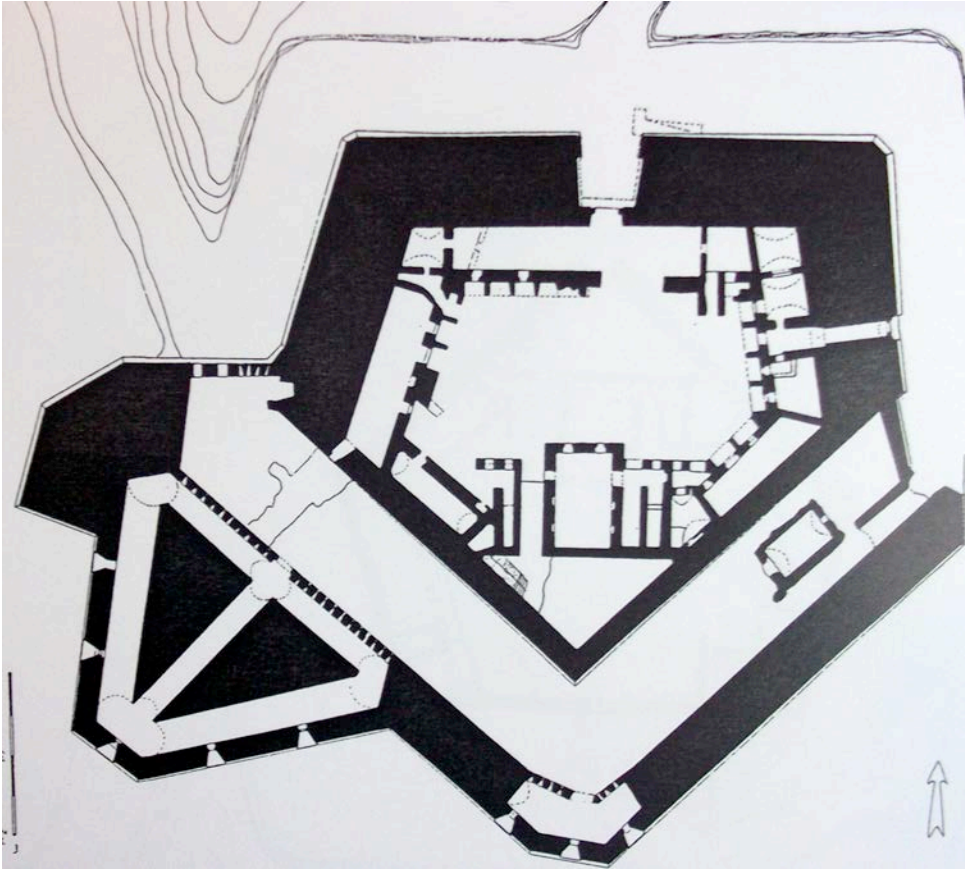


Figure 91

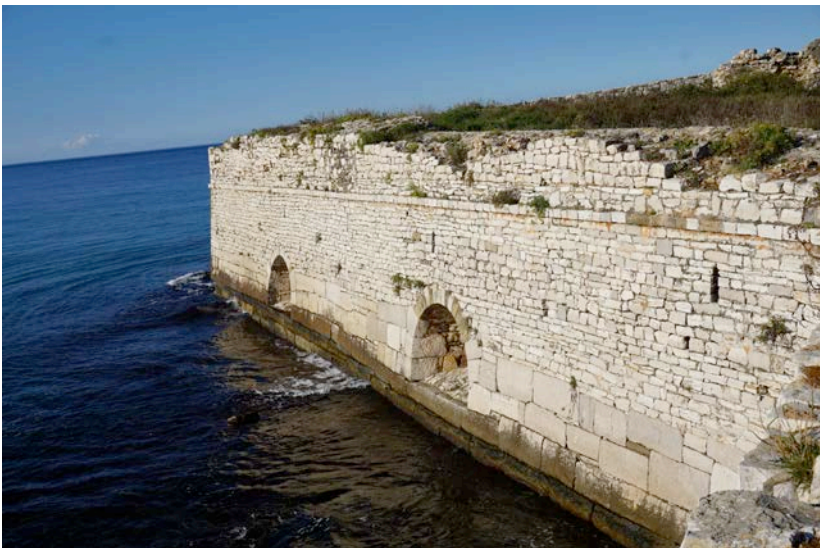


Figure 92

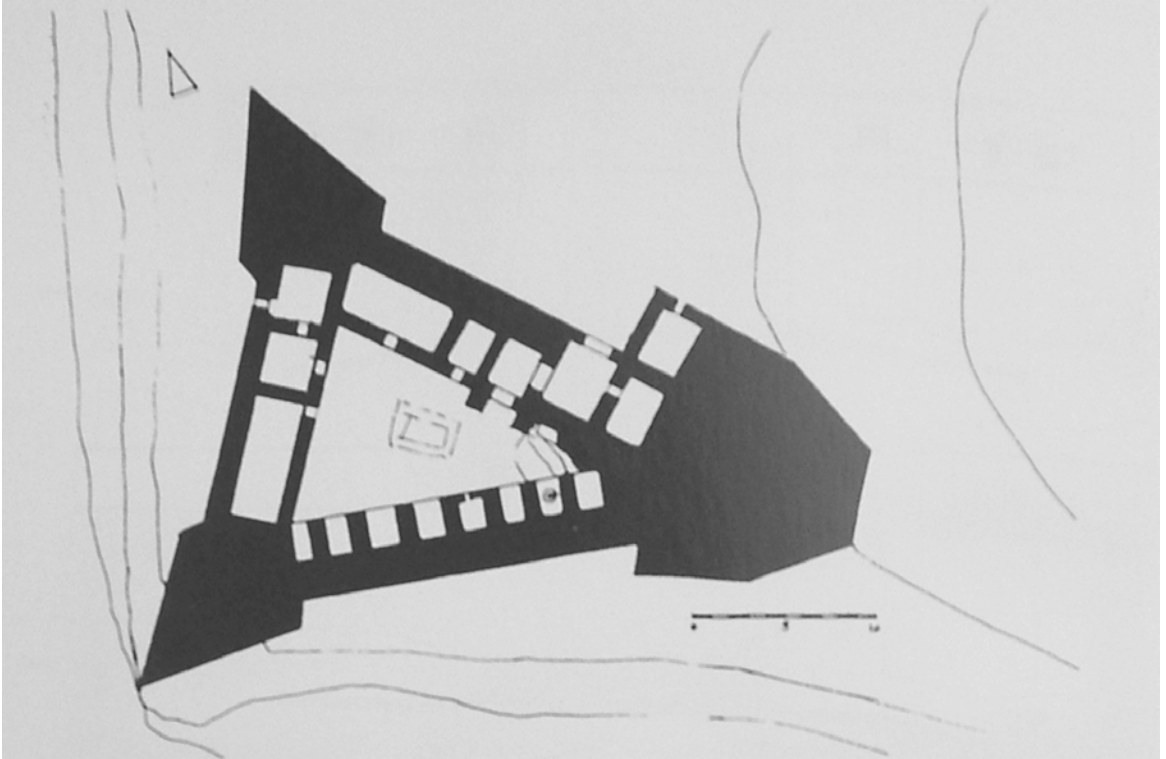


Figure 93



Figure 94



Figure 95



Figure 96

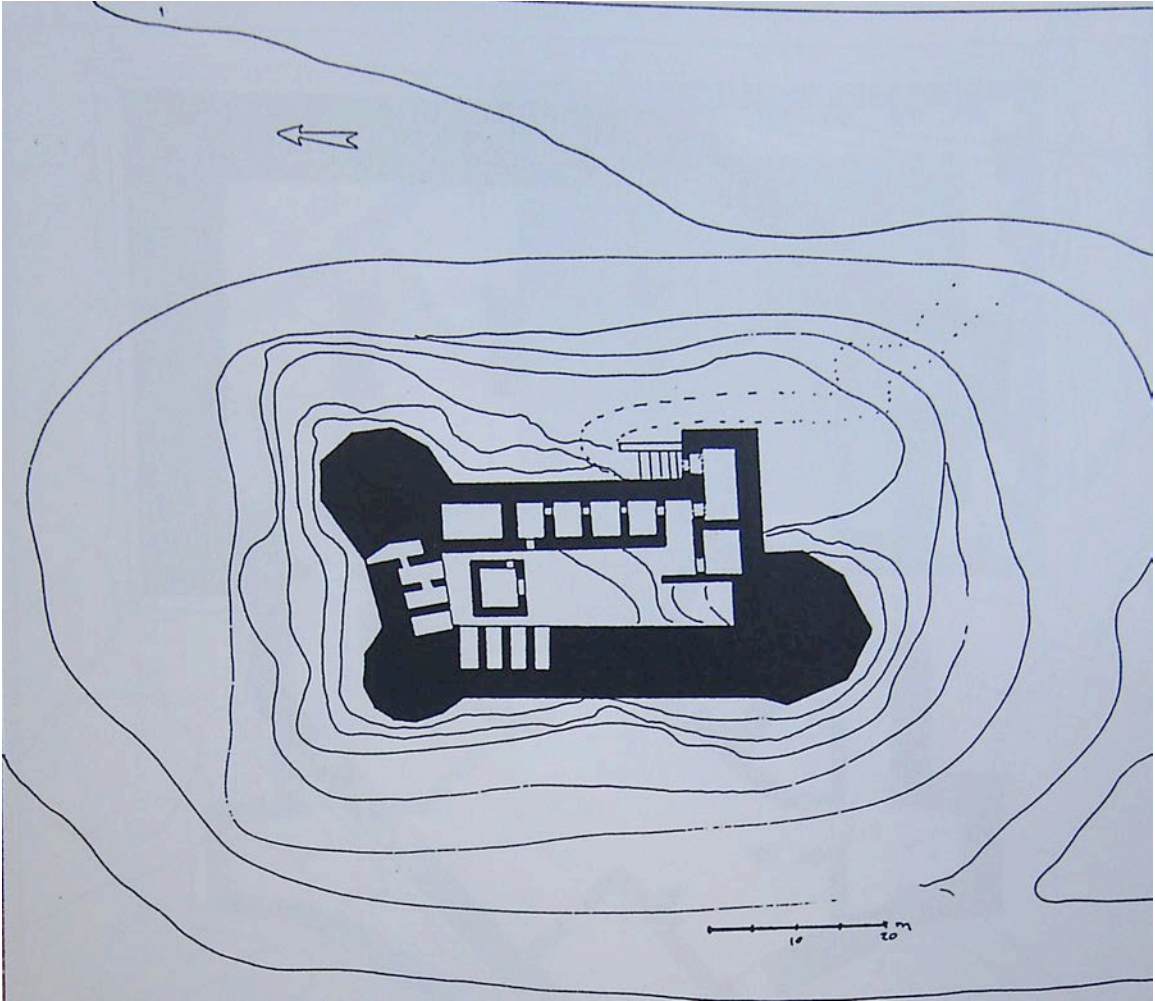


Figure 97

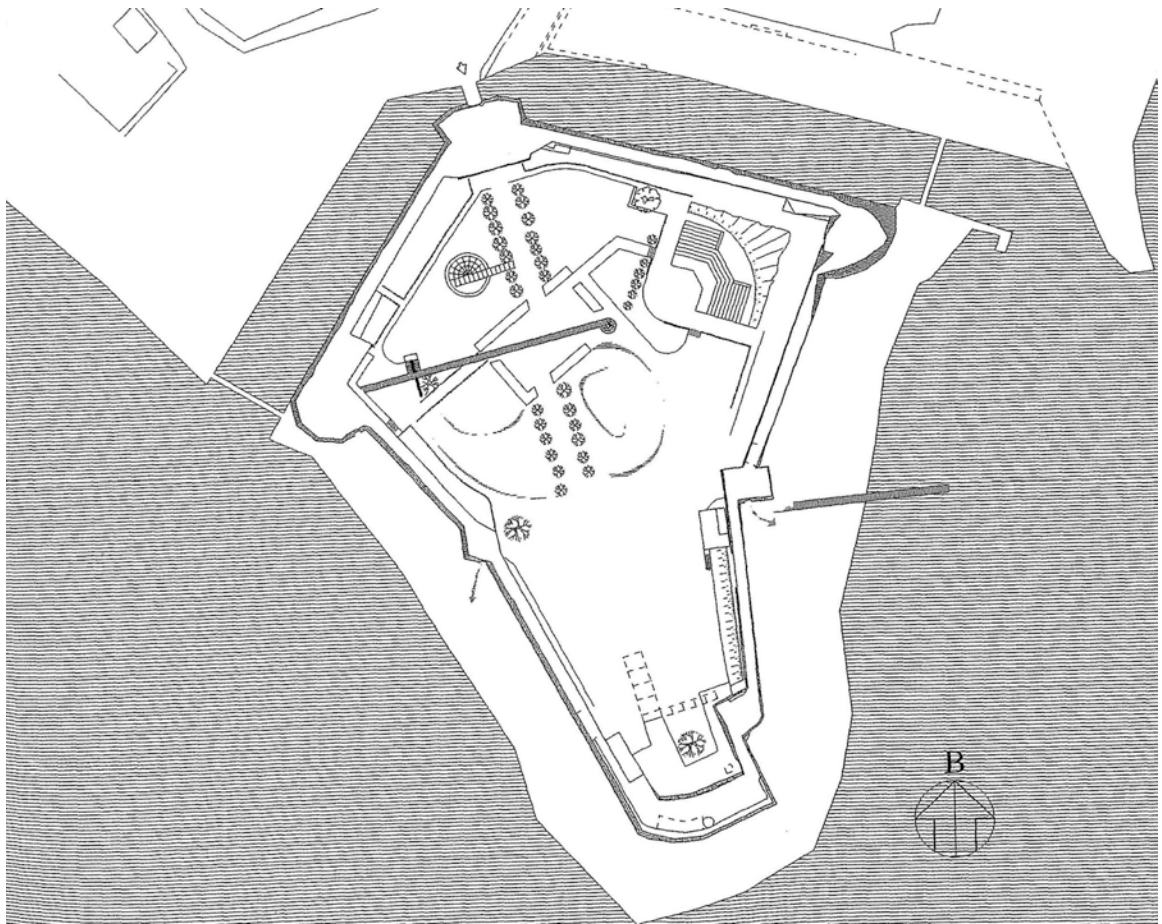


Figure 98



Figure 99



Figure 100



Figure 101



Figure 102



Figure 103



Figure 104



Figure 105



Figure 106



Figure 107



Figure 108



Figure 109

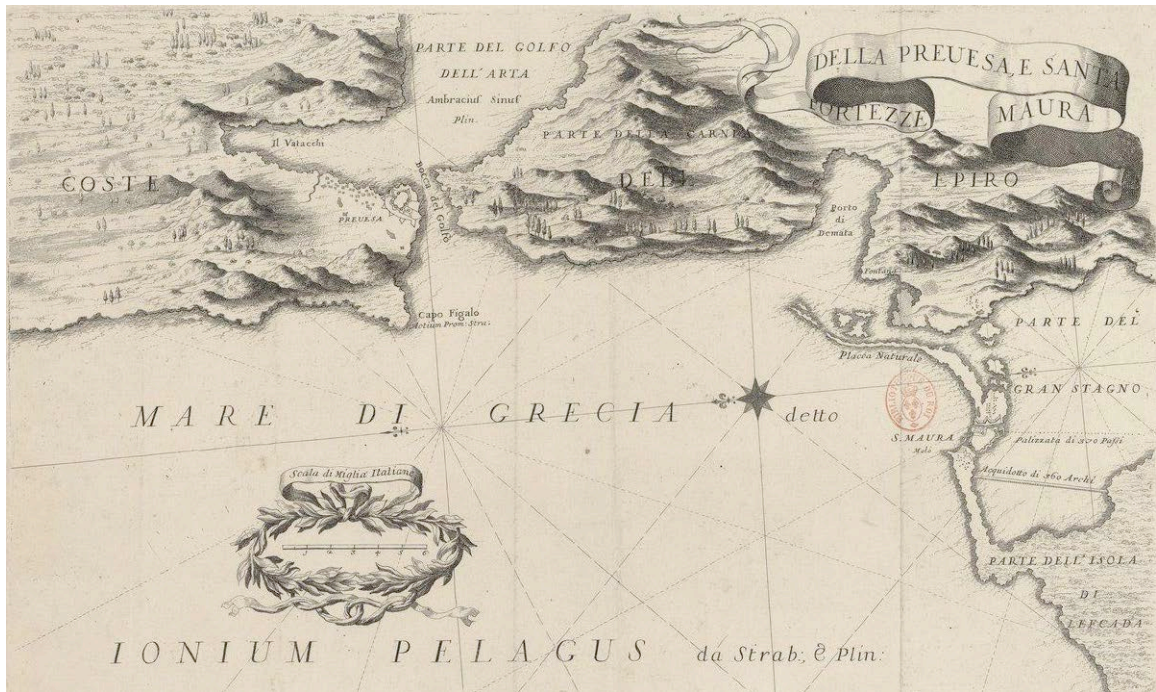


Figure 110



Figure 111

ETHNOGRAPHISCHE KARTE VON EPIRUS

vorzüglich nach den Angaben von ARAVANDINOS zusammengestellt von H. Kiepert.

Sprachunterschiede: Griechisch (pink) Griechisch und Vlachisch (blue) Griechisch und Albanesisch gemischt (yellow) Albanesisch (orange)

Das Gebiet griechischer Sprache, am S. und O. Rande dieser Karte, innerhalb des Hellenischen Königreiches und in Thessalien ist mit hellerer Farbe bezeichnet; es umfasst auch viele vlachisch redende Ortschaften, über deren spezielle Lage und Ausdehnung keine genaue Angaben vorliegen.
 In dem nordöstlichen, zu Mittel-Asien und Makedonien gehörigen Teile der auf der Karte dargestellten Raumes, für welchen spezielle Listen gleichfalls nicht vorliegen, ist nach anderen Quellen die Zugehörigkeit einzelner Orte zu den oben bezeichneten Sprachgebieten durch gleichfarbige Unterstreichung der Namen bezeichnet. Türkische Sprache dasselbst bezeichnet: , Bulgarische:



Figure 112

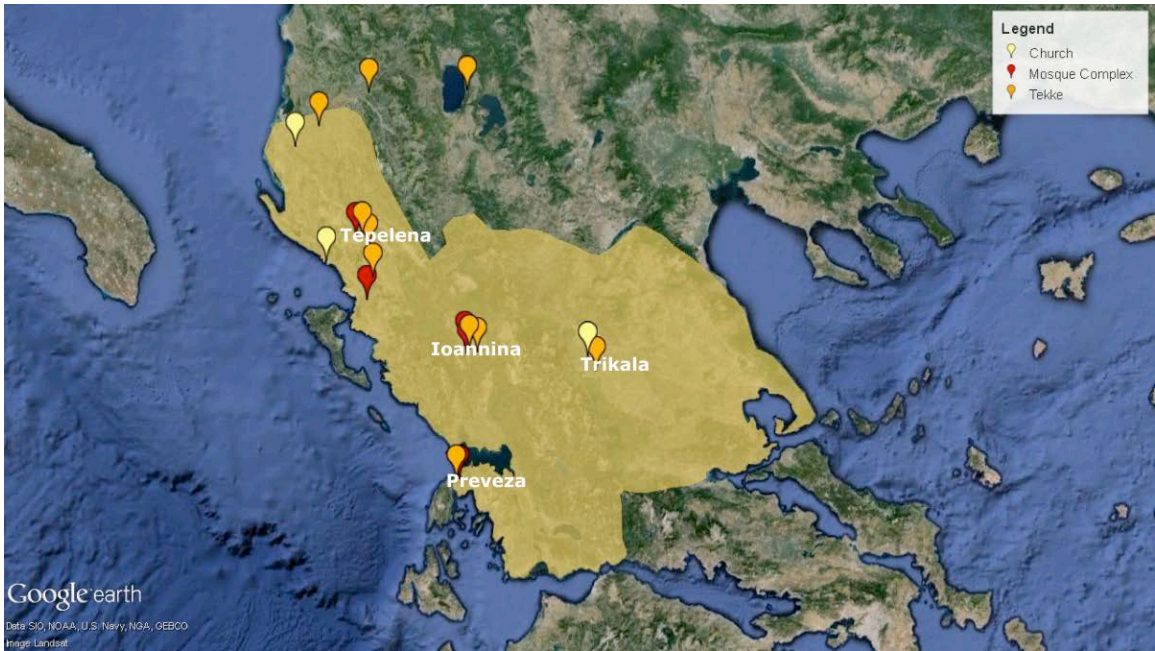


Figure 113



Figure 114

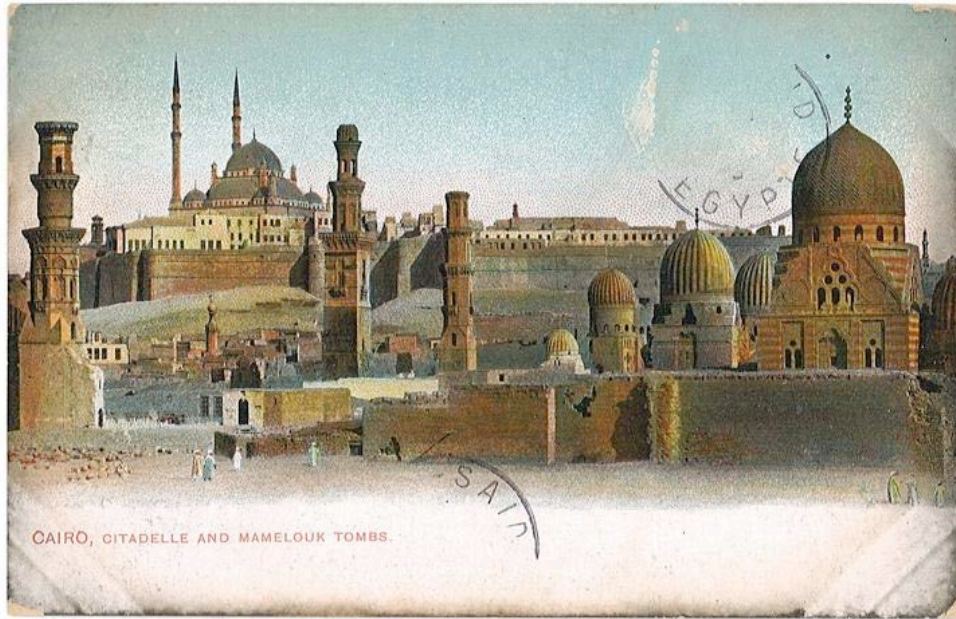


Figure 115



Figure 116



Figure 117



Figure 118



Figure 119



Figure 120



Figure 121



Figure 122



Harvard University, Houghton Library, pga_ms_typ_55_26_637

Figure 123



Figure 124



Figure 125

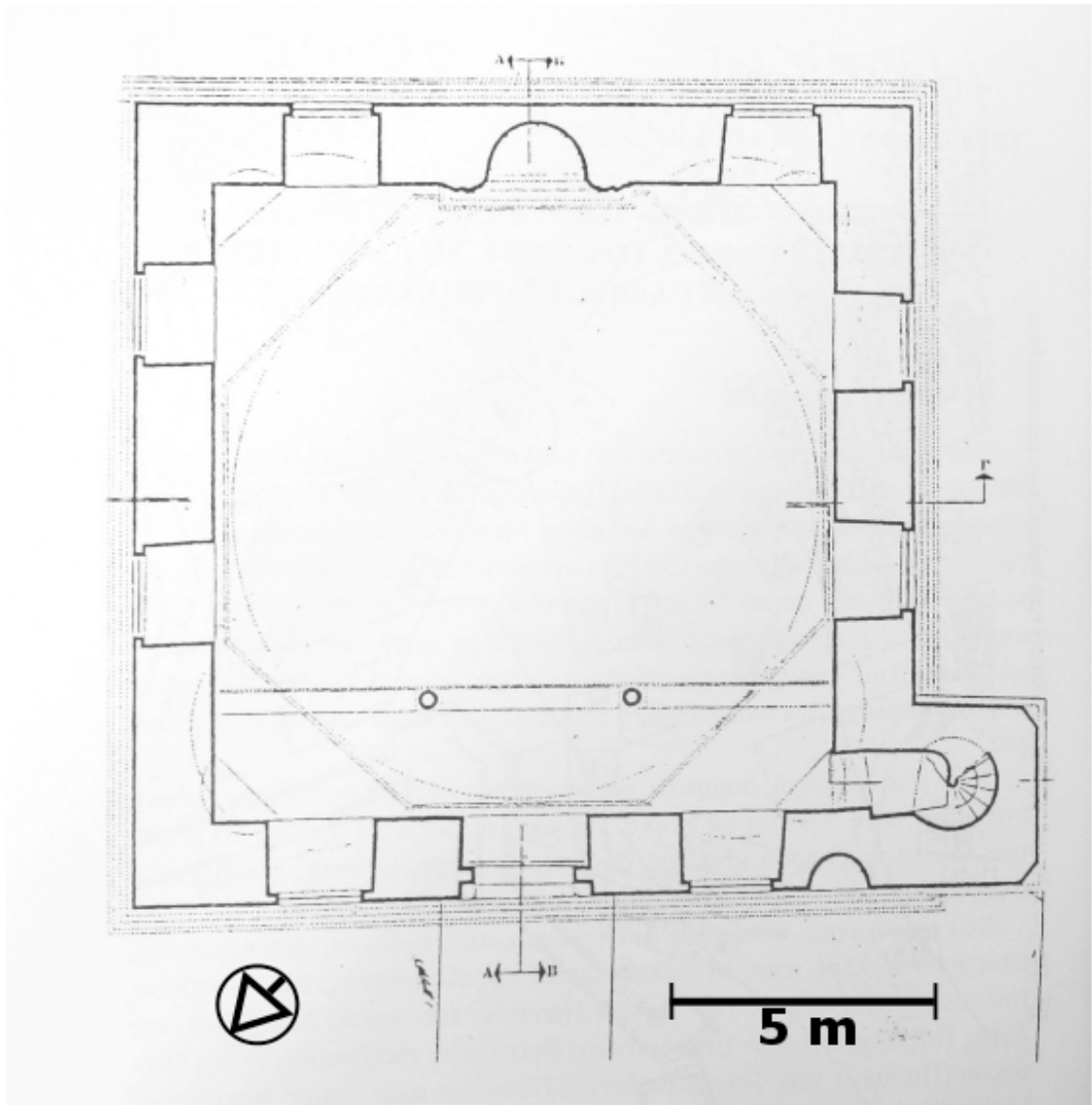


Figure 126

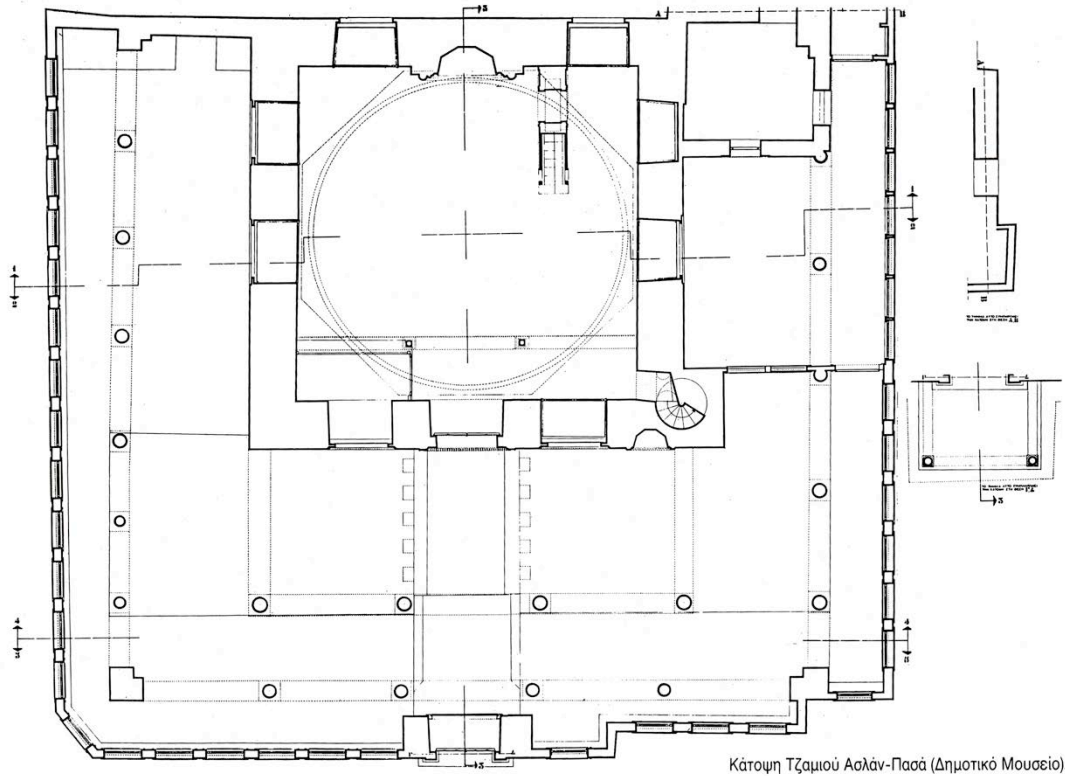


Figure 127



Figure 128



Figure 129



Figure 130



Figure 131



Figure 132



Figure 133



Figure 134

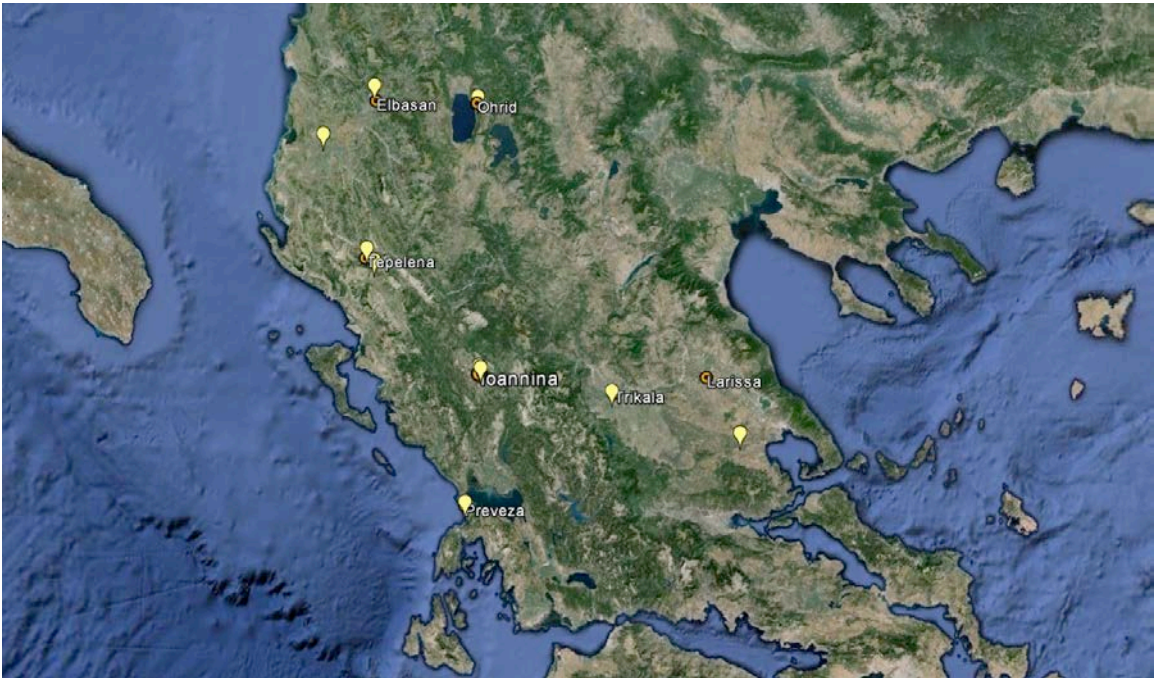


Figure 135



Figure 136



Figure 137



Figure 138



Figure 139

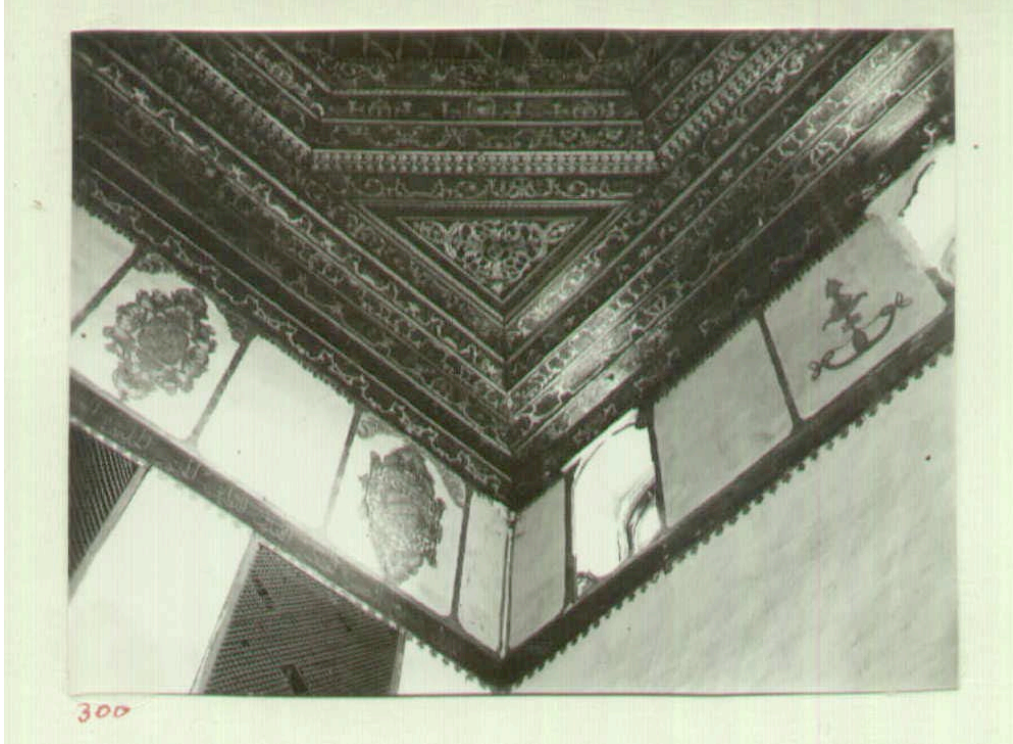


Figure 140

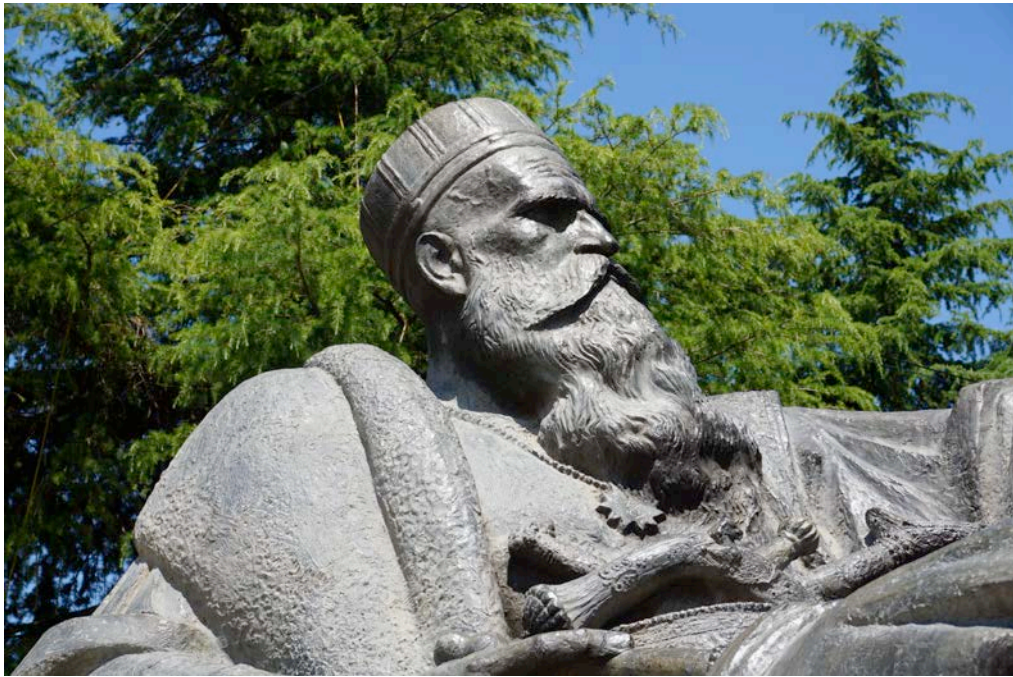


Figure 141

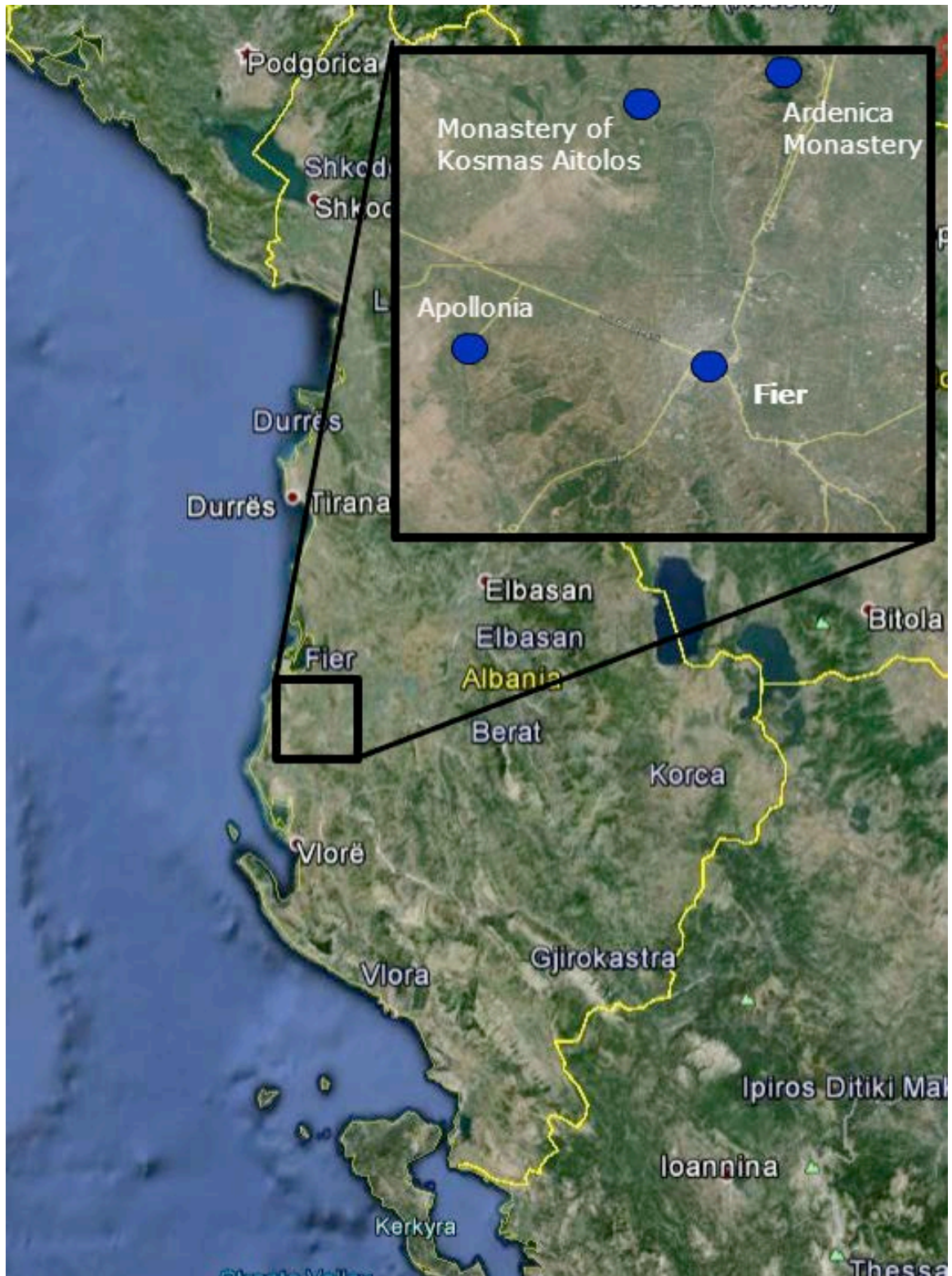


Figure 142



Figure 143



Figure 144



Figure 145



Figure 146



Figure 148



Figure 149



Figure 150



Figure 151



Figure 152



Figure 153

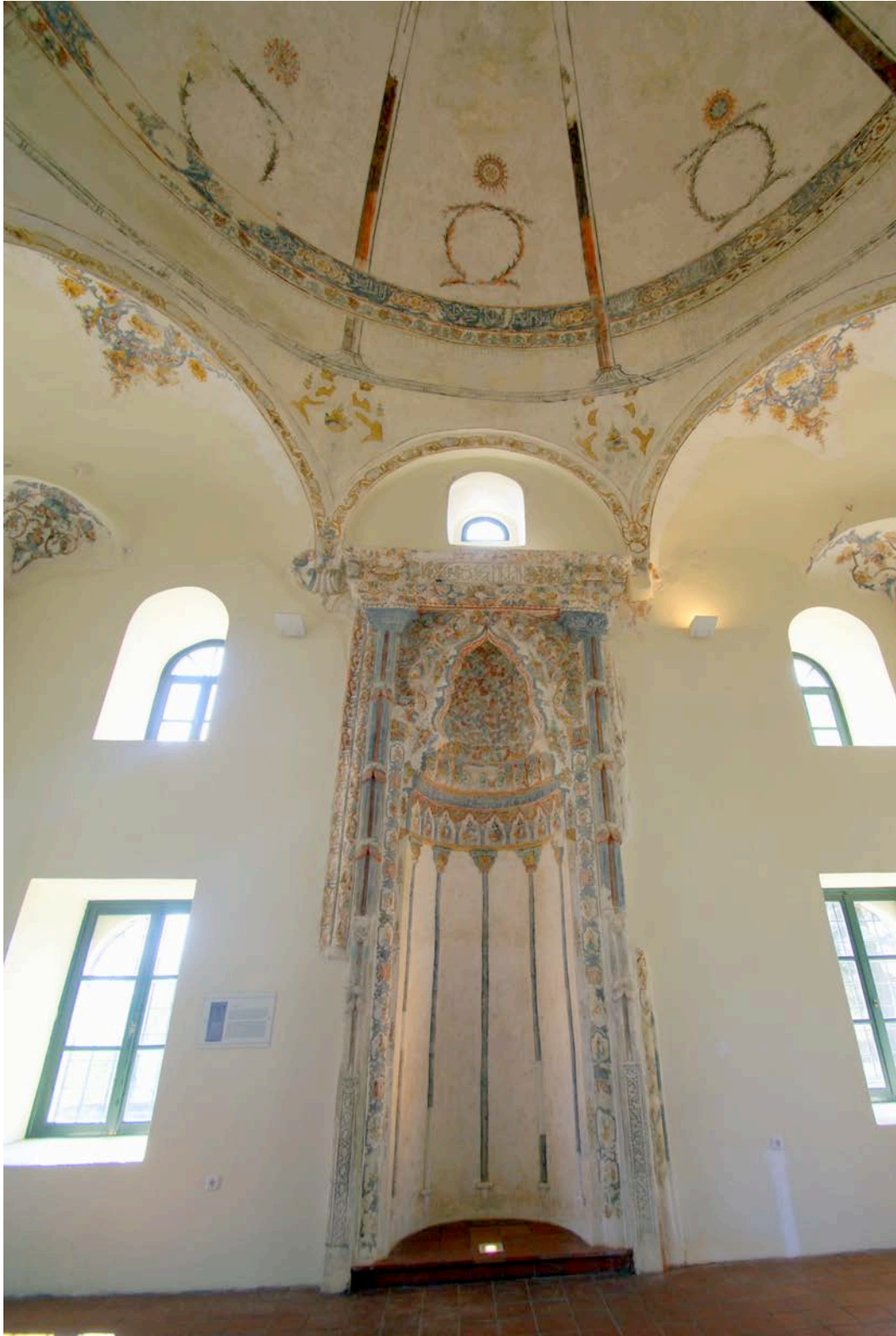


Figure 154



Figure 155

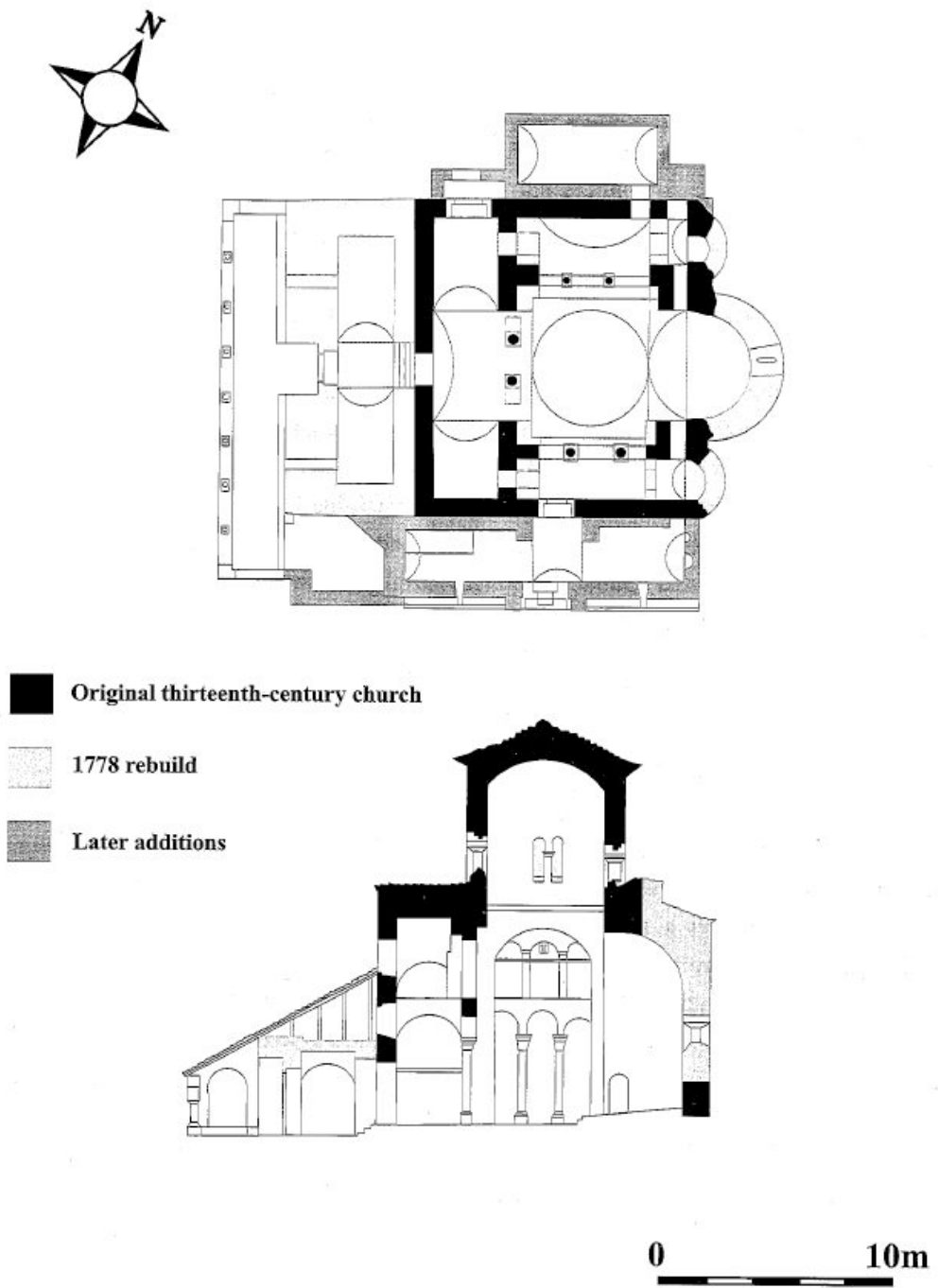


Fig. 90 Plan and section of Shen Meri at Labova e Kryqit.

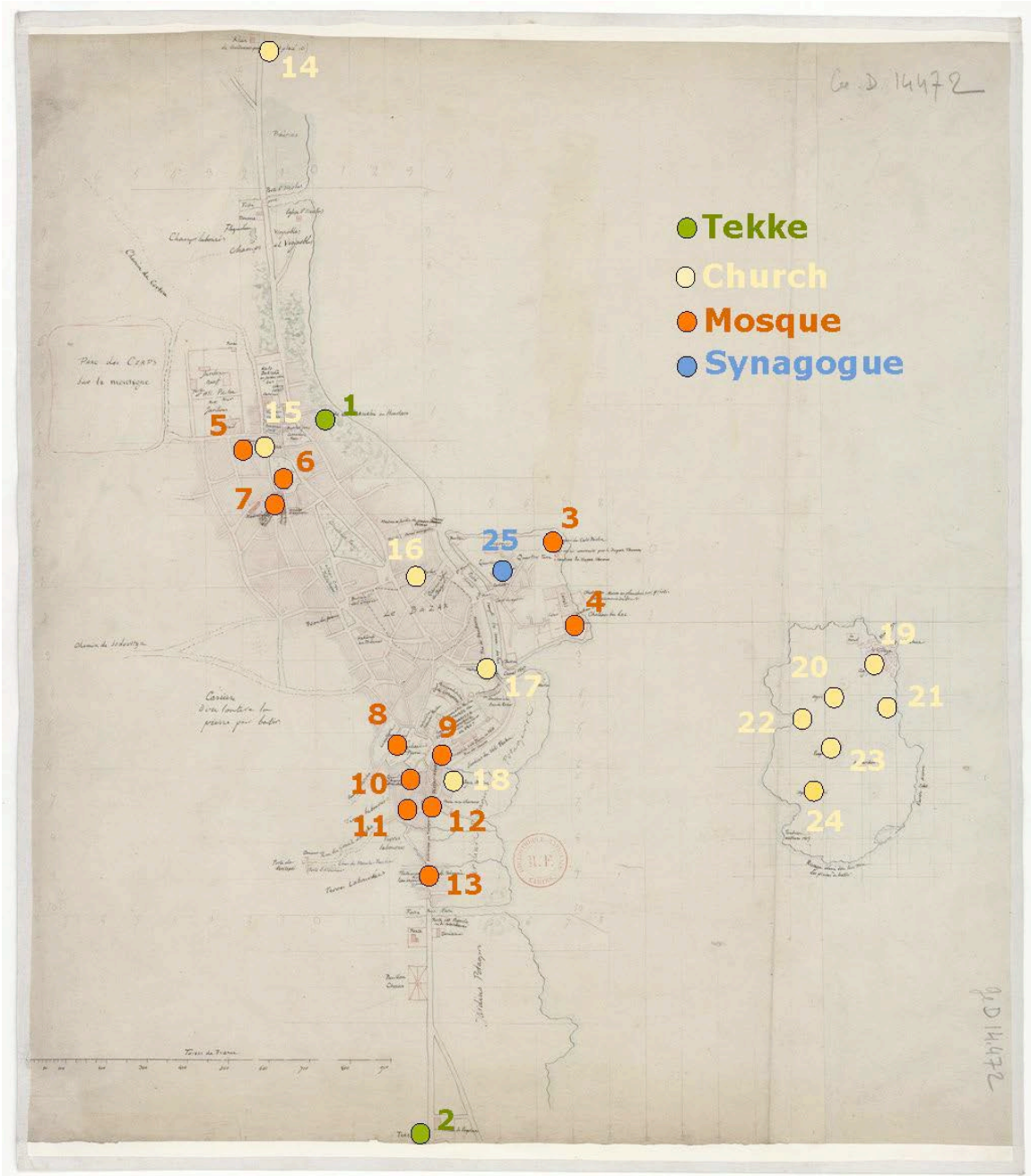
Figure 156



Figure 157



Figure 158



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Figure 159



Figure 160

Euphrosyne, Romanze, Epirotisch. *)

$\text{A} - \kappa\omicron\upsilon - \sigma\alpha - - \tau\epsilon \quad \epsilon\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon} - \gamma\iota - \nu\epsilon \quad \text{'s} \tau\acute{\alpha} \text{'I}\acute{\alpha} - \nu\iota - \nu\alpha \quad \text{'s} \epsilon\gamma\acute{\nu} \lambda\acute{\iota}\mu - \nu\eta; \quad \sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha - \nu\epsilon$
 Habt ihr ver - - nom - men was am See zu Ja - ni - na gesche - hen? wo mit der

$\tau\acute{\alpha} - - \varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} - \kappa\alpha \text{'}\pi\alpha\alpha \text{z}\acute{\alpha}\iota \text{'}\eta\grave{\eta} - \nu \text{v}\nu - \rho\acute{\alpha} \quad \text{Φ}\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\omicron} - - \nu\eta. \quad \text{A}\chi \text{Φ}\rho\omicron - \sigma\acute{\omicron} - \nu\eta \quad \mu\acute{\iota} \pi\epsilon - -$
 Frau Phro - sy - ne jünger er - trän - h't die sie - - - - - beuze - - hen. Ach Phro - sy - ne, noth - -

$\nu\epsilon - \mu\acute{\epsilon} - \nu\eta! \quad \epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha - \kappa\omicron \text{'}\tau\alpha - \theta\epsilon - - - - \varsigma \text{z}\acute{\alpha}\iota - \mu\epsilon - - - - \nu\eta;$
 be - dräng - te, was er - lit - test du ge - hränk - - - - te?

Figure 161

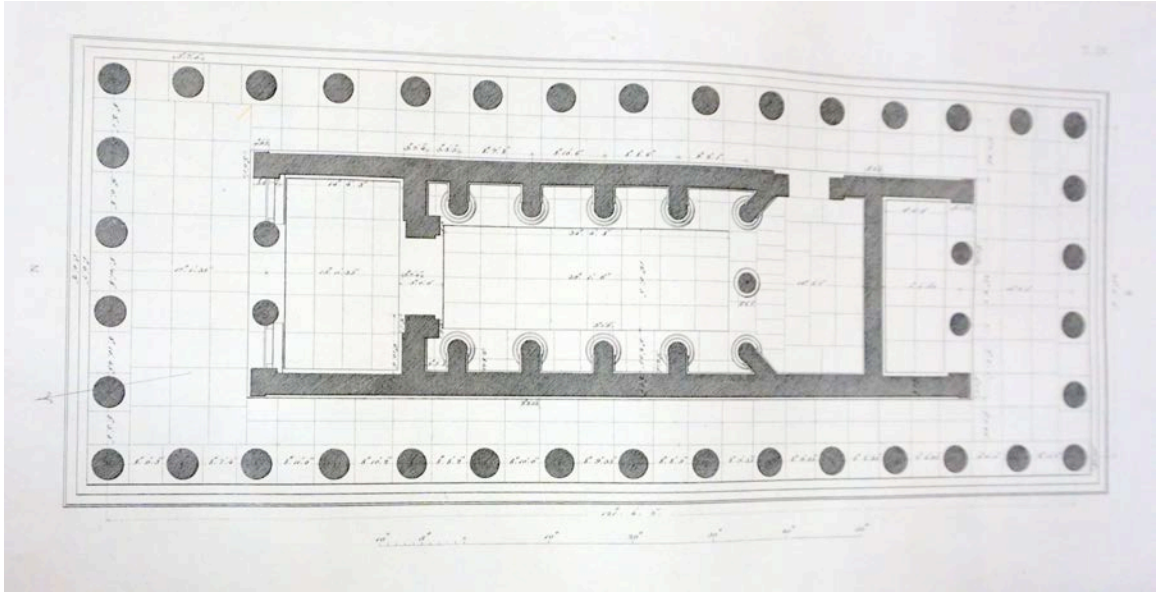


Figure 162

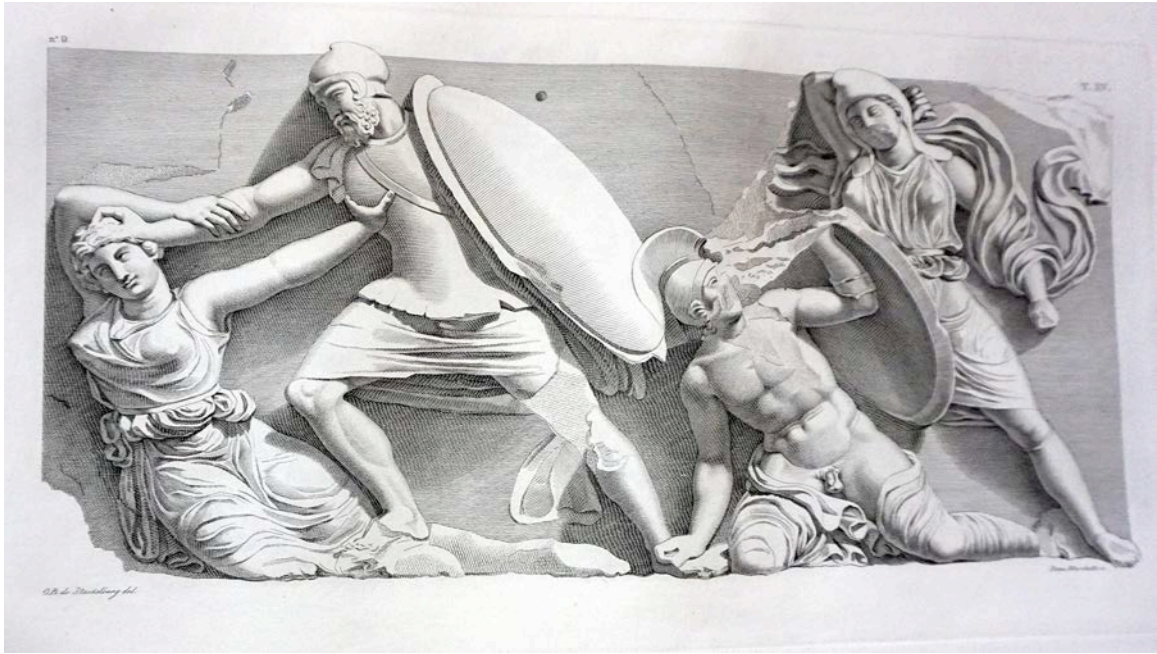


Figure 163

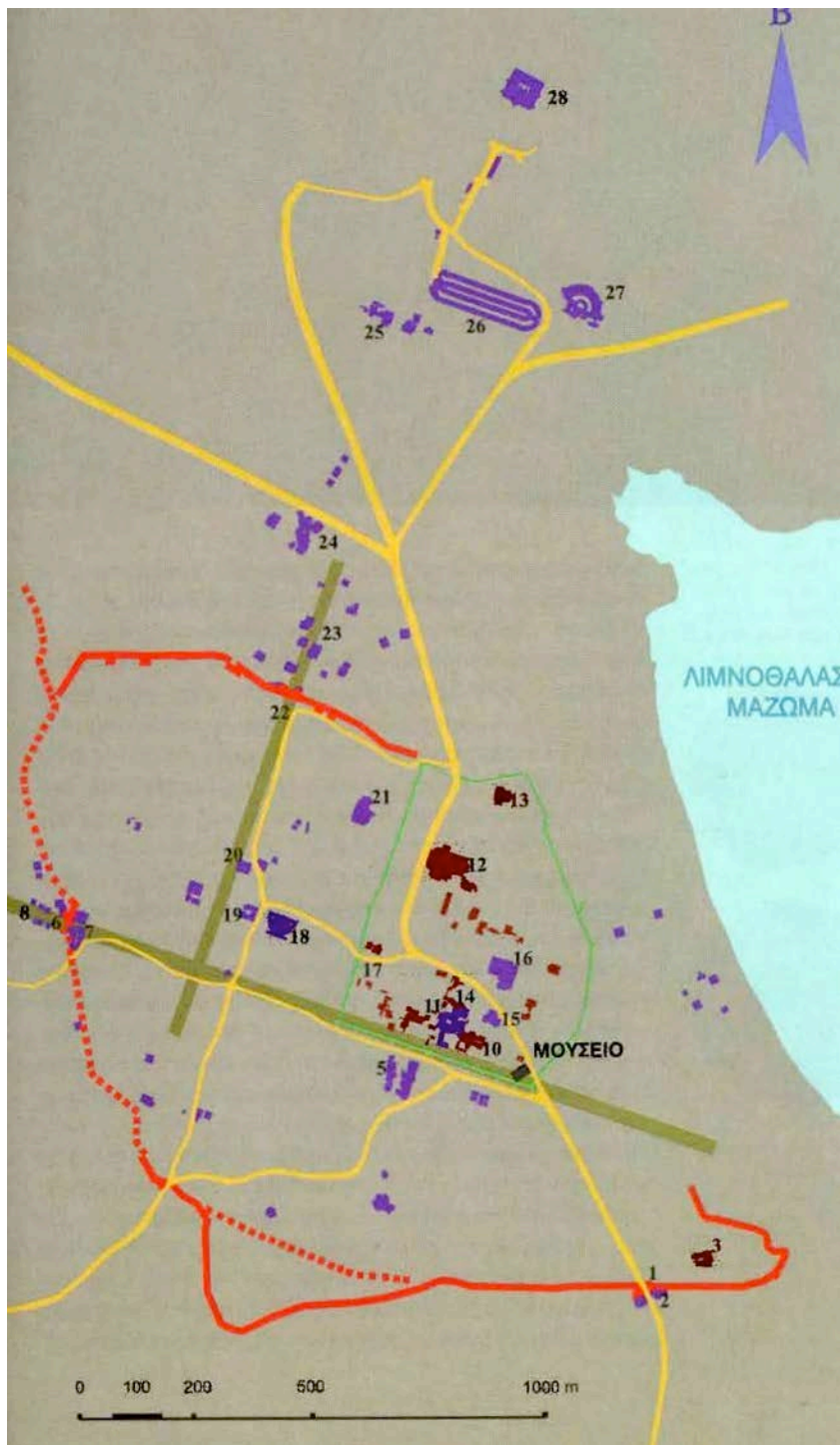


Figure 164

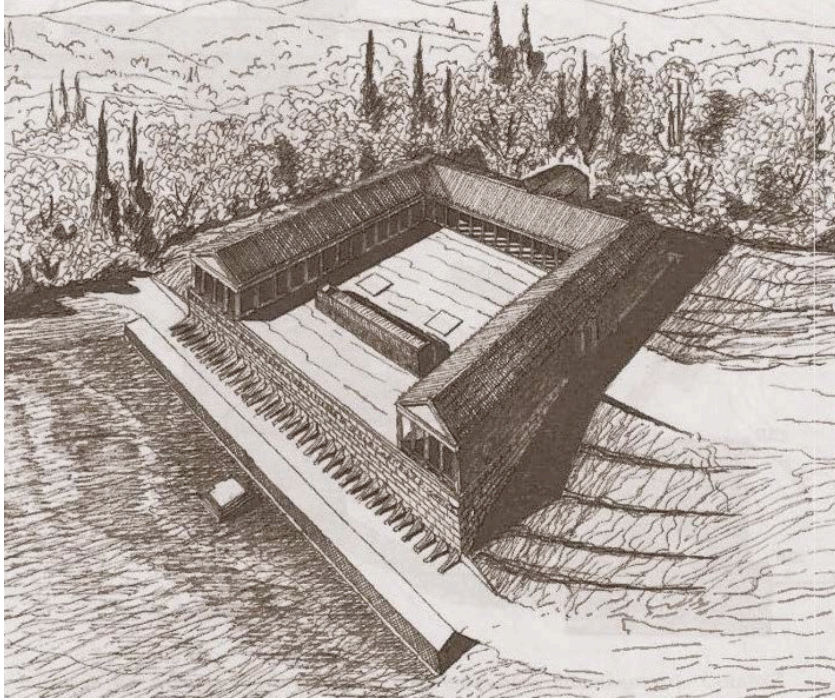


Figure 165

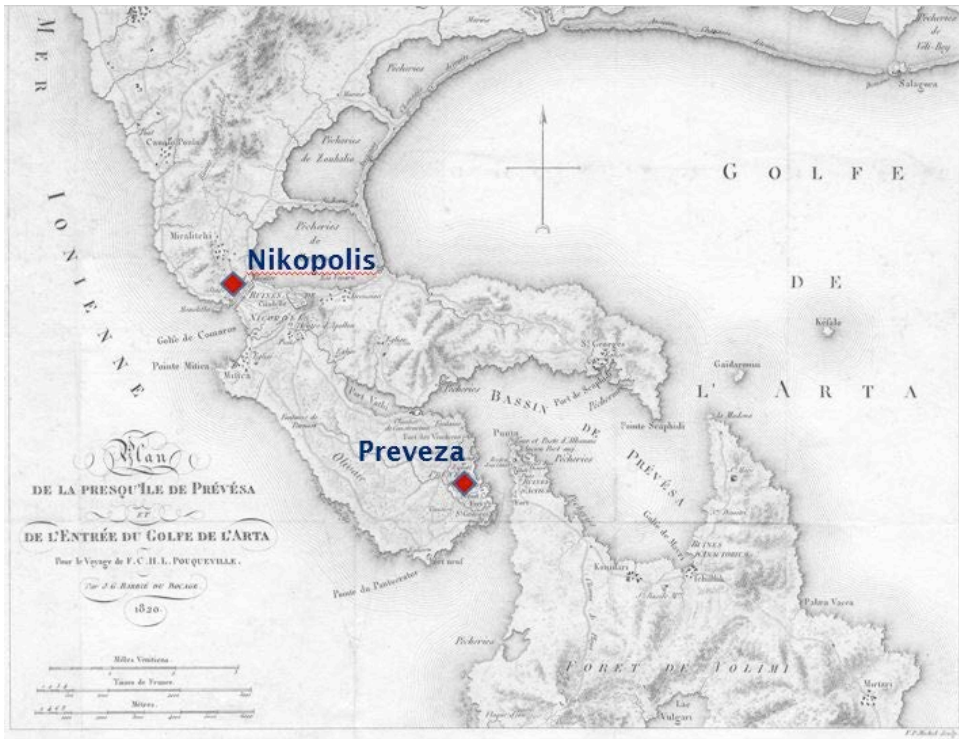


Figure 166

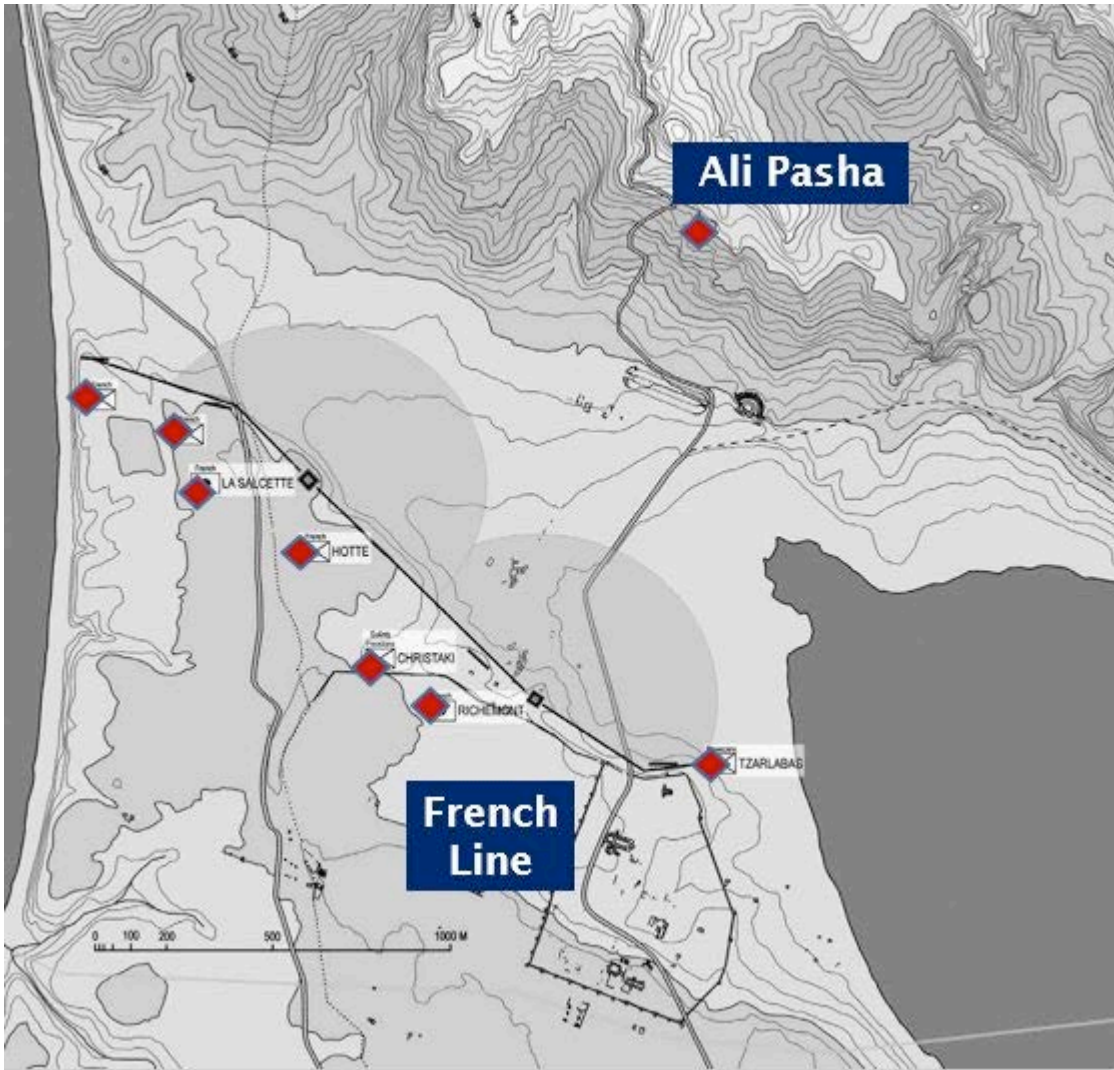


Figure 167

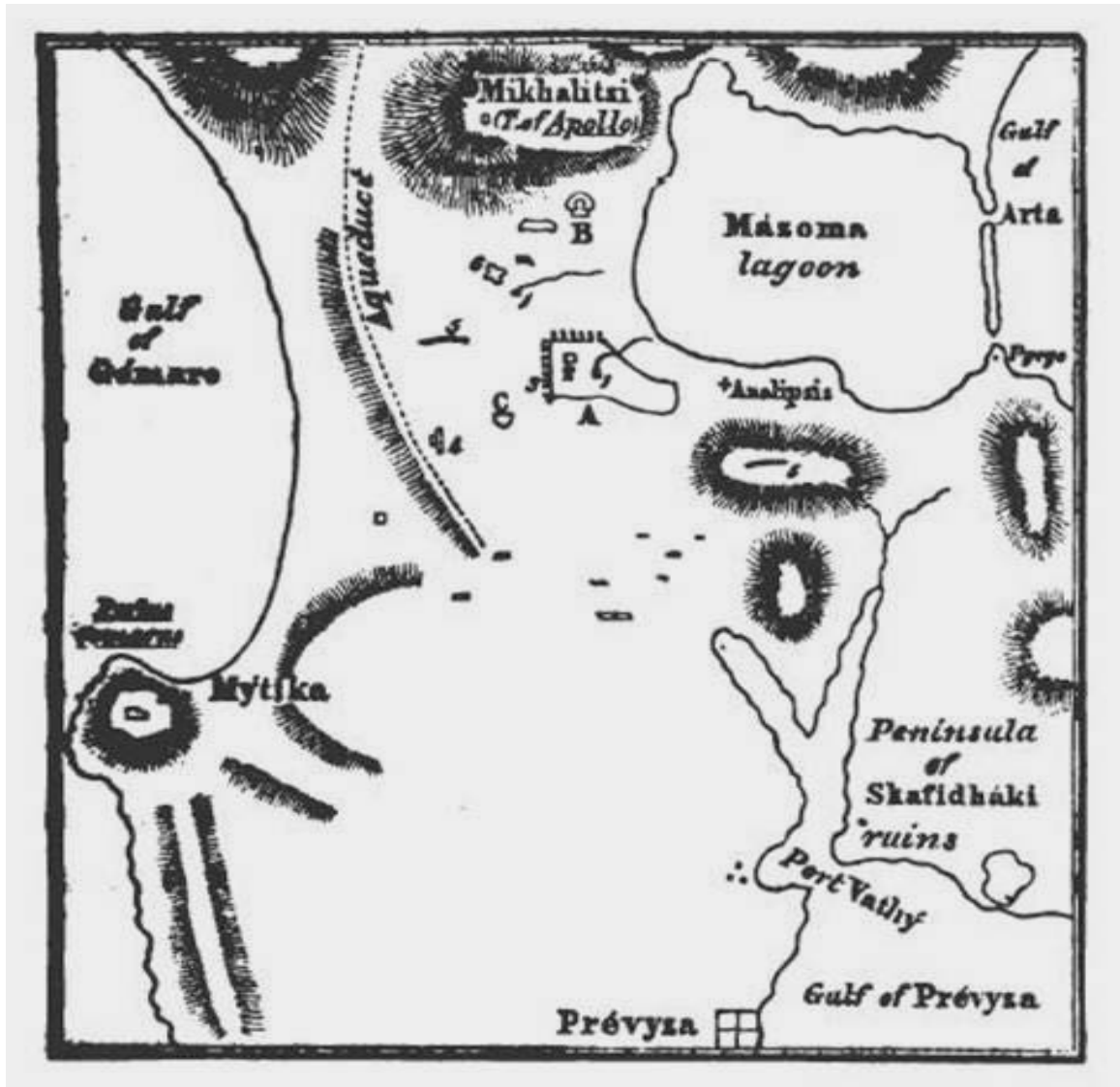


Figure 168

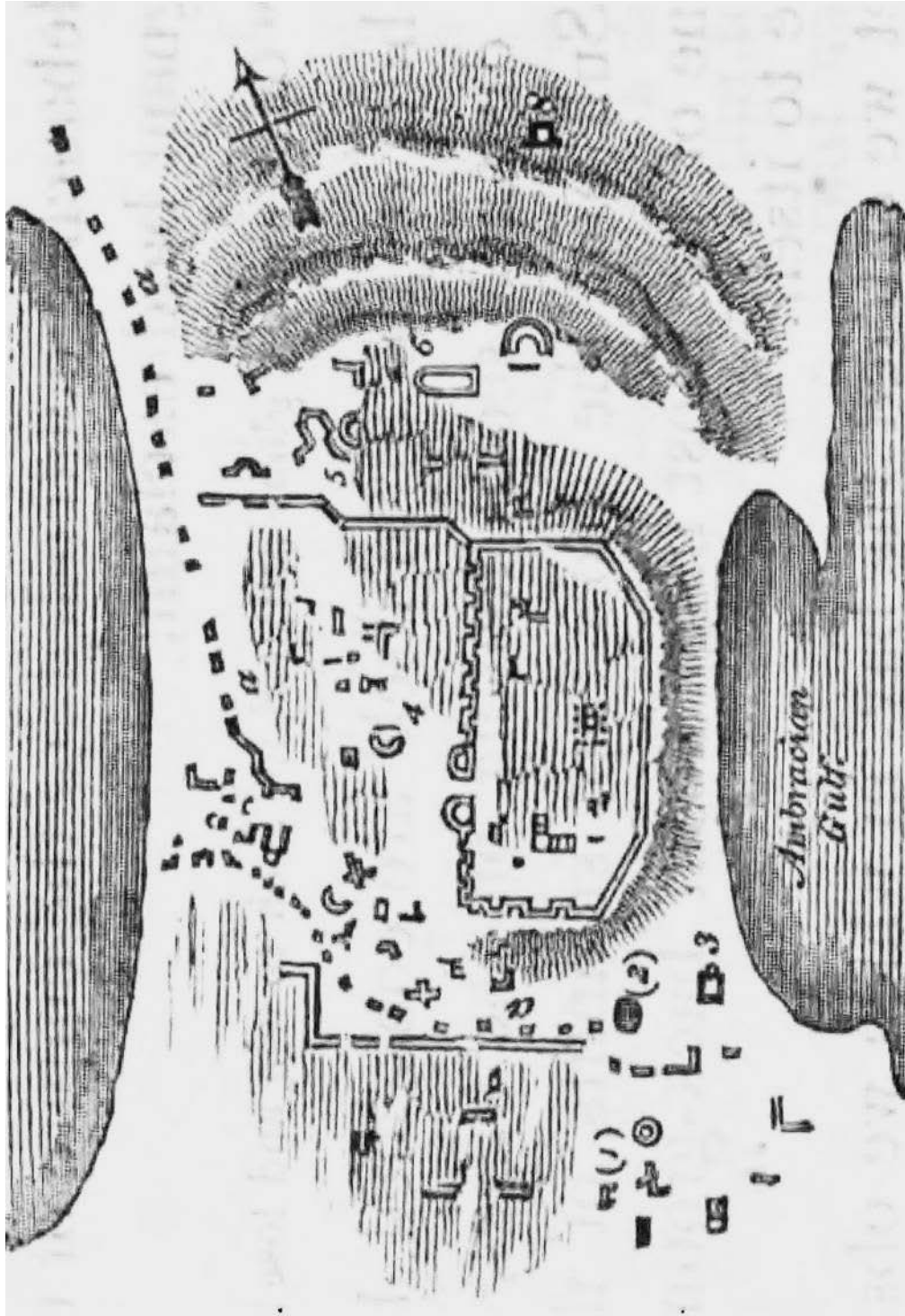


Figure 169



Figure 170



Figure 171



Figure 172



Figure 173



Figure 174



Figure 175



Figure 176



Figure 177