



Figure 5. Socrates and students. From a manuscript of al-Mubashshir ibn Fatik, *Mukhtar al-hikam wa mahasin al-kalim*, early thirteenth century. Topkapi Sarayi Library, Ahmet III, 3206 f.48r. After Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 76. Reproduced courtesy of the Topkapi Sarayi Library, Istanbul.

Nafpaktos: A Town to be Envid Even by Sultans¹

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With its panoramic views over the Gulf of Corinth, the town of Nafpaktos is today a pleasant seaside resort with an active cultural life and easy access to the surrounding mountains. This part of Greece is also the summer home of thousands of Greeks who have emigrated to Canada and the United States. For most of its medieval and early modern history, however, the importance and identity of Nafpaktos were affected by its location near to the Gulf's entrance.

From the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, Nafpaktos, a town associated with the battle of Lepanto, was under Ottoman rule. The documentation and photography which deal with Nafpaktos here were initially conducted in short sessions during 2006, 2007, and 2009 in the context of a larger interdisciplinary project which examines the architectural remains of the Ottoman period in southern Greece.² Some of this preliminary fieldwork comprised the documentation of structures such as fountains and their course. Additional documentation is drawn from the unremitting work of enthusiastic scholars and local researchers who have devoted themselves to the reconstruction of the architectural and textual history of Nafpaktos during its long life. The observations on the Ottoman architecture of the town by Marinou and Petronotis and the collections of information included in a recent

book on the historical archaeology of Nafpaktos by Nerandzis highlight the potential of interdisciplinary approaches which utilize textual, architectural, art historical, and archaeological records for periods of history which have not previously formed the focus of academic research.³

With the territorial breakdown of the Byzantine Empire following the Fourth Crusade (1204), the Gulf of Corinth and its surrounding land came under the control of diverse states and rulers.⁴ This body of water adapted to the needs, priorities and historical circumstances of each ruling power. The town of Nafpaktos is located only nine kilometers east of Andirrio which marks the northern point of the narrowest distance (two kilometers) between the north and south shores of the Gulf. Due to its closeness to the mouth of the Gulf, the history and significance of Nafpaktos was for the most part tied with who controlled the Gulf and how forcefully they guarded its western entrance. Until the construction of the Corinth Canal in the late nineteenth century, Nafpaktos was the only maritime entry point to the Gulf. The natural orientation of Nafpaktos was towards the sea, as the mountainous hinterland behind it was not readily accessible in the past. This relative lack of inland plains and easy access routes further north was not detrimental since despite the existence of other strongly fortified places in and just outside the Gulf of Corinth (such as Patras, located outside the Gulf to the west, and Corinth, close to the eastern end of the Gulf), the location of Nafpaktos ensured that its castle overlooked the entrance to one of the most frequented maritime routes in Greece (fig. 1). This route went through the Gulf and past major port towns such as Vostitza/Aigion and Corinth, themselves gateways to the Peloponnese to the south. Continental regions to the north were approached via the Isthmus or, especially from the eighteenth century onwards, from increasingly important ports on the north shores, such as Messolonghi, just west of the Gulf, and Galaxeidi inside the Gulf.

Control of the castles on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, and therefore of the Gulf itself, passed mostly between the Venetians and the Ottomans between the fifteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. Despite this pattern, there are rarely towns with identical pasts in the region. We are, therefore, in the realm of diverse political geographies, defined in the micro-regional level largely through the coexistence of Christian, Muslim and Jewish populations within a larger administrative framework that was dictated by Venice or Istanbul and the changing relations between their two states. The history of Nafpaktos diverges from regional developments in the length of its Ottoman and Venetian phases. It is during the Venetian and Ottoman phases that the link between the changing circumstances in the control of the Gulf and the highs and lows in the status of the town of Nafpaktos can be noticed most saliently. During those phases power over the Gulf was often closely connected with the administrative and military capabilities of Nafpaktos. Often in academic and popular writing the closeness of the town of Nafpaktos to the entrance to the Gulf is exalted when the Venetian period is mentioned. The intervening period until Greek independence, conversely, is seen as one of continuous decline.⁵ After a short phase of brief renaissance of activity due to the passage of Turkish property to Souliote families in 1829, the town declined again in the modern period culminating in the mass emigration from this region to North America and Australia in the 1950s and 1960s.

First Venetian and Ottoman Phases

After the Venetians took control of Nafpaktos in 1407, they redesigned the pre-existing hilltop castle into a unique fortress made of five contiguous walled zones. These descended from the top of the hill to the harbor, some 200 meters below, and included the upper castle in the top two tiers and the town in the lower three tiers. The combination of a naturally advantageous location with plenty of fresh water within the wall perimeter and the provision of defensible elements in the individual tiers (for example, the western entrance to the upper castle is a triple gate) made this an enviable place to try and gain control over.

The construction of strong walls was a prominent intervention on newly acquired Venetian lands and served as an effective tool of colonial rule.⁶ But before Morosini's conquest of the Morea in the late seventeenth century, and with the exception of Crete, there was no extensive hinterland controlled by the Venetians away from coastal forts. These acted as stepping stones in a maritime network focused on the shipment of goods to and from destinations further east. Lepanto (or versions of that name), as Nafpaktos was known in Italy, Spain and the rest of Europe, was one of those safe nodal points. The natural advantages of Nafpaktos were, however, exploited fully only in the 1430s, after the loss of Venetian control of Patras to the Byzantines. The Venetians are reported to have relocated merchants from Patras to Lepanto and thus to have transferred their commercial focus there.⁷ Despite the impressive efforts to strengthen the fortifications of Nafpaktos, the town was taken by the Ottomans who had besieged it twice (in 1462/3 and 1477) before they secured it in 1499. Having conquered Corinth to the east and Patras to the west more than forty years earlier, the takeover of Nafpaktos completed the series of conquests which led to total Ottoman control of the Corinthian Gulf.

The link between Nafpaktos and the strait increased in significance after the Ottoman conquest. Bayezid II strengthened the military protection of the Gulf immensely by building two forts on either side of the narrow strait, known today as the castles of Rio and Andirrio (of Morea and Rumeli, respectively, in the past). These structures ensured exclusive access to the Gulf of Corinth, prohibiting entry to any non-Ottoman military ships. The commercial functions of the Gulf were also redirected through limiting access to commercial ships in daytime, requiring European vessels to submit a special document to their consulates in Patras; and the levying of heavier entry taxes on non-Ottoman ships, including Venetian vessels.⁸ The role of the Gulf was thus reoriented and it could justly be said that it was turned into an Ottoman lake. Nafpaktos became a stronghold of the Ottoman Empire on the way to the Adriatic. The town became known as *İnebahtı* or *Aynabakhtı* in Turkish and was the seat of a *sanjak*, an administrative position

it kept throughout its Ottoman history. The Ottomans retained the fortifications and made additions to suit the evolving needs of protection of a town which had more administrative functions concentrated in it than earlier. Ottoman construction can easily be witnessed in a domed gate complex which still stands in the north-eastern extremity of the second lower tier of the castle (fig. 2), as well as in the surviving inscription over the monumental western gate of the lower town which was constructed in 1714.⁹

The Battle of Lepanto

While Nafpaktos had turned into *İnebahtı*, the name Lepanto gained a lasting legacy due to a military event of the late sixteenth century. The battle of Lepanto, fought in the waters outside the entry of the Gulf, had far-reaching repercussions for the victors and for the town of Nafpaktos, the name of which happened to be shared with the name of the battle. The Gulf of Corinth, together with the Gulf of Patras immediately to its west, was known as the Gulf of Lepanto during Venetian and later times.

The five-hour battle took place in October 1571 between a European fleet made of united Spanish and Venetian ships under the blessings of Pope Pius V on one side and the Ottoman fleet of Sultan Selim II on the other. The result of the battle was not detrimental to the naval capabilities of the Ottomans since they rebuilt their navy very quickly and also took Cyprus from Venice and Tunis from Spain in the following years. But since it was a decisive victory, the symbolic and psychologically uplifting dimensions of the battle for western Christianity were much higher than the actual effect of the battle on the balance of power in the Mediterranean.¹⁰ The success of European forces nurtured a wave of celebrations. Large spectacles organized in Venice both preceded and followed the battle of Lepanto, while its visual commemoration acquired its own iconography thanks to the efforts of artists like Veronese and Tintoretto.¹¹ Works of art representing the battle in places such as Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and the cathedral of Lyon in

France, and the annual commemoration of the battle on 7th October in Venetian-held areas of the East Mediterranean, ensured that the symbolic significance of the battle was not lost for generations to come.¹²

The town of Nafpaktos itself has cultivated its onomastic association with the battle by commemorating it in several ways, including the presence of a statue of Miguel Cervantes who fought and was injured (he lost his left arm) in the battle, and fireworks displays organized by the municipal authorities and attended by European dignitaries. There is a definite association of the town with the victorious side of the battle. In this spirit of triumphant commemoration there are occasional misunderstandings even in academic studies concerning the location of the battle which is mistaken for that of waters close to the town.¹³ Ironically, the somewhat misplaced connection between the town and the battle might have been fitting for the representatives of the Pope and Don Juan of Austria, as they would undoubtedly have been glad to claim the desirable castle for Christian rulers. A reflection of this connection may already be seen in a painted portrait now in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum of Marc'Antonio Barbaro, the leader of the Venetian forces. The painting was made shortly after the battle of Lepanto and is anonymous, but suggestions of attribution include Paolo Veronese. Barbaro also served as Venetian ambassador to the Porte, thus the traditional title of the painting locates him in an Istanbul landscape. It was suggested by Deborah Howard, however, that the landscape should be identified with the Gulf of Lepanto, instead.¹⁴ Close examination of the painting suggests that this identification is certainly correct. It is notable, in addition, that the painting does not depict the location of the battle (or the battle events) but presents a view of the Gulf from the strait of Rio and Andirrio and extending to Nafpaktos in the far end. Given the triumphant nature of the art which celebrated the battle, this painting is visual expression of Venetian dreams for regaining control of the Gulf.

This connection between the town and the battle of Lepanto is a curious reversal of identities for the reality of the time was that

Nafpaktos was the seat of the Ottoman fleet in western Greece, one of the westernmost areas of the Ottoman Empire, and the place where the Ottomans received their provisions before they set out to meet their adversaries. Thus, there is a discrepancy between the place of the town in popular and historical imagination and historical facts. A thorough discussion of this displacement is beyond the scope of this paper, but it should be noted that it might be seen both as a pointer of complex networks of relations between Renaissance Europe and the Ottoman East and as part of a discourse pertaining to the perception of the Ottoman past.

Despite the significance attributed to the battle of Lepanto from the time it occurred, the Ottoman rule of Nafpaktos continued unabated for more than a hundred years after the battle apart from a short occupation by the Knights of Malta in 1603. Both before and after the battle of Lepanto Nafpaktos was, nevertheless, affected by an earthquake that caused serious damage to buildings and destruction to the castle walls in 1544 and a second earthquake in 1584 that apparently caused the destruction of many houses. Other disruptions of urban life include episodes of plague at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Moreover, the administrative control of Istanbul on Nafpaktos seems to have declined in the course of the seventeenth century, since the town came to be used as a base for the activities of North African pirates and the term "Little Algiers" became associated with it. Often when this connection with piracy is mentioned, the implication is that the Turkish authorities and the pirates were working in collusion. But even if this were true on the local level (the name of the "terrible" Durak Bey is associated with the mid-seventeenth century), Istanbul could hardly have wished for such a situation on its sensitive western borders where it was involved in a continuous conflict with Venice. A statement by Evliya Çelebi that Venetian and Maltese ships do not notice the castle of Rio and routinely go past it may, therefore, reflect a decline in the Ottoman control of the Gulf in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁶

A famous Turkish traveler, Çelebi produced ten volumes of writing about his trips in Ottoman-ruled lands, including descriptions

and interesting stories about the places he saw. The quote incorporated in the title of this paper, "a town to be envied even by sultans," has been taken from his description of Nafpaktos. The quoted phrase appears formulaically throughout his books. Çelebi often used superlatives and numerical data which are not to be understood literally, but as an index of the scale of impression that each place left on him.¹⁷ Even taking into consideration these reservations about Çelebi's clichés, and the hints of a troubled relationship between Nafpaktos and central administration, his qualification of Nafpaktos conveys something of the impression that the town left on the seasoned traveler.

Çelebi's description of the town reflects the urban environment of Nafpaktos close to the end of its first Ottoman phase.¹⁸ The castle, which bears testimony to the different phases of occupation and construction, stands almost complete but other architecture also survives and even forms part of the contemporary town life such as fountains with running water. Many of the surviving structures probably date from the second Ottoman phase although the extant mosques in the town today must have been there in some form when Çelebi visited in 1670, but his account included eight congregational mosques, at least several of which are understood to have been inside the walls, apart perhaps from one just outside to the east. These were complemented by eleven neighborhood mosques (most of which were outside the walls but with at least two inside them), three religious schools (*medrese*), one secular school (*mektep*), two hostels (*khan*), three bath complexes (*hamam*), 3,000 houses and 45 fountains (*çesme*). The account also included six dervish lodges (*tekke*). Mirroring Venetian policies, the architectural embellishment of the urban environment with public structures, in this case mosques, baths, and fountains, was integral to a process of "Ottomanization" of a conquered area.¹⁹

Other travelers of the seventeenth century were not impressed to the same degree. From the last quarter of the seventeenth into the nineteenth century many European travelers visited areas primarily of antiquarian interest and were regularly dismissive or puzzled when they encountered contemporary life in the form of Greeks

and Turks and their lifestyle, manners and towns. Due to the lack of major ancient sites close to Nafpaktos, there is no abundance of references to the town itself. For instance, Richard Chandler and Edward Dodwell, famous travelers of the late eighteenth century, did not stop at Nafpaktos.²⁰ In addition, the almost uninterrupted Ottoman possession of the town may indeed have been a prohibitive factor for visits by Europeans and thus contributed to the somewhat limited European references. Travelers to Nafpaktos, nevertheless, contribute information which helps reconstruct a town with mixed ethnic and religious communities. When Spon visited in 1676 he noted the presence of Moors who had settled there as a result of the town's use as a pirate base.²¹ Spon and Wheler stayed at the house of a Jew who was the vice-consul of France, Venice and England. They mention that there were fewer Jews than in Patras but still record the existence of three synagogues inside the castle.²²

The small community of a hundred (possibly families rather than individuals) Jews recorded by Benjamin of Tudela when he visited Nafpaktos in the twelfth century lived "close to the sea" and thus probably near the harbor. But later the Jewish community seems to have relocated higher in the town and came to be associated with two toponyms, Ovriolakka which is traditionally located in the second tier from the harbor and Ovriaki, an area immediately outside the northeastern gate, where numerous Jewish graves lay. This neighborhood seems to have lain in ruins and abandoned already since Ottoman times although details are not known.²³ Wheler had noted that the number of Christians was smaller than the Turks and Jews although it may be relevant that no Christians would have been allowed to live within the walls of the castle. Wheler further remarked that the products transported from the harbor were mostly hides, olive oil, tobacco, rice, barley and wheat.²⁴ This agrees both with Çelebi's observations on a large tanning workshop to the east of the town and a complex with such function recorded in the illustrated map of Nafpaktos discussed below.²⁵

Interesting correlations between the material surviving on the ground and an Ottoman colored drawing of Nafpaktos (measur-

ing 75.5 by 57.5cm) can, therefore, be seen. This was first studied in detail through a facsimile kept in the Benaki Museum by G. Marinou, with the original published in exhibition catalogues of Ottoman art.²⁶ This is an illustration, probably dating to the second half of the sixteenth century and certainly before the Venetian reoccupation, of the area of Nafpaktos with the narrow strait to its west and the two forts on it. I will be referring to this illustration as the 'İnebahtı map'. The map interprets space in such a way that the top of the castle is spread out to expand into the same width as the bottom of the castle. In reality, the top tiers of the castle are much narrower than the ones closer to the harbor. This image is especially interesting for its representation of topographic relations, including the accurate depiction of the locations of mosques and the water network of the town. The image can be compared to another Ottoman illustration of Nafpaktos, part of the Matrakçı Nasuh album which can be dated more securely to the mid-sixteenth century and belongs to a series of ten city depictions.²⁷ The İnebahtı map displays a much greater interest for detail on the ground.

Second Venetian and Ottoman Occupations

Despite the earlier European/Christian victory at the battle of Lepanto, it was only in 1687 that Venice regained control of Nafpaktos (and the Morea) for a short period. The Turks kept a close eye on it, trying unsuccessfully to retake the castle through their army in 1692. Nevertheless, the Venetians changed the administrative and social configuration of the area. Nafpaktos became the seat of the *territorio* of Acheloos, but its population seems to have suffered economically through unstable conditions of taxation. Changed financial and commercial conditions may be reflected in the partial relocation of the Jewish population.²⁸ Venetian control over Nafpaktos was shorter than equivalent rule of other southern Greek areas due to the decisions taken in the 1699 treaty of Karlowitz. This treaty addressed the Veneto-Turkish balance of power in southeast Europe.²⁹ Venice thus had control of Nafpaktos only for twelve

years, sixteen years less than several other Greek towns, including the whole of the Peloponnese with its numerous fortified towns such as Corinth, Nafplio, and Monemvasia.

When the Venetians attacked Ottoman possessions in the 1680s, they destroyed most of the pre-existing Ottoman architecture. But it is not certain what Morosini's destruction in Nafpaktos entailed. Moreover, among the terms of the treaty of Karlowitz was the destruction of the castles of Andirrio and Nafpaktos. It is thus not evident what was built after partial or complete destruction or constructed on new ground by the Ottomans in the eighteenth century. The late seventeenth-century events suggest that much of the surviving structures today probably date from the ensuing, second Ottoman phase. Although the town went through further interventions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the destruction of mosques and the removal of almost all visible Ottoman inscriptions, much seems to have been (re)built on the same spot as before, while features which contributed to the urban infrastructure inconspicuously, such as fountains of the first Ottoman phase, also survive. This can best be seen through comparisons of the extant structures with Çelebi's information, but very informatively also through comparison with the features recorded in the İnebahtı map. For example, fountains in the immediate vicinity of the Külliye (see below) are certainly earlier than the late seventeenth century and probably date as early as the mid-sixteenth century. Thus, pictorial evidence (the İnebahtı map and the Matrakçı Nasuh illustration) suggests that there is at least some direct correlation between the architecture of the two Ottoman phases, including the locations of the mosques.

During the second Ottoman phase Nafpaktos was still the seat of a *sanjak* (of İnebahtı). In the same *sanjak* were towns extending well into western and east central Greece (such as Karpenisi, Domokos and Ypati), with their respective catchment areas of villages and agricultural land contributing taxes, making Nafpaktos quite important in regional administration, although the extent and revenues of the *sanjak* seem to have decreased in the course of the eighteenth century. The area was also affected by a plague in

1742.³⁰ Travelers' comments are generally not complimentary, fitting a pattern of west European travel literature that openly favored ancient ruins against contemporary signs of life.³¹ Nevertheless, by the time William Martin Leake visited in 1806 it is probable that much of the Jewish community had left.³² After the *Orlov* revolt of 1770 and the ensuing treaty of Küçük Kainarji (1774) the commerce of Nafpaktos declined while the ports of Aitoliko, Messolonghi and Galaxeidi along the northern shore of the Gulf and just to its west grew in importance.³³ These are some of the signs that the *sanjak* of Nafpaktos was poor and that the harbor of the town itself went through some decline in the second Ottoman phase.

Given the destruction of earlier features in southern Greece by the Venetians, the eighteenth century was very active in the establishment of Ottoman charitable foundations for the provision of water in the reconquered areas, as can be seen in the several dated inscriptions of fountains at Nafplio in the Peloponnese, as well as in the building or rebuilding of mosques.³⁴ An examination of the surviving material which only provides a hint as to what was there originally clearly shows that the second Ottoman phase in Nafpaktos was productive in terms of architectural and charitable patronage, sometimes at the highest level. Within the medieval walls of Nafpaktos the remains of three mosques survive in different conditions of preservation. The mosque to the right of the harbor's entrance is the most complete, capped by a dome of about nine meters in diameter which forms a visible landmark and features in most postcards of the town. This is believed to be the Conquest Mosque (*Fethiye Cami*), built upon the occasion of the takeover of the town by Bayezid II, although it was altered and possibly rebuilt later. According to Çelebi, there was also a mosque bearing the name of Sultan Bayezid (different from the *Fethiye Cami*) which has been tentatively identified with traces located just a few meters away from the topmost mosque which was situated on the upper bailey of the castle. This latter mosque retains the base of its minaret and may be the *Baba Çavus Cami* mentioned by Çelebi (fig. 3).³⁵ The building occupied the site now taken up by the church of Profitis Ilias and is next to a structure of uncertain original func-

tion which was used as a bathhouse in Byzantine and probably into Ottoman times.³⁶

There is also an extremely interesting remaining structure in the middle section of the walled town, right next to the eastern wall. It is not certain whether Çelebi includes this mosque in his account, but a mosque in that location appears in the İnebahtı map as do the one mosque located on the harbor and that on the top of the castle. That this area had some special interest for the Ottoman authorities of the town is suggested by the placement of this mosque within the perimeter of a walled enclosure which includes an impressive bath building and two fountains (one of which is freestanding with two functioning façades, fig. 4) right next to the eastern curtain wall and very close to a monumental gate to the castle built by the Ottomans. What is preserved inside the enclosure includes the remains of a stone-built structure which shares the orientation of the mosque and evidently provided a platform for the building above it. There is also part of the minaret standing (fig. 5). The bath building abuts the platform to the south and includes a staircase leading to a rectangular courtyard lined with benches and focused around an octagonal fountain, and several rooms in the main building arranged around a central domed section (fig. 6).³⁷ The location of the beginning of a major water network at the spring which feeds the double fountain immediately north of the complex and the existence of a second early fountain on the perimeter of the complex suggests that the construction of the baths must have followed the establishment of the water supply network in that area of the castle; and that the placement of the mosque and perhaps of the whole complex may have been dictated partly by the location of the spring and the need to be close to such a reliable source of water for ritual and practical needs.

Machiel Kiel suggested the identification of this complex with the Külliye of Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha Köprülü, vizier of the Ottoman Empire from 1699 to 1702 and a major player in imperial politics.³⁸ In the same early years of the second Ottoman phase a series of architectural interventions were prompted by natural factors, such as an earthquake in 1703 following which serious damage was

identified along the intermediate walls and the eastern and western curtain walls of the castle.³⁹ The high patronage of the Külliye, however, indicates that the priorities of the Ottoman authorities were not dictated merely by practical needs. The building activity suggests a significant influx of funds from the central administration aimed at showcasing Nafpaktos as an Ottoman possession in a strategic area in the turn of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, Hüseyin Pasha Köprülü had been involved in the negotiations of the treaty of Karlowitz and his patronage in Nafpaktos may be seen as a triumphant gesture in the aftermath of the Treaty. Following the treaty the vizier materialized a program of reforms of the Turkish military. Restructuring was carried out also in naval administration, while the vizier built a fleet of galleons according to Venetian prototypes.⁴⁰ The role of Nafpaktos as a military and naval base on the western frontier may be relevant to the choice of the town for this official's patronage.

Apart from the surviving bath complex next to the site identified as the Külliye, other baths have been identified in the town. A particular feature of the İnebahtı map is the intense interest in recording the water provision of the town. Apart from the remarkable feature of fountains which are connected with the water channels running through the town and shown in the map (see below), baths form one of the immediately identifiable features of the illustration. An extensive water network already seems to have been in place in antiquity, but the surviving remnants comprise fountains, channels which move the water between the fountains towards lower zones, and cisterns which gathered some of the water for household needs and vegetable gardens. While some of the fountains were freestanding, most surviving structures were built into walls and street facades of other buildings. There are no fountains in the upper zones of the castle which instead depended on cisterns. Large cisterns are extant to the north of the Profitis Ilias church, while another is located on the highest level of the castle. The fountains lying in the vicinity of the Külliye mark the beginning of the extensive network of features which transferred fresh water to lower levels of the fortified town.⁴¹

To date we have identified seven fountains connected by a channel which is at times visible overground and at times runs underground from the Külliye to the Iron Gate, an entrance way which leads to the lower section of the town. The channel feeding from the top fountain seems also to bifurcate towards an additional line of fountains which passed just below the modern clock tower to the east of the lower town. In the past this area probably included a fountain in the courtyard of the church of Ayios Dimitrios, the modern cathedral built after the destruction of an earlier church in 1978, which itself had replaced an earlier mosque. The main line of fountains which starts from the level of the Iron Gate and continues westwards in the lowest tier of the town includes structures which are less well-preserved than the ones close to the Külliye. Some of the fountains are not functioning and some have been altered in more modern times or possibly replaced older ones entirely. The eastern part of the lower town (inside and outside the walls) retains numerous fresh water fountains which are clearly modern structures (some bear inscriptions with twentieth century dates) although at least some are known to have replaced earlier features.

The western part of the fountain network in the lower town (inside the walls) includes fountains abutting the exterior of or found in the garden of the Botsaris Historical Foundation. Having belonged to the Botsaris family since 1829, this residential complex is divided in two sections: a western one contiguous to the wall of the town and located just a few meters north of the monumental western gate of Nafpaktos, and an eastern section which includes an enclosed garden with evidence of pipes running along the plaster-lined south wall. The latter feature indicates the existence of a bath inside the complex. Although the history of the Botsaris complex before 1830 is uncertain, it could be identified as the residence of the Ottoman officials through both the Ottoman phases. It can also be identified with a complex with roof crenellations depicted in the İnebahtı map, which includes a fountain.

The springs of the castle also fed a series of fountains and cisterns outside the eastern walls. One of two extant extramural fountains

in the area immediately to the east of the Külliye is in the vicinity of a built feature which can be identified as the foundation platform of a mosque (fig. 7). Although no superstructure survives, this feature has the same orientation as the mosque of the Külliye. The most detailed travel account that exists on Nafpaktos from the nineteenth century, written by Ludwig Salvator, is the only other known record of a mosque in that area. Although Salvator's account has been correlated with the mosque of Omer Effendi mentioned by Çelebi, the extant remains had not been noticed and no connection between those and the travelers' accounts or any visual representations of the town had been made. More complete remains were described by Salvator than what is visible today but he also noted a nearby fountain.⁴² The water network in this area was complemented by plaster-lined cisterns, a few of which are still located in neighboring vegetable fields beneath the town walls. These lines of fountains, as well as a mosque visible just outside the eastern walls are identified already in the İnebahtı map. A comparison between the features shown on the map and the extant remains of mosques, fountains and baths shows a remarkable correspondence between the two.

A cursory look at a map of the region around Nafpaktos shows the strong link between the town and the natural resources close to it. The relationship between the intra-mural and extra-mural water provision as seen here demonstrates the interdependence of the interior and exterior of the town for subsistence and administrative purposes. Nafpaktos was the major urban centre in eastern Aetolia, a region which has abundant water resources. The system of water provision for Nafpaktos and its surrounding area was heavily dependent on the plentiful rivers and streams in the region, especially the Mornos River and Skala stream just east of the town. Water from these was diverted to dozens of watermills, which have occasionally left some remains. Some mills are recorded in the right-hand side of the İnebahtı map. The watermills have not been examined systematically, so not much could be said about the chronology of the remains. There is some evidence on how the mills were used: for instance, Venetian documents of the monastery of Varnakova, a major landowner in the region, mention the mill of

Ferit Agha, east of the Mornos river near the village of Managouli.⁴³ Agriculture was, of course, the major area of exploitation of the waters outside the walls of the town, but tanning must have been an important use to which the water from the watermills was put. The Ottoman water network linked the town and the countryside, not only through the use of common resources, but through the investment in dedicated architecture, as the existence of intra- and extra-mural fountains shows.

Conclusion

Other places, such as Nafplio and Negroponte, were contested more actively from the Fourth Crusade onwards, but Nafpaktos seems to have enjoyed relative stability during the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Çelebi visited many of those towns, but curiously, he included a very limited number of drawings in his manuscript of ten volumes: that of Nafpaktos is the only surviving of three drawings. This illustration is only a scribble but is recognizable as the shape of the harbor and walls and suggests that Nafpaktos left a unique impression on Çelebi's eyes.⁴⁴ If we believe his detailed descriptions from the late seventeenth century, and the detailed representation of the town in the probably earlier İnebahtı map, we can conclude that the intervening time since the Conquest had been very active in both public and private patronage. The extant architectural material which has been briefly discussed here certainly suggests that this was the case before and after Çelebi's time although the return to Ottoman rule in the early eighteenth century has been connected to severe Ottoman cultural and political disintegration. The travelers' accounts indicate that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in particular, the town was characterized by a reduction of its population, along with decline of productive and commercial activities. At least in some cases, however, patronage of public amenities seems to be connected to high officials with plentiful resources in their hands and land-holdings around the Balkans. The patronage by such an important state

functionary as Köprülü Pasha is an indication of the strategic value of Nafpaktos at the turn of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, due to changes in international trade, in the Ottoman position in the Mediterranean, and the growing number of armed insurrections, central control by Istanbul on its western provinces became increasingly loose in the course of that century.

Popular imagination and academic writing had, until recently, linked the history of the Ottoman empire with widespread stagnation. With increasing interest in the Ottoman presence in Greece and the Balkans, a more complex picture is emerging. Despite the fragmentary and varied remains, the structures discussed above offer evidence for unbroken Ottoman architectural patronage. These structures bear testimony to a past that cannot just be dismissed as culturally stagnant or as peripheral to the more important political tensions between occupiers and occupied. It is evident from the surviving structures that they exploit and continue, to an extent, earlier networks of natural resources and significant places as the changeover between churches and mosques shows. It is also clear that the investment we have seen does not originate merely in an alien culture which disappeared as quickly as it appeared with the establishment of the Greek state. Rather, it testifies to long-term socio-cultural processes with continuing resonance. To return to the title of this paper, was Nafpaktos a town to be envied even by sultans? Apart from any exaggeration behind this phrase, the picture emerging from the architectural evidence in combination with textual and visual records suggests that the town attracted the interest of central administration which devoted considerable funds to building. A most telling sign of this interest for Nafpaktos in Istanbul is the drawn sixteenth century map. The illustration of towns and regions in such detail was not common outside manuscripts and an extremely limited number of comparable views have survived.

The strong fortifications, advantageous location and plentiful water resources of Nafpaktos facilitated Ottoman control of the Gulf of Corinth. The fortification of Rio and Andirrio by the Ottomans highlights the interdependence of the places making up the

western end of the Gulf. The significance of Nafpaktos can be seen from its actual role in the battle of Lepanto—as the base of the Ottoman navy—and inferred from the material and historical evidence for architectural patronage. It is with the decline of the importance of the Gulf of Corinth and the redirection of commerce between the Adriatic and the Aegean that the role of Nafpaktos started diminishing; but not before the notable channeling of funds towards the reconstruction and urban redevelopment of the town by Ottoman authorities in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Finally, the modern cultural identity of Nafpaktos seems to have been negotiated in terms not of its position in the Gulf of Corinth (although the bridge connecting Rio and Andirrio has been promoted as a major tourist attraction) but in the context of triumphant symbolism resonating from the battle of Lepanto.

Notes

¹A lengthier version of this paper including an examination of the town of Nafplio in the Peloponnese was first delivered at the SFU Symposium on *Contacts between Hellenism and Islam* in October 2008.

²This project is conducted jointly by the author and Dr Marcus Milwright, University of Victoria, Canada.

³G.A. Marinou, “Η αρχιτεκτονική της Ναυπάκτου κατά την Ενετοκρατία και την Τουρκοκρατία,” *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 27 (1985), pp. 127–138; A. Petronotis, “Οθωμανικά αρχιτεκτονήματα Ναυπάκτου,” *Ναυπακτιακά* 6 (1992–93 [1994]), pp. 221–352; I. Nerandzis, *Ιστορική Αρχαιολογία Ναυπάκτου: Προϊστορική – Οζολαία Λοκρική – Ρωμαϊοκρατούμενη – Βυζαντινή – Μεσαιωνική – Οθωμανοκρατούμενη* (Agrinio: Ifitos, 2007).

⁴A summary of the history of Nafpaktos from the Late Byzantine to the nineteenth century is provided by I.K. Chalatsis, “Το Κάστρο της Ναυπάκτου στη διαδρομή του χρόνου,” *Ναυπακτιακά* 1/10 (1998–99 [2001]), pp. 119–194. English-language bibliography on Nafpaktos is limited: see entry Aynabakhti by Fr. Babinger, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, vol. I (1960), p. 790.

⁵These two attitudes can, for example, be seen in late nineteenth and mid-twentieth scholarship: A. Toynbee, “Greek Light on World History,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 45 (1950), p. 3, on Venetian Crete; W.J. Woodhouse, *Aetolia: Its Geography, Topography and Antiquities* (New York: Arno, 1973,

reprint of 1897 edition), p. 47, on the Turkish rule of Nafpaktos as one of constant decline.

⁶The use of the urban environment as the 'locus of colonial rule' by the Venetians is examined in M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. pp. 19–21.

⁷For a discussion of the Jewish presence in Nafpaktos, see P. Christopoulos, "Η εβραϊκή κοινότητα Ναυπάκτου," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικών Μελετών Α* (1968), pp. 277–300.

⁸S. Thomopoulos and K. Triandafyllou, *Ιστορία της πόλεως των Πατρών από αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι το 1821* (Patra, 1952), p. 407; Christopoulos, p. 284.

⁹A. Petronotis, "Οθωμανικά αρχιτεκτονήματα Ναυπάκτου," *Ναυπακτικά* 6 (1992–93 [1994]), pp. 237–242, figs. 10ε–η.

¹⁰On the battle and its aftermath, see V.J. Parry, "The Ottoman Empire 1566–1617," in R.B. Wernham (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 3 (1968), pp. 353–354; A.C. Hess, 'The Battle of Lepanto and Its Place in Mediterranean History', *Past and Present* 57 (1972), pp. 53–73.

¹¹See H.G. Majer, "The Ottoman State on the Eve of Lepanto, 1571," in A. Bryer and M. Ursinus (eds.), *Manzikert to Lepanto: The Byzantine World and the Turks 1071–1571* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1991), pp. 71–73; I. Fenlon, "Lepanto and the Arts of Celebration," *History Today* 45 (1995), pp. 24–30. An example of a triumphant image circulated widely after the battle depicts the severed head of Ali Pasha, the Ottoman naval commander: C. Newton, *Images of the Ottoman Empire*, (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2007), p. 90.

¹²M. Georgopoulou, *Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 224.

¹³For example: H. İnalcık, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire," in P.M. Holt, A.K.S. Lambton and B. Lewis (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 1A. *The Central Islamic Lands from Pre-Islamic Times to the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 337; "The great crusading fleet, . . . , attacked the Ottomans in Lepanto on 17 Jumādā I 979/7 October 1571," D. Ahlquist (ed.), *Lepanto by K. Chesterton*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004), p. 7, "The Battle . . . was fought . . . just south of the town of Lepanto."

¹⁴D. Howard, "Venice between East and West: Marc'Antonio Barbaro and Palladio's Church of the Redentore," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62 (2003), p. 310 and n. 39–42, with additional references. The painting (inv. No. GG_29) is traditionally associated with the time that Barbaro spent in Constantinople.

¹⁵On the earthquakes: C. Charalambopoulos, "Σεισμοί στη Ναύπακτο," *Ναυπακτικά* 3 (1986–1987), pp. 544–546. On the plague: Christopoulos, p. 285; the information comes from the translation of one of the Jewish grave inscriptions found in the Ovriaki neighbourhood.

¹⁶As translated in Th. Kostakis, "Ο Εβλιά Τσελεμπή στην Πελοπόννησο," *Πελοποννησιακά* ID (1980–1981), p. 250. Çelebi attributes this licentious behavior to the small size of the castle.

¹⁷R. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 154–158.

¹⁸E. Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (facsimile edition, Istanbul, 1928), vol. 8, pp. 612–617. Çelebi's text on Nafpaktos was translated in Greek in I. Giannopoulos, "Η περιήγησις του Εβλιά Τσελεμπή ανά την Στερεάν Ελλάδα," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικών Μελετών Β* (1969), pp. 173–180; and summarized in Turkish in İ. Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimarı Eserleri* (Istanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), pp. 185–186.

¹⁹I.A. Bierman, The Ottomanization of Crete, in I.A. Bierman, Rif'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order* (New York: Caratzas, 1991), pp. 53–75.

²⁰For travelers on Nafpaktos see E. Geronikou, "Ταλλόφωνοι περιηγητές στη Ναυπακτία," *Ναυπακτικά* 6 (1992–93 [1994]), pp. 467–478; N. Tripsianos, 'Αγγλόφωνοι περιηγητές στη Ναυπακτία,' *Ναυπακτικά* 6 (1992–93 [1994]), pp. 479–502.

²¹J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, vol. 2, (Lyon, 1678), p. 23.

²²G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece in the Company of Dr. Spon of Lyons*, (London: 1682), pp. 298–301.

²³Christopoulos, p. 279–280. Benjamin of Tudela's account: Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages*, with introductions by Michael A. Signer, 1983, Marcus Nathan Adler, 1907, A. Asher, 1840 (Malibu: J. Simon, 1983), p. 67–68.

²⁴Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, pp. 298–301.

²⁵Giannopoulos, p. 177.

²⁶At the Topkapı Library (TKS 17/348). E. Atıl, *The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987), p. 97, fig. 44; J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), no. 49, p. 113. On the copy at the Benaki Museum (inv. No. 24545), see Marinou, pp. 127–138. My own observations here are based on the published photos and information. D. Howard compared Barbaro's portrait to this Ottoman illustration in order to determine the identity of the landscape in the Vienna painting.

²⁷Topkapı Museum, R.1272. Atıl, *Age of Süleyman*, pp. 83–84, fig. 38 (fols. 21b–22a); Rogers and Ward, *Süleyman*, no. 42, p. 105.

²⁸E. Giannakopoulou, "Η Βενετοκρατούμενη Ναύπακτος και η περιοχή της (1687–701): Φορολογικά και άλλα δεινοπαθήματα – Δημογραφικά στοιχεία," *Ναυπακτικά* 6 (1992–93 [1994]), pp. 395–441; Christopoulos, p. 290, with further references.

²⁹On the treaty and the negotiations on Nafpaktos, see: Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967), pp. 498–512.

³⁰Christopoulos, p. 285, n. 3, refers to a codex (no. 8) of the monastery of Taxiarches Aigiou (on the northern coast of the Peloponnese), according to which the plague caused the death of 2,000 people.

³¹For example, W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. 2 (1835), p. 610, describes the reduced circumstances of the local pasha.

³²Hints of this process may already be seen in documents of the very end of the seventeenth century: Christopoulos, p. 293. Leake, *Travels*, vol. 2 (1835), p. 609, recorded thirty families of Jews living within the walls.

³³B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 31–32.

³⁴For a discussion of the water network of Nafplio and its architectural features, see M. Milwright and E. Baboula, 'Water on the Ground: Water Systems in Two Ottoman Greek Port Cities', in S. Blair and J. Bloom (eds.), *Rivers of Paradise: Water in Islamic Art and Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 213–237.

³⁵Petronotis, pp. 259.

³⁶D. Konstantios, "Ναύπακτος, Φρούριο," *Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο* 37, "Χρονικά (1982 [1989]), pp. 277–278; S. Raptopoulos, "Το βυζαντινό λουτρό του Κάστρου της Ναυπάκτου – τα λουτρά στη Ρωμαϊκή και βυζαντινή Ελλάδα," *Ναυπακτιακά* 1/10 (1998–99 [2001]), pp. 17–46.

³⁷The bath building is discussed in E. Kanetaki, *Οθωμανικά λουτρά στον Ελλαδικό χώρο*, (Athens: Technical Chamber of Greece, 2004), pp. 190–196.

³⁸M. Kiel, "The Külliye of Amcazade Hüseyin Pa_a Köprülü in Lepanto / İnebahtı: A Little-Known Work of Late-Classical Ottoman Architecture in Central Greece," *9th International Congress of Turkish Art, 23–27 September 1991*, vol. ii, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1995), pp. 379–387.

³⁹N.N. Ambraseys and C. Finkel, "Material for the Investigation of the Seismicity of the Eastern Mediterranean Region during the Period 1690–1710," in M. Stucchi (ed.), *Materials of the CEC Project "Review of Historical Seismicity in Europe"*, Milano, vol. 1, (1993), pp. 173–194; also at http://emidius.mi.ingv.it/RHISE/i_12amb/i_12abm.html, accessed 12 May 2009.

⁴⁰Avigdor Levy, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 18 (1982), p. 231.

⁴¹For a discussion of the urban framework of Nafpaktos with particular reference to the water network: Milwright and Baboula, pp. 213–237.

⁴²L. Salvator, *Eine Spazierfahrt im Golfe von Korinth*, (Prague: Heinr. Mercy, 1876), p. 15.

⁴³V. Katsaros, "Τύρω από τη μοναστική ζωή της περιοχής Ναυπάκτου στα βυζαντινά χρόνια," *Ναυπακτιακά* 6, (1992–93 [1994]), p. 134, n. 62 and fig. 7.

⁴⁴E. Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (facsimile edition, Istanbul, 1928), vol. 8, p. 612; cf. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p. 151.



Fig. 1. View eastwards to the Gulf of Corinth from the upper castle. The harbor with the dome of the *Fethiye* mosque are circled.



Fig. 2. Interior of Ottoman gate complex on eastern wall, with one of the dome squinches visible.

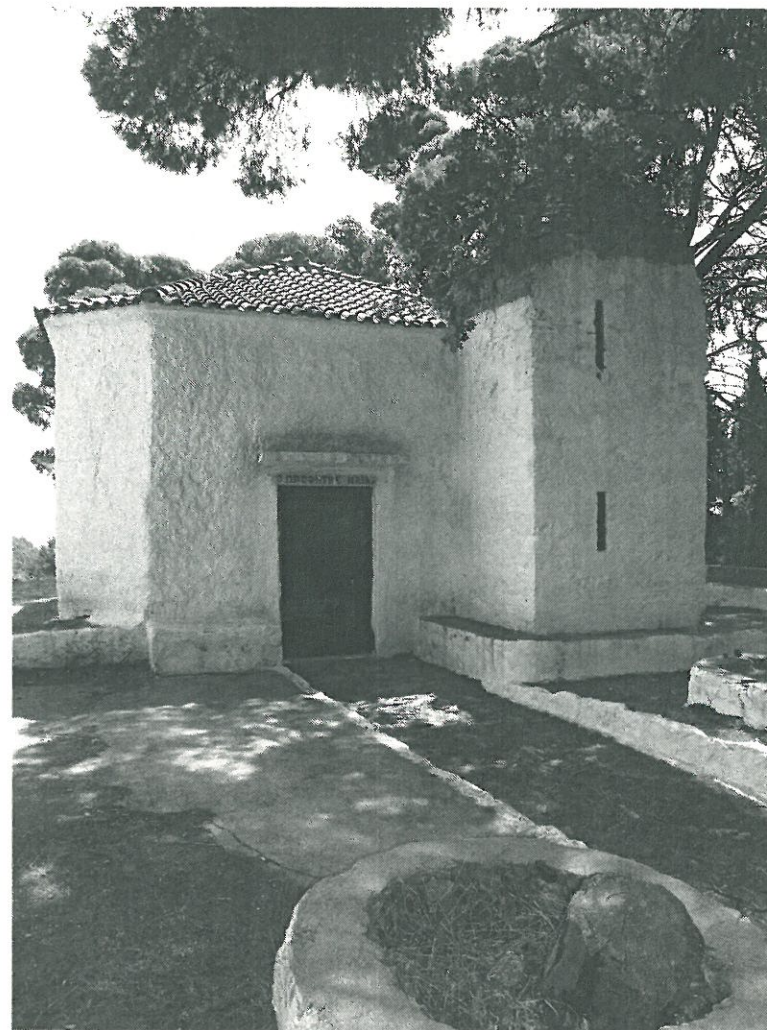


Fig. 3. The chapel of Profitis Ilias on the upper castle preserving the base of a minaret.

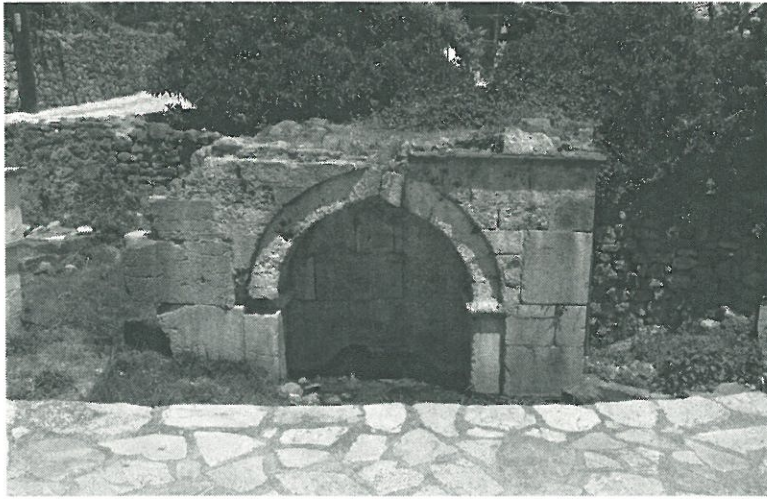


Fig. 4. South façade of the fountain immediately to the north of the *külliye* complex.



Fig. 5. Remains of the minaret and part of the platform of the mosque in the *külliye* complex (seen from the south).



Fig. 6. Entrance to the monumental bath building in the *külliye* complex with changing area and hexagonal fountain (seen from the north).



Fig. 7. Southeastern corner of the platform of a possible mosque preserved in the extramural area just east of the *külliye* complex.

Early Modern Jewish Histories In Ottoman and Mediterranean Contexts

K. E. Fleming

The blending of mythic and historical time is arguably the central characteristic of Jewish historical writing—the thing that most makes it “Jewish.” Perhaps, it is the Jewish view of history that makes Judaism what *it is*: a profoundly historical worldview, whose adherents believe “even God is known only insofar as he reveals himself ‘historically,’” in history.¹ This emphasis on historicism, made most famously by the late Yosef Hayyim Yerushalmi, has long been considered quintessentially Jewish. Yet during the early modern period, the melding of historical with eschatological and mythic time is characteristic of a wide swath of Mediterranean writing, from Orthodox Christian, Catholic, Muslim, and Jewish writers alike. An examination of some of the principal Jewish histories of the period gives a sense of the extent to which Jewish authors were vitally interested in the meaning of Ottoman history. Consideration of the broader context shows this interest to be one shared by the four central confessions of the early modern Mediterranean. We see, then, that such Jewish histories are as much Mediterranean and early modern as they are Jewish—and that the rise of the Ottomans was as carefully documented by Jewish writers as by any other group. The point of intersection provided by the Mediterranean was as much intellectual as it was anything else.