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From *Lieux de Pouvoir* to *Lieux de Mémoire*: The Monuments of the Medieval Castle of Ioannina through the Centuries

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ABSTRACT

The city of Ioannina appears in history in the 9th century and became one of the two main cities of Epirus during the Late Byzantine period, even becoming the capital of an independent state from 1367 to 1430. In this period, different 'Lieux de Pouvoirs' were built in the city (churches, the Palace of the Despot, military buildings). Nevertheless, we know little about their location or architecture. The city was walled by fortifications symbolizing its independence. Thanks to them, the city gained the title of "Castle".

In 1430 the city passed to the hands of the Ottomans who used the revolt of 1611 to expel the Christians from the walled city. The Ottomans destroyed systematically the buildings related to the past and edified in the same places their own buildings. Ali Pasha, who governed the city from 1788 to 1821, built a large palace in the citadel.

In the 19th century, the city's centre of gravity moved from the Castle and was placed outside the walls, in the surrounding neighbourhoods which existed for many centuries. By the end of the Ottoman period, the 'Lieux de Pouvoir' had therefore already moved outside the Castle.

The conquest of the city in 1913 by the Greek army did not make the Castle a 'Lieu de Pouvoir' again, but rather a 'Lieu de Mémoire'. The future of the Ottoman buildings and the museographical exploitation of the Byzantine and Ottoman Patrimony were at stake. Still today, the weak Byzantine patrimony is systematically privileged while the Ottoman remnants were ill-treated, if not deliberately destroyed.

The recent period nevertheless shows an evolution in the Greek cultural policy. Since the 1990s, research and restoration was carried out on the Ottoman monuments, while some plans are at the moment under way in order to make them visited for their own sake.

La ville de Ioannina apparaît dans l'Histoire au IX^{ème} siècle et est devenue une cité de premier ordre en Epire pendant la période byzantine tardive, devenant même capitale d'un Etat indépendant de 1367 à 1430. A cette époque, différents lieux de pouvoirs sont érigés dans la ville (Eglises, palais du Despote, bâtiments militaires). Nous ne savons cependant presque rien de leur localisation et de leur architecture. La ville était elle-même entourée de fortifications, qui faisaient d'elle un « Château » et étaient les symboles de sa liberté.

En 1430 la ville passe aux mains des Ottomans, qui profitent de la révolte de 1611 pour expulser les Chrétiens de la cité fortifiée. Les Ottomans détruisent systématiquement les bâtiments rappelant le prestige antérieur de la ville et édifient à la place leurs propres lieux de pouvoir. Ali Pasha, qui gouverne la ville de 1788 à 1821, édifie un grand ensemble lui servant de palais.

Au XIX^{ème} siècle cependant, le centre de gravité de la ville quitte définitivement le Château pour s'établir hors les murs dans les quartiers qui y étaient apparus depuis plusieurs siècles déjà. Dès la fin de l'époque ottomane, les lieux de pouvoirs ne sont donc déjà plus dans le Château.

La conquête de la ville en 1913 par l'armée grecque ne donne donc pas lieu à la réappropriation du Château en tant que lieu de pouvoir mais en tant que lieu de mémoire, à travers le sort réservé aux bâtiments ottomans et à l'exploitation archéologique et muséographique du patrimoine byzantin et ottoman. Aujourd'hui encore, c'est bel et bien le patrimoine byzantin qui est systématiquement mis en avant malgré le faible nombre de vestiges, tandis que les vestiges ottomans ont été mal entretenus voire délibérément détruits.

La période récente montre cependant une évolution de la politique culturelle grecque. Depuis les années 1990 des travaux de recherches et de restauration sont effectués sur les monuments ottomans, tandis que des plans sont actuellement mis en œuvre afin de faire d'eux des objets de visite en tant que tels.

Who controls the past controls the future.
Who controls the present controls the past.

George Orwell, 1984

The Byzantine city of Ioannina was one of the most important cities of Epirus during the Middle Ages. The city was protected by wide walls which made it a “castle” (κάστρον). Its rulers gave it a monumental apparatus in order to honour the city and, simultaneously, to symbolize their power in it. Quickly the city expanded outside the walls of the Castle, but this part of the city was the most important part of it.

In 1430, Ioannina passed under the authority of the Ottomans and then, in 1913, of the Greek State. The object of this study is to see how, during Byzantine times, some places were chosen and used as ‘Lieux de Pouvoir’ (sites of power), and then how the Ottomans and the Greeks treated these urban spaces. Indeed, every conqueror had to show materially and symbolically his domination. The ‘Lieux de Pouvoir’ could not therefore be left untouched by the new masters.

As we will see, Ottomans and Greeks took measures concerning the inhabitants and the buildings of the Castle, in order to strengthen their power. They used, in this respect, alternatively tolerance and discrimination. As is known, the Ottoman conquerors in the Balkans knew how to blow hot and cold on the local population in order to obtain its submission. As regards the Greek domination, we will see how the major part of the 20th century was marked by hostility towards the Ottoman past, while the recent period marked a better consideration of this heritage.

Our topic is therefore linked with the concepts of ‘tolerance’ and ‘discrimination’. These two concepts are generally used in connection to what would be called today “civil rights” of a person, but we could also use them in connection with buildings and the archaeological past. In that meaning, our problem is: in which context does a political authority tolerate – or not – the remnants of the past, when these remnants are a testimony to the glory of the previous regime?

THE CREATION OF THE ‘LIEUX DE POUVOIR’ IN BYZANTINE IOANNINA

Ioannina is not a very old city: it is mentioned for the first time in the 9th century¹. It was founded on a peninsula inside the lake of Ioannina. This peninsula has two hills, which constitute two acropolises, one in the northeast and the other one in the southeast. These two citadels were the most protected places of the city, and apart from their military importance, they also played a large political role. On the north-eastern acropolis, the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist was

founded; this marks the origin of the city and probably of its name. When the Normans of Bohemond took the city in 1082 they built some fortifications, the location of which is still debated². After this episode the Byzantines kept these military installations.

The acme of the city in medieval times was reached when Epirus became an independent state after the 4th crusade (1204). The “small city” (*πολιδιον*) was chosen by ruler Michael I of Epirus (1205-1215) to receive the refugees from the Constantinople which had been taken by the Crusaders. On this occasion he built the walls of the city, which thus became a “castle” (*κάστρον*)³. It was like a second foundation for the city, from a demographic and urban point of view. The new dynasty of Epirus had its capital in Arta but showed serious interest for Ioannina, which was like a second capital. The patron of the city became Saint Michael, after the name of the two first rulers of the dynasty (Michael I and his son Michael II who ruled approximately from 1230 to 1267)⁴. The cathedral of the city, named Saint Michael, was built in the north-western acropolis. It became a Metropolis (the seat of the Metropolitan, that is the head of the ecclesiastical province) when the bishopric of Ioannina was founded in 1319⁵.

Ioannina became an autonomous state governed by its own despot in 1367. This ruler had a palace, the location of which is not certain – it is not even known if it was always in the same place. The two most probable hypotheses are that it was built by Michael I (1205-1215) or by Despot Thomas Preljubović (1367-1384), the two rulers who made the biggest works in the city⁶. The most common opinion is that the palace was located in the north-eastern acropolis, close to Saint John⁷. But the centre of the political life of the city was the Metropolis. In Byzantine society, the



Fig. 1
The Byzantine Museum.
The Museum is located in the previous Royal Kiosk, built according to the architectural tradition of the manors of Epirus.

Church (*εκκλησία*) kept its etymological meaning of “assembly”. So the Metropolis of the Taxiarch Saint Michael played a similar role to the one of Saint Sophia in Constantinople. Proclamations of despots, as well as important events like weddings or funerals of despots were performed there. It was indeed the place of reunion of the archons (that is the notables) of the city⁸, as well as the place for the assembly of the population⁹. After his murder in 1384, Despot Thomas Preljubović was also buried by the Metropolis¹⁰.

The city of Ioannina at its medieval acme was already expanding outside the walls, even if we do not know the exact extension of this *extra muros* part. But the urban organisation of the city was quite clear. The castle was the military, political and religious heart of the city. It was protected, military and symbolically, by two acropolises, which sheltered the main public buildings: the palace of the despot, the three main churches of Saint John, the Christ Pantocrator and primarily the Metropolis dedicated to the patron of the city, Saint Michael, homonymous with the founders of the State of Epirus and of the castle. All the ingredients were reunited for creating a spirit of security, pride and self-assurance among the inhabitants of the city. Things were to change with the establishment of the Ottoman domination, which was to last for almost five centuries.

THE OTTOMAN PERIOD: A DEMONSTRATION OF FORCE

The city was surrendered to the Ottomans on 9 October 1430, but the citizens stayed masters of their castle, thanks to an agreement concluded between them and the Ottoman general, Sinan Pasha. For this reason, the Ottoman power was located outside the walls of the castle. In front of the main gate of the castle the Bayrakli Mosque, also known as Bayram Pasha Mosque, Mosque of the Bazaar or Mosque of Bayezid, was built, probably under the reign of Bayezid II at the end of the 15th century¹¹. We are not sure whether this mosque was the oldest in Ioannina, but it was one of the biggest and surely the most important for the Muslims of the city and was covered with flags every Friday in order to show the domination of Islam over the city¹². This mosque was located in the city quarter called Tourkopaloukon (also known as Loutro and Agios Nikolaos) where the first Turks living in the city were installed according to the legend¹³. This hypothesis is supported by the creation next to this quarter in this period of another district called Sarai Makhale, maybe after the name of an Ottoman governor¹⁴. Some other mosques and public buildings were constructed in the same period, all of them outside the castle. The seat of the Ottoman governor is not known with any certainty. It was located, according to some scholars, in the district of Kaloutsiani¹⁵, according to others it was close to Parga Place of present day Ioannina¹⁶. Because written sources are lacking, these speculations are built on often contradictory oral traditions. The most probable hypothesis is that, according to the Turkish tradition, the Pashas were almost nomads, or at least that their authority was personal, so that there was no official governorate, but only the private house of the governor.

In 1597, under unknown circumstances, the Ottomans managed to take the Metropolis of St Michael and turned it into a mosque, the Fetiye Cami – that is the Mosque of the Conquest. It is told that thunder fell on the minaret, an event that was interpreted by the Christians as a divine intervention¹⁷. The name of this mosque may derive from the homonymous mosque in Istanbul. In 1586, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was turned into a mosque called Fetiye Cami. When, in 1597, the Ottomans of Ioannina turned the Metropolis into a mosque, they probably had in mind the events of the capital. This was the first symbol of the Ottoman domination inside the castle, by controlling the main church of the city. It is said that the frescos of the church were visible until 1770¹⁸. This meant that the Metropolis had to move out of the castle¹⁹.

In 1611, the revolt of Dionysis Skylosophos was followed by the expulsion of the Christians from the castle. During the revolt the house of the Pasha, located outside the castle, was burnt, so that



Fig. 2

Fetiye Mosque.

The Fetiye Mosque is probably located on the site of the former Christian Metropolis. It took its actual form during the reign of Ali Pasha.

the Ottoman Turks took control of the fortress, for military as well as political reasons²⁰. They started then to materialize their total domination of the castle. It is said that the expulsion of the Christians lasted more than 20 years, but the changes in the monuments were quicker, as the aim was to destroy every monument of the Christian past²¹. All the churches disappeared²². In the place of the old Monastery of Saint-John the Baptist, Aslan Pasha, who had been victorious over the revolt of 1611, built a mosque named after himself, which was inaugurated in 1618 and gave its name to the city district²³. The Aslan Pasha Mosque was an important centre for religion and for education. Around the mosque were a cemetery, a medresa – that is a Koranic school – and a library. Close to the Fetiye Tzami was an important cemetery. The residence of the Pasha is still unknown during this period. Some say that the successors of Aslan stayed outside the castle²⁴, while others say that they built their palace inside the castle²⁵. Anyway, it is certain that some public buildings and palaces of Turkish notables were built inside the castle²⁶. A source concerning the installation of a new ruler, Ali-Pasha, in 1788 allows us to say that there was no palace in the south-eastern acropolis, since Ali bought a number of houses in the area before building his seraglio in 1795. And the fact that at his arrival he had to buy houses for living allows us to think that there was still no official residence of the Pasha²⁷.

In 1788, Albanian leader Ali-Pasha Tepelena became Pasha of Ioannina and progressively took control of a large part of present day Albania and Greece, making the region more or less inde-

pendent from the Ottoman Empire. This powerful and energetic figure decided to make important changes in his capital. As early as 1788 he started to renew the fortifications of the castle. Then in 1795, he started to build a new seraglio in the north-eastern acropolis, which was walled in 1815 and thus became an inner fortress, which received the Turkish name *Its-Kale*. The first work was to renovate the Fetiye Mosque, transforming it into the one that we still can see²⁸. He also built his own tomb close to the mosque. During these work, the grave of his predecessor Thomas Preljubović was discovered²⁹.

An important aspect of Ali-Pasha's urban policy was the building of two seraglios for his sons Mokhtar and Veli outside the castle, as well as a fortress in the neighbourhood of Litharitsia, in 1807³⁰. For Ali, the purpose was to balance the two parts of the city. For military reasons, he had to have his main seraglio protected by the castle, but he also wanted to be in phase with the city. During the Middle Ages, the castle formed the centre of the city. But by now the part of the city located outside the walls had grown so much that it was better to give more importance to the *extra muros* part, where the Bazaar was located and the commercial roads of the Balkan Peninsula traversed the city. Ali-Pasha had also given more rights to the Christians. In this perspective, the opening of the second palace outside the castle was an attempt to give a different vision of the political power: not a Turkish power walled in a fortress in order to protect itself from the Greeks, but a power open to the city, closer to its citizens³¹.

Ali's preoccupation with military security was not without reason. In 1821, the army of the Ottoman government besieged the castle of Ioannina. Ali-Pasha fled to the island in the lake, but was finally taken and killed. The palace of Litharitsia was destroyed during the fight, while the palace of *Its-Kale*, which was not taken by force, was in perfect state. So the palace of Ali-Pasha in *Its-Kale* continued as the centre of the new power³². It was actually the first time for centuries that Epirus was governed directly from Istanbul, since the pashas of the 17th and most of 18th centuries were almost autonomous rulers. The Ottoman power at the time wanted to centralize the Empire and to govern it in an authoritarian way. So the Ottomans used the castle as a symbol of their power, protected by thick walls. But after the successful Greek War of Independence, the Ottomans changed their ways. During the period of the *Tanzimat*, which lasted from 1839 to 1876, the Ottoman government tried to reform itself and to give better treatment to the ethnic and religious minorities, in order to please the other European powers and to avoid the rise of autonomist movements. This policy had results in the urbanisation of Ioannina³³.

During the night between 28 and 29 July 1869, the old Bazaar of Ioannina was destroyed by fire, and there are significant reasons to believe that this was ordered by Ahmet Rashim Pasha, who was governor from 1868 to 1872³⁴. The reconstruction of the district began according to his plans. Then, on 19 April 1870, the Governorate of *Its-Kale* burnt down. It was told that the Turkish employees, who were bored with walking there from the city, started the fire themselves³⁵. Irrespective of whether this was an accident or not, the fact is that Ahmet Rashim Pasha had also ready plans for a new urban politics. On 24 August, he destroyed the gynaecium of *Its-Kale*, that was not touched by the fire, and on 12 October he put the first stone of the new three-storey building of the Governorate, located outside the walls, in the Turkish neighbourhood of Mehmet Aga, today on Averof Street³⁶. On the ruins of Ali-Pasha's Seraglio a Military Hospital was built, since the Castle continued to be a military fortress.

Next year, in June 1871, the Municipality of Ioannina was founded, as a result of an Imperial Decree of 1856 and of a Law of 1868. The municipality was a multiethnic institution, where Turks, Greeks and Jews were present. The common language was Greek, which was the only language to be spoken by everybody³⁷. The City Hall was in the beginning located in the Governorate; then it often

changed location and finally found its place on the present day Bizani Street, in a Greek neighbourhood. The building was constructed from 1893 to 1896³⁸, and is now the Municipal Odeon.

The rule of Ahmet Rashim Pasha was decisive for the urbanisation of Ioannina. The centre of the town was in his time where it is still today, on the main square of the city, in front of the Governorate, where the clock that is still there was also built, and where all the official ceremonies were performed. From that time, the castle was never again the seat of a political authority. This does not mean at all that it lost its political significance.

THE GREEK RULE: BETWEEN RESTORATION AND APPROPRIATION³⁹

The Castle of Ioannina was still of military importance during the first Balkan War, because it sheltered a military hospital, and a gunpowder depot⁴⁰. But this did not prevent the fall of the city to the Greek Royal Army on 23 February 1913. Nevertheless, the “liberation” of the city does not mean the end of our study. The two acropolises of the Castle were to become museums, and like all public museums they express the policy of the state. The Greek language shows quite well the proximity between the two concepts of “political” (*πολιτικός*) and “cultural” (*πολιτιστικός*).

For almost ten years, few things changed in the urban landscape of Ioannina. Few of the Muslims had left the city and the mosques went on being used for religious service. Actually, for ten years the Greek authorities had no time to spend on this issue: the two Balkan wars, the political conflict between Premier Venizelos and King Constantine, the First World War and finally the Greek-Turkish war prevented them from taking decisions. Nevertheless, the so-called Catastrophe of Asia Minor in 1922, against the Turkey of Mustapha Kemal, had direct consequences in the faraway city of Ioannina.

The treaty of Lausanne, which was signed on 24 July 1923, mentioned an exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. As a result, all the Muslim inhabitants of Ioannina were forced to leave for Turkey. According to the treaty, every state had the right to sell the goods of the departing populations in order to fund the housing of the refugees. The mosques, which were privately owned⁴¹, were abandoned and were expropriated by the State. Soon after signing the treaty, the severe financial crisis facing Greece forced the Venizelist regime, which governed the country in this period, to look for sources of funds of every kind. Thus it was decided to sell some mosques to private owners, who destroyed them or undertook important work in order to turn them into houses, while others were destroyed and left their place to public buildings⁴².

Some advocated saving the Turkish patrimony of the city. Among them was D. P. Aravantinos, the son of an author of a famous history of Epirus (Panagiotis Aravantinos), who wrote an article in a newspaper in order to save the mosques. The historian and director of the prestigious Zosimaia School, Christos I. Soulis, also protested. But within a decade, the fate of the mosques was sealed: of the “seventeen mosques” of Ioannina, only four were preserved in good state⁴³.

In an article of 1933, Soulis stated that according to his friend the great German historian of the Ottoman Empire, Franz Babinger, that if everything had been done to protect this patrimony immediately after the conquest of 1913, the city could have prided itself of one of the finest Turkish museums. This scientific point of view was a first argument. A second one was the fact that, without its Turkish monuments, the city was about to lose its originality and to become exactly like every other city in Greece⁴⁴. Soulis was not listened to, however, and the only thing he managed to save was an inscription on a piece of wood from the Bazaar Mosque, which he donated to the Municipal Museum.

In the end, the two main mosques of the Castle were saved and the municipality decided in 1924 to make one of them, the Aslan Pasha Mosque, the Municipal Museum; opened in 1933 it still functions today⁴⁵. It is dedicated to Ioannina during the Ottoman period, and is divided into three parts: Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish – indicating that the Ottoman Muslim past of Ioannina deserves only one third of this quite small museum. Actually, the part dedicated to the Muslims is only the prayer room of the Mosque. The material is limited to some religious artefacts, and there is no explanation about the history of Ottoman Epirus. Close to the Municipal Museum, the medresa situated inside the north-eastern acropolis was used first as a deposit for the archaeological findings of the region. In the early 1990s, it became the “Fotis Rapakousis Museum of the Weapons of the Greek Revolution”, which is a private Museum. Around this acropolis, the School of Equitation of Ali Pasha, the Ottoman Library and the Ottoman Bath are indicated, but cannot be visited.

The fate of the other acropolis of the Castle, Its-Kale, is also revealing. The Greek army continued to use Its-Kale as a fortress and used the Turkish military hospital for its own purposes⁴⁶. The Fetiye Mosque was used as a garage for repairing cars, while in 1946 the Church of the Agioi Anargyroi was built for the needs of the Hospital. Then, from 1956 to 1960 a Royal Pavilion was constructed, imitating the traditional Epirotic Mansions of the Ottoman period, in order to make it a residence for the Royal Family. Some buildings from the time of Ali Pasha were destroyed and the cemetery around the tomb of Ali Pasha was covered, in order to make a garden. The intention was obviously to place the Royal residence in the continuation of the Seraglio of Ali and the Palace of the Despots of the Middle Ages, since the oral tradition said that the latter building was located in this area.

After the fall of the Monarchy, the Royal Pavilion was abandoned, while the integration of Greece into the European Economic Community in 1981 brought financial opportunities for the exploitation of the cultural patrimony. In 1986 works in Its-Kale began and, in 1995, and the building of the Royal Pavilion became the Byzantine Museum, with an evident desire to link the Museum with the Byzantine past of the Castle⁴⁷. It also housed the archaeological services of the city. In recent years, other buildings built by Ali Pasha have been studied and restored by Greek archaeologists; since 1991 excavations have been carried out almost without interruption in Its-Kale. The metallic superstructure of the Tomb of Ali Pasha, which had been melted down in 1940, was reproduced in 1993. These works were the first real efforts made by the Greek government to preserve the Ottoman patrimony of Ioannina.

Nevertheless, nothing has been done to present the Ottoman heritage as a valuable cultural or touristic attraction. Except the Tomb of Ali-Pasha, the Ottoman buildings have not been exposed to the public as objects of interest in themselves. On the contrary, they have been used for the purpose of the Byzantine Museum: the kitchens are now the cafeteria of the museum, the so-called “Treasury” is dedicated to the exhibition of silver jewellery from the 17th to the 20th centuries, while the large supply depot is now filled by conservation rooms. The Fetiye Mosque is closed to the public.

Quite revealing is the fact that although the only medieval buildings in the castle are the so-called “Bohemond tower” and possibly a part of the walls and the gates, the castle patrimony has been dedicated to the “8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities”. This institution takes care of Its-Kale, in addition to the Turkish Library and Bath. An important part of the collection of the museum, especially the jewellery kept in the “Treasury”, consists of artefacts which are later than the Ottoman Conquest. It is indeed a habit in Greek historians, archaeologists and curators of museums to call the Ottoman era “the Post-Byzantine period”.

To complete this description of the present situation in Ioannina, we must mention that there is one more museum dedicated to the Ottoman period in the city. This is the Historical Museum of the Island of Ioannina, which deals mostly with Ali Pasha. It is described as the “Museum of the



Fig. 3
Ruins.

The so-called Bohemond tower is a remnant of the Seraglio of Ali Pasha. It is possibly connected with Byzantine times.

Prerevolutionary period” (which is another way to avoid the denomination “Ottoman period”). The situation is quite paradoxical, since the museum is located in the place where Ali Pasha was killed, that is a Byzantine building, the Monastery of Panteleemon.

It has to be noted, though, that even if the tourists visiting the Castle today may only see the things in this situation, the Greek cultural policy towards Turkish antiquities of Ioannina has taken a new direction. After a first phase of research and of restoration in the 1990s, the movement continued during the first years of the 21st century⁴⁸. The Fetiye Mosque has been under restoration since 2004 and, remarkably, the aim is now to make it a place of exhibition with Ali Pasha, the builder of Its-Kale, as a central theme. With the same goal in mind, at the end of 2007, the 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities bought the shops of the Kaloutsiani Mosque, located outside the Castle. It is still not known what exactly will be done with the building, but for certain this marks the end of a situation which some would call blasphemous, especially when compared with the numerous – and justified – complaints made by the Greek cultural authorities about the ill-treatment of Orthodox religious buildings in Turkey, the northern part of Cyprus or in Albania.

CONCLUSION

The Castle was always an important part of Ioannina. The construction of its walls is contemporary to the increasing importance of the city, which later became a city state in which some places and buildings were of military, religious and political significance. The fall of the city to the Ottoman Empire in 1430 did not change things for almost two centuries, since the Castle was granted a status of autonomy, which was lost after the revolt of 1611. Then, the Ottoman authorities

had to deal with the Castle, since it was the symbol of the past glory of the Christians and also, through its imposing walls, a symbol of military power. The churches were destroyed and some of them turned into mosques, while, at least from 1795 to 1870, the Castle was the seat of the local governorate. The departure of the governorate from the Castle in 1870 was a part of an attempt to reform the Ottoman government and of its adaptation to the contemporary reality of the city. Nevertheless, the Castle was still a symbol of the military occupation. After the conquest of Ioannina by the Greek state in 1913, it had lost its status as a 'Lieu de Pouvoir', but had become a 'Lieu de Mémoire' and, as a consequence, became a visible expression of a public cultural policy.

The interest in the Ottoman past of the city does not date back to the Greek-Turkish war of the 1990s. It began immediately after the conquest, and was often promoted by Greek patriots who may not be suspected of being partisans of the Ottoman regime⁴⁹. They were not successful, however, and the Turkish patrimony of the city was, to a large extent, destroyed, partly because of an anti-Turkish feeling, but partly because of the difficult economical conditions in the Greece of the 1920s. The Castle was almost the only part of the city to preserve signs of the Ottoman past, maybe because of the inconvenient location of the Castle, which may be why there was no interest in destroying it.

The cultural policy, which was started in the 1930s and formed the appearance of the city as it is today, reveals a desire to restore a mythical Byzantine past and to negate the Ottoman one. This must be linked with the choices of research and of education offered by the successive regimes⁵⁰. For instance, the bibliography used in this chapter shows big lacunas in the knowledge of the Ottoman administration, while a many of the historical studies of Ioannina deal with the Ottoman period only through the history of the Greek national movement which led to the liberation of 1913⁵¹. It is also interesting that some of the most useful studies on the Ottoman buildings are written by architects or by civil engineers, but not by academic historians or archaeologists.

In fact, however, the new political and economic situation in Greece has encouraged more respect for the Ottoman archaeological patrimony, and some valuable academic research has been done in recent years on the Ottoman period and the Ottoman patrimony of the city.

It is interesting in this context to point out the fact that – given the lack of other prestigious buildings or monuments – the three best known images of Ioannina are, in the order, the Aslan Pasha



Fig. 4

Ali Pasha.

This postcard shows four images connected with the life of Ali Pasha : the monastery where he was killed (top, left), scene with his Greek wife Kyra Frosini (top, right), portrait of Ali (bottom, left), sight of the lake and of the island of Ioannina, where the monastery is located (bottom, right).

Mosque, the portrait of Ali Pasha, and the Clock of the main square, which all evoke the Turkish past of the city. Already before the updating of the cultural and academic policy of Greece, even in the times when the Ottoman patrimony was abandoned and left for destruction, they could be found on almost all postcards, T-shirts, plates and other materials sold to the tourists, exactly as they are today. This is perhaps a kind of confirmation of the prediction made by Ch. Soulis in 1933: without its Turkish monuments, Ioannina would lose its specificity, maybe its identity.

NOTES

- ¹ M. Kordoses, *Τὰ Βυζαντινά Γιάννενα*, Athens 2002, p. 39.
- ² According to L. Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ κάστρου τῶν Ἰωαννίνων*, p. 12, it is located in the north-western acropolis; according to V. Pyrsinellas, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἰωαννίνων*, Ioannina 1959, pp. 36-37, on the hill of Litharitsia; according to Kordoses, *Γιάννενα* cit., pp. 64-65, D. Salamangas (*Γιαννιωτικά ἱστοριοδιφικά μελετήματα*, Ioannina, 1958; published also in the journal "Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἔστια" (1953-1954) and in *Ἀπάντα*, τ. 2 *Ἱστοριοδιφικά*, p. 13), and most of the archaeologists, it is the tower that still stands in the south-eastern acropolis.
- ³ See the diagnosis of John Apokaukos, published by A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus in *Περὶ συνοικισμοῦ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων μετὰ τὴν φραγκικὴν κατακτησὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, in "Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας", 1889-91, 3, pp. 454-455.
- ⁴ Kordoses, *Γιάννενα* cit., pp. 105 and following.
- ⁵ Vranoussis, *Ἱστορικά* cit., p. 27; Kordoses, *Γιάννενα* cit., p. 114, who quotes also the scholars who think that the Metropolis was located in the church of the Pantocrator, a situation that was probably posterior to the period of the Despots.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-98; Vranoussis, *Ἱστορικά* cit., p. 23, who writes that the location of the Seraglio of Ali Pasha in 1795 is probably the origin of the tradition which says that the Despots had their palace in the north-eastern acropolis.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 188, with sources.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 199, with sources.
- ¹⁰ Vranoussis, *Ἱστορικά* cit., p. 49 and onwards.
- ¹¹ I. Lampridis, *Περιγραφή τῆς πόλεως Ἰωαννίνων*, Athens, 1887, reproduced in *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Μελετήματα*, Ioannina 1993, p. 77; C. Soulis, *Τουρκικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἰωαννίνων*, "Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά", 1933, 8, pp. 84, 93-94; D. Aravantinos, *Περὶ τῶν τζαμιῶν*, in the newspaper "Ἡπειρος", n° 1907, 8 August 1924, Kazantzis K., *Τὸ Τζαμί τοῦ Παζαριοῦ*, "Ἡπειρος", n° 1909, 13 August 1924. It is not known with certainty which was the oldest mosque of Ioannina. Salamangas, *Γιαννιωτικά* cit., states that it dates from the reign of Bayezid I, in the late 14th century, when Ioannina had become a vassal but still not a province of the Ottomans.
- ¹² Soulis, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ* cit., pp. 84, 93-94; G. Smyris, *Τὰ Μουσουλμανικά τεμῆνη των Ἰωαννίνων καὶ ἡ πολεοδομία τῆς ὀθωμανικῆς πόλης*, in "Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά" 2000, 34, pp. 9-90, p. 32-35; M. Komprou, D. Nikoloudi, M. Papantoniou, *Ἀνάπτυξη L.I.S. γιὰ τὰ δεκαεπτὰ μουσουλμανικά τεμῆνη των Ἰωαννίνων καὶ ἀναπαράστασή τους στὴ σύγχρονη πόλη*, Athens 2003, p. 25.
- ¹³ *Σύνοψις ἱστορίας τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν βασιλέων, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἕως τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Μουράτ, ἐν ἧ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων παράδοσις, καὶ ἐτέρων ἱστοριῶν*, in *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos*. Epirotica, Bekker (ed.), CSHB, Bonn 1849, pp. 244-245. The events of this source are partly legendary but have a historical basis, especially when it speaks about the geography of the city in this period. E. Kanetaki, *Τὸ κάστρο: Συμβολὴ στὴν Πολεοδομικὴ Ἱστορία των Ἰωαννίνων*, Athens, 1994, p. 55; G. Kourmantzis, *Ἀπὸ τὴ βυζαντινὴ στὴν Ὀθωμανικὴ πόλη (15^{ος}-18^{ος} αἰῶνας). Σημειώσεις γιὰ τὸν προσδιορισμὸ τῆς ἀστικῆς ἱστορίας τῆς πόλης των Ἰωαννίνων*, in *Ἡπειρος. Κοινωνία - Οἰκονομία 15^{ος} 20^{ος} αἰ. Γιάννενα 4-7 Σεπτεμβρίου*, 1985. Πρακτικὰ Διεθνῶς Συνέδριου Ἱστορίας, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Kourmantzis, *Πόλη* cit., p. 18.
- ¹⁵ P. Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἡπείρου*, Athens 1856, p. 242; D. Salamangas, *Κάπως χάραξε ἡ λευτεριά ἀπὸ τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας στὰ Γιάννενα*, Ioannina 1963, p. 36 (also in *Ἀπάντα*); Lampridis, *Περιγραφή* cit., pp. 43-44, who explains the origin of the name Kaloutsiani from the Turkish Kanli-Tsiesme, which means "fountain of blood", from the massacre of the Turks that took place there during the revolt of 1611.
- ¹⁶ Pyrsinellas, *Ἱστορία* cit., p. 59.
- ¹⁷ A source published in 1900 gives the date of 1597 (K. Koulidas, *Τὰ μουσουλμανικά βακούφια τῆς πόλεως των Ἰωαννίνων*, Ioannina 2004, pp. 72-88; Vranoussis, *Ἱστορικά* cit., p. 35). Some scholars (Lampridis, *Περιγραφή* cit., p. 78, Pyrsinellas,

- las, *Ιστορία* cit., p. 54; Salamangas, *Γιαννιωτικά* cit., pp. 52 and onwards) maintains however, that the mosque was constructed only after the events of 1611.
- ¹⁸ Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit., 56-57.
- ¹⁹ The Metropolis often moved but nowadays the 19th-century building is probably in the same place where the Metropolis was located in the 17th century.
- ²⁰ *Αποστασία Διονυσίου του κοινώς λεγομένου Σκυλοσόφου, και εξώσις των Χριστιανών από το κάστρον*, in *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopolis*, Epirotica, Bekker (ed.), CSHB, Bonn 1849, p. 249. Salamangas, *Λευτεριά* cit., p. 36.
- ²¹ Smyris, *Τέμενη* cit., pp. 53-54; Kourmantzis, *Πόλη* cit., p. 22.
- ²² Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit., p. 39 ff. This scholar estimates the number of churches inside the Castle in 1611 at 18.
- ²³ Koulidas, *Βακούφια* cit., pp. 22-26; Soulis, *Επιγραφαι* cit., p. 87; Kourmantzis, *Πόλη* cit., p. 22.
- ²⁴ Pysrinellas, *Ιστορία* cit., p. 59.
- ²⁵ Salamangas *Λευτεριά* cit., p. 36.
- ²⁶ Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit., p. 7.
- ²⁷ “Περὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ δεσπότητος τῶν Ἰωαννίνων Θωμᾶ”, published in the newspaper “Ἐλευθερία”, Second year, n° 37, 38 and 41 (10, 14 and 24 April 1924), reproduced and commented in Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit., p. 51 and following.
- ²⁸ Most scholars think that he destroyed the existing mosque and built a new one (Koulidas, *βακούφια* cit., pp. 72-88. Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit., p. 35). The recent archaeological studies made in this building nevertheless lead to the conclusion that it is almost contemporary with the Aslan Pasha Mosque.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
- ³⁰ E. Kanetaki, *Το κάστρο: Συμβολή στην Πολεοδομική Ιστορία των Ιωαννίνων*, Athens 1994, pp. 164-166.
- ³¹ Salamangas, *Λευτεριά* cit., p. 36. See maps in E. P. Dimitriadis, *Γιάννενα από την «πόλη-παζάρι» στην «πόλη-πρακτορείο»*. *Ιστορική χωρολογική – πολεολογική – κτιριολογική μελέτη*. Thessaloniki 1993, 147 and following.
- ³² Dimitriadis, *Γιάννενα* cit., p. 163; Salamangas, *λευτεριά* cit., p. 37; Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit., p. 488.
- ³³ M. Kokolakis, *Το ύστερο Γιαννιωτικό Πασαλίκι*, Athens 2003, pp. 129 and following.
- ³⁴ Pysrinellas, *Ιστορία* cit., p. 62; Dimitriadis, *Γιάννενα* cit., p. 106; D. Salamangas, *Λαογραφικά σχέδιάσματα*, “*Ηπειρωτική Έστία*”, 1953, 15, p. 706.
- ³⁵ Pysrinellas, *Ιστορία* cit., p. 60.
- ³⁶ Dimitriadis, *Γιάννενα* cit., p. 163. Salamangas, *Λευτεριά* cit., p. 37. Photographs of the Ottoman Governorate and of its location may be found in *Ιωάννινα 1890-1950*, ed. Ριζαρείον Ίδρυμα, Athens 1996, pp. 77, 202, 204. The Governorate burnt down in 1928, with almost all the Ottoman archives of the city. At the same place, a building of the National Bank of Greece was constructed, which later became the Zosimaia Library and now serves as City Hall.
- ³⁷ The counsellors were elected and then the governor had the right to name the mayor, who was always a Turk until 1913, with only one exception in the early 1900s. Pysrinellas, *Ιστορία* cit., p. 73. The Greek language was the only official language in the city until 1886 (Soulis, *Επιγραφαι* cit., p. 84).
- ³⁸ Dimitriadis, *Γιάννενα* cit., p. 163. Pysrinellas, *Ιστορία* cit., pp. 63-65.
- ³⁹ Here I must warmly thank Georgios Smyris, archaeologist of the 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Ioannina, for the essential information he provided on the issues discussed here. – In the French historical terminology, the word “Restoration” (evoking the restoration of the monarchy in 1814-1815 after the Revolution and the first Empire) refers to the desire of returning to some form of mythical past.
- ⁴⁰ Guy de Chantepierre, *La ville assiégée*, Paris 1913, writes that there were rumours that the Turkish governor had plans to put fire to the gunpowder depot located in the Castle.
- ⁴¹ In the Muslim religion, there is no organisation comparable to the Church.
- ⁴² For instance the mosque of Namazgiakh was razed in order to build the present Regional governorate. Some privatized mosques were destroyed by their landlords until the 1980s. Information about the historical circumstances of the destruction of the Mosques may be found in Kompou, Nikoloudi, Papantoniou, *Ανάπτυξη* cit., pp. 80-85.
- ⁴³ Koulidas, *Βακούφια* cit., p. 5, pp. 123 and onwards. Seventeen is the traditional number of the Mosques of Ioannina. In reality, they were more numerous.
- ⁴⁴ Soulis, *Επιγραφαι* cit., p. 85.
- ⁴⁵ The two other mosques that still exist were the Kaloutsiani Mosque, which was divided into shops, and the Veliye Mosque, that may not be visited, while its medresa hosts the Association of the National Resistance against the German occupation.

- ⁴⁶ An interesting aerial photograph available in the end of the book by Vranoussis, *Ιστορικά* cit. (plate 1) shows the situation of the Castle in the year 1937. It shows the Military Hospital, which was bombed in 1940 by the Italians.
- ⁴⁷ On the website of the city hall (<http://www.ioannina.gr/content/view/58/81/lang,el/>) we may find the following description of the Museum: “Το Βυζαντινό Μουσείο βρίσκεται στη μεγάλη εσωτερική ακρόπολη του φρουρίου (Its – Καλέ), που ήταν διοικητικό κέντρο κατά την Βυζαντινή περίοδο.” [The Byzantine Museum is located in the big inner fortress of the citadel (Its-Kale), where the administrative centre during the Byzantine period was located.]
- ⁴⁸ For instance a restoration study of the Ottoman Bath was led by C. Giarlelis, P. Kremezis, C. Spanos, “Αποκατάσταση μνημείου Χαμάμ στο Κάστρο Ιωαννίνων”, 2^ο εθνικό συνέριο: “Ήπιες επεμβάσεις για την προστασία ιστορικών κατασκευών”, Thessaloniki 2004.
- ⁴⁹ Christos Soulis (see above) was a veteran of the Balkan wars (see Ch. Soulis, *Πολεμικές σελίδες από τον ελληνοτουρκικό πόλεμο 1912-1913*, Ioannina 2006), while C. Christovasilis, author of a nostalgic text about the mosques of his childhood (*Τό καϊμένο τό τζαμί μās*, “Ελλοπία”, Ioannina 1930, pp. 113-115; 131-133) was the director of the newspaper “Ελευθερία”, which supported, for instance, the Greek minority of Northern Epirus. For the researches led by Greek scholars on the Turkish past of Ioannina, see G. Smyris, *τεμένη* cit., pp. 9 and onwards.
- ⁵⁰ An interesting study about the vision of history in the Greek educational system can be found in A. Frangoudaki, T. Dragona, «Τι είν’ η πατρίδα μας;» *Εθνοκεντρισμός στην Εκπαίδευση*, Alexandria 1997.
- ⁵¹ See for instance, V. Krapsitis, *Η Ιστορία των Ιωαννίνων* (Θ’ αιώνας μέχρι 1913), Athens 1988, or the about one hundred page introduction to the book by C. Soulis, *Πολεμικές* cit. It must be said that few written sources from the first centuries of the Ottoman period exist, while the largest part of the archives of the Turkish government of the 19th century were destroyed (see Pyrsinellas, *Ιστορία* cit., pp. 64-65).

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