

LIVADYA (Λεβιάδα), a town in central Greece on the slopes of Mount Helicon, bordering the vast fertile plain of Boeotia. Nearby is Lake Kopais, reclaimed between 1883-92. The local centre of agriculture and the seat of a bishopric, Livadya was in the Frankish Middle Ages one of the important castles of the Duchy of Athens. In Ottoman times (1460-1829) it developed into a prosperous urban centre and grew into the largest city of central Greece, after Athens, with the highest number of Muslim citizens to the south of Thessaly.

The origins of Livadya go back to the remote antiquity. Since the 8th century B.C., it was one of the minor Boeotian towns, living in the shade of the mighty Thebes. As is the case with many Greek cities, little is known about the town in the early Middle Ages. As an urban centre it appears to be the successor of the ancient city of Orchomenos/Skripou, the seat of the Byzantine administration since the 8th century, which declined during the 11th and 12th centuries. The castle of Livadya, situated on a steep conical hill overlooking the city on the south-west, must have been founded by the Franks after 1204, when it was included in the Duchy of Athens. The Catalans of the Grand Company occupied Livadya after the battle of Skripou in 1311 and held it till 1379-80, reconstructing the castle to the form it largely has today. At an unknown date, the Navarrese, who had captured the town in 1378-80, ceded Livadya to the Florentine Nerio I Acciaiuoli, but almost immediately afterwards it was taken by the Ottomans under *Chāzī* Ewrenos, who kept it for almost a year (1392-3). *Yıldırım Bāyezīd's* armies, marching to the Morea in 1397, seem to have passed by Livadya, reconquered by the Franks under Bertranet Mota. The unceasing warfare of the second half of the 14th century, and at least four epidemics of plague (1348, 1372, 1374, 1388) depopulated the land to a large extent. The Acciaiuolis tried to remedy this by settling ten thousand Albanian families who had been ousted from Epirus by Carlo Tocco. The reign of Antonio Acciaiuoli (1403-35), an Ottoman vassal, was more or less peaceful. There must have been some recovery, interrupted only by the plague of 1423. During the "Varna crisis" of 1443-4, the Livadya area was plundered and occupied twice, first by the Ottomans under *Turkhān-oghlu* 'Ömer Beg in 1460, as retaliation for the treason of Nerio II, who had forsaken the Ottomans, and then by the troops of Despot Constantin of the Morea. The last Florentine Duke of Boeotia, Antonio II, also an Ottoman vassal, was removed in 1460 when the duchy became an Ottoman *sandjak* without much upheaval. This is perhaps the reason why the Ottoman chroniclers pass over the acquisition of Boeotia in silence. After Chalkis had been wrested from the Venetians (1470), this large walled city and important harbour became the capital of the *sandjak*, called *Eghriboz* (from Euripos), and Livadya the seat of a *kādīlik*.

The Ottomans seem to have settled mainly in the Catalan castle and in a cluster of houses below it, on the banks of a torrent. There *Turkhān-oghlu* 'Ömer, the Ottoman governor of Thessaly, constructed a *hammām* and a domed mosque with some guestrooms that was to become the centre of Islamic life for the next three-and-a-half centuries. The castle was guarded by a garrison of a few dozen soldiers. The mosque is mentioned in the *Wakf-nāme* of 'Ömer Beg, its staff being paid from the vast urban property of the *Turkhān-oghlu* clan in Thessaly.

The *Icmal defter* M.M. 66 from 871/1466-7, is

apparently the oldest preserved Ottoman register containing information on Livadya. In the mentioned year, the town was a *nāhiye* of the *sandjak* of *Tirkhāla* (Trikkala) containing 164 Christian households and 24 bachelors as well as a Muslim community of 57 households and 25 bachelors. The Christian group should be regarded as the autochthonous population of Livadya, the relatively large Muslim group as the product of a deliberate policy of colonisation after the town had been annexed.

In this same year the administrative district of Livadya contained 47 Greek ("Rūm") villages and 30 *kaṭuns* inhabited by Albanians ("Arnavud") A year after the conquest of *Eghriboz* (Chalkis), in 875/1471, the town and the district were detached from *Tirkhāla* and added to the newly-formed *sandjak* of *Eghriboz*, as is mentioned *der kenār* in the 871 register. Another *der kenār* note in the same register mentions that in *Dhu 'l-Hidjja* of 876/May-June 1472, Livadya was entrusted to 22 soldiers of the garrison of *Eghriboz*, soldiers bearing Muslim Turkish names and coming from a number of places in the Balkans (Pirlepe, Fanari (Thessaly), *Nighbolu*, *Izdin* (Lamia), *Yanbol Serfidje*, *Serres*, *Berat* in Albania, etc.) thus giving an indication of where the first Muslim settlers of Livadya came from.

During the 16th century, Livadya shared in the general expansion of the cities of the Ottoman empire. The census registers of the *sandjak* of *Eghriboz*, preserved in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* in Istanbul, give exact information on the fast-growing number of inhabitants as well as on the number and scope of the Islamic institutions founded in the city in that period. The *Mufaşsal defter* of 1506 (T.D. 35), which records some of the *wakfs* of the *sandjak* of *Eghriboz* (but no data on the population of Livadya), mentions a *mu'allim-khāne* of *Hasan Beg b. Mūsā* in the city and a *zāwiye* of *Ayas Dede*, which provided lodging for travellers. Both foundations were maintained from the rents of some shops, watermills and gardens in or near the town. According to the *Icmal defter* (no. 367) of 1526-28, Livadya numbered 427 households, 295 of which were Christian, divided in four *maḥalles* under their priests (49 of the Christian families were registered as cultivators of rice, *çeltükçüiyân*). The Muslim community, consisting of 96 households, was apparently not yet crystallised in *maḥalles*. The *Defter* also mentions a community (*djemā'at*) of 36 Jewish families. Thus the population of Livadya was then 70% Orthodox Christian, 22% Muslim and 8% Jewish. According to the *Ḳanūn-nāme* of the city and the district of Livadya, contained in the same register, the Muslim citizens paid only the tithes and nothing else. This source also states that the Jews had come from the West and that among the Christian inhabitants there were Albanians and Vlach nomads. The Albanians enjoyed some minor tax facilities. The city was by then a *khāṣṣ-i kühmāyün*. T.D. no. 196 from 1539-40 mentions a garrison of 36 men in the castle of Livadya. This number could be so low because the city was safely situated in the interior of the country and had little to fear from an enemy attack (Chalkis and Athens, both on the coast, had then 357 and 114 men respectively, including *dizdārs*, gunners, etc.).

A further witness of the vast expansion of Livadya in the 16th century is the *Mufaşsal defter* of 1569-70 (T.D. 484). It mentions 552 Christian, 317 Muslim, and 32 Jewish households. The Christians still lived in four *maḥalles*, but the Muslims had by now formed five *maḥalles*, grouped around their mosques: the *Djāmi'-i 'Atik-i 'Ömer Beg*, the *Djāmi'-*